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Michel de MONTAIGNE

The Essays Or Morall, Politique and Militaire

Discourses. First edition in English London 1603

Translated by John Florio

Five copy

~~15.000~~

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GROIER L-W 102

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DW 54 *J. Bostock*

THE ESSAYES

Or
Morall, Politike and Millitarie
Discourses

of
Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,
Knight

*Of the noble Order of S^r Michaell, and one of the
Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry
the third his Chamber.*

The first Booke.

(* *)

First written by him in French.

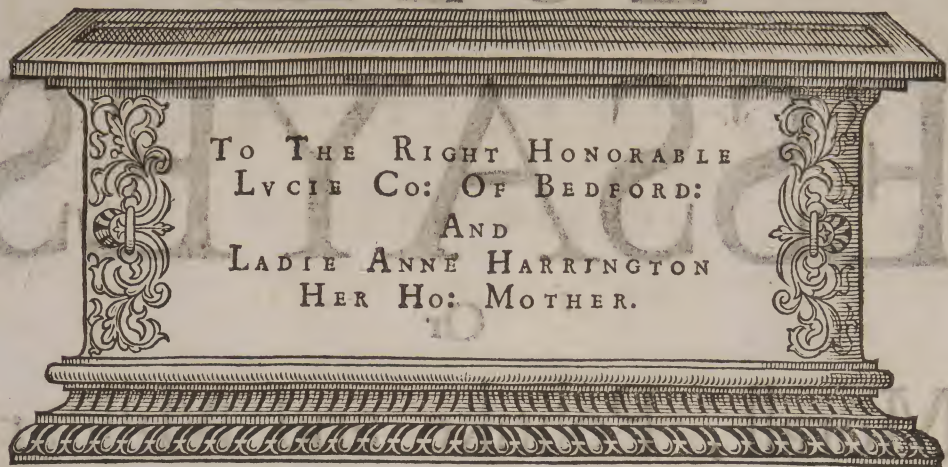
And

now done into English

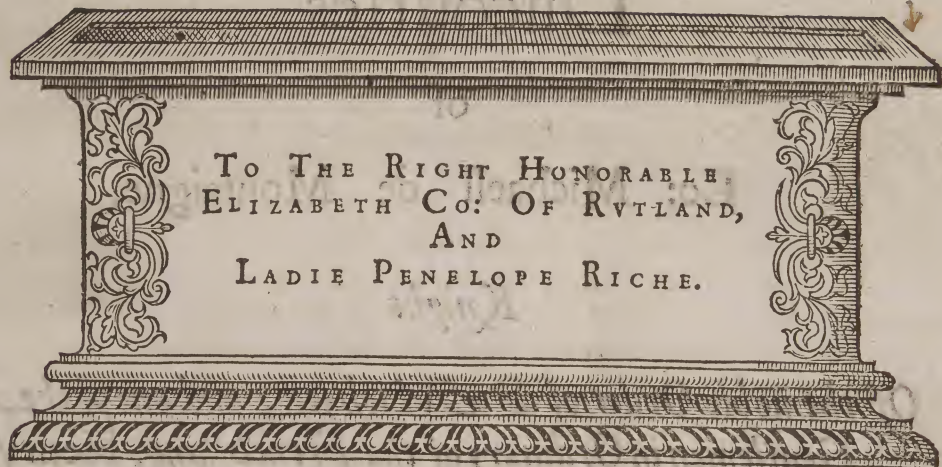
By

By him that hath inviolably vowed his labors to the *Aeternitie* of their Honors,
whose names he hath severally inscribed on these his consecrated Altares.

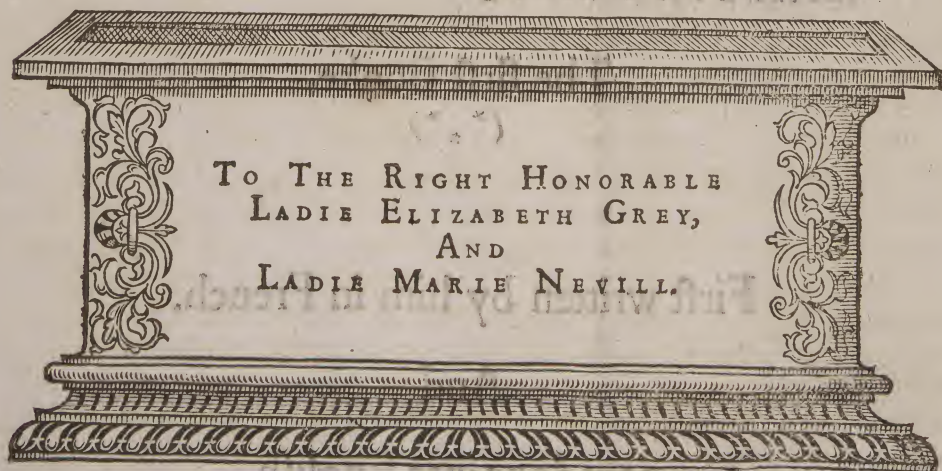
The first Booke.



The second Booke.



The third Booke.



JOHN FLORIO.

Printed at London by Val. Sims for Edward Blount dwelling
in Paules churchyard. 1603.

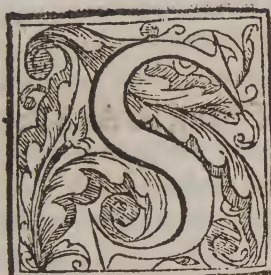


TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable my best-best Benefactors, and most-
most honored Ladies,

Lucie Countesse of Bedford;

and hir best-most loved-loving Mother,

Ladie Anne Harrington.



Trange it may seeme to some, whose seeming is mis-seem-
ing, in one worthlesse patronage to joyne two so severallie
all-worthy Ladies. But to any in the right, it would be jud-
ged wrong, to disjoyne them in ought, who never were
neerer in kinde, then ever in kindnesse. None dearer (dea-
rest Ladies) I have seene, and all may say, to your Honora-
ble husbands then you, to you then your Honorable hus-
bands; and then to other, then eyther is to th'other. So as

were I to name but the one, I should surely intend the other : but intending this
Dedication to two, I could not but name both. To my last Birth, which I held
masculine, (as are all mens conceits that are their owne, though but by their col-
lecting; and this was to *Montaigne* like *Bacchus*, closed in, or loosed from his great
Iupiters thigh) I the indulgent father invited two right Honorable Godfathers, with
the ONE of your Noble Lady-shippes to witnesse. So to this defective edition
(since all translations are reputed femalls, delivered at second hand; and I in this
serve but as *Vulcan*, to hatchet this *Minerva* from that *Iupiters* bigge braine) I yet
at least a fondling foster-father, having transported it from *France* to *England*; put
it in English clothes; taught it to talke our tongue (though many-times with a jerke
of the French *Iargon*) would set it forth to the best service I might; and to better I
might not, then You that deserve the best. Yet hath it this above your other ser-
vants: it may not onely serve you two, to repeate in true English what you read in
fine French, but many thousands more, to tell them in their owne, what they
would be taught in an other language. How nobly it is descended, let the father
in the ninth Chapter of his third booke by letters testimoniall of the *Romane* Se-
nate and Citty beare record : How rightly it is his, and his beloved, let him by
his discourse in the eight'h of his second, written to the Lady of *Estissac* (as if it
were to you concerning your sweete heire, most motherly-affected Lady *Harring-
ton*) and by his acknowledgement in this first to all Readers give evidence, first
that it is *de bonne foy*, then more than that, *c'est moy* : How worthily qualified,
embellished, furnished it is, let his faire-spoken, and fine-witted Daughter by alli-
ance passe her verdict, which shee neede not recant. Heere-hence to offer it into
your service, let me for him but do and say, as he did for his other-felfe, his peerlesse
paire *Steven de Boetie*, in the 28. of this first, and thinke hee speaks to you my

FP

Quorsum
hec sartago
loquendi?

see y^e like
style in his
dedication
of y^e second
book.

The Epistle.

praise-surmounting Countesse of Bedford, what hee there speakes to the Lady of
Grammont Countesse of Guissen : Since as his Maister-Poet saide,

Hor. ser. lib. I.
sat. I. 69.

—mutato nomine, de te

Fabula narratur:—

Do you but change the name,
Of you is saide the same :

So do hir attributes accord to your demerites; wherof to runne a long-breathed
careere, both so faire and large a field might envite mee, and my in-burning spirits
would encite mee, if I were not held-in by your sweete reining hand (*who have e-
ver helde this desire, sooner to exceede what you are thought, then be thought what you are
not*) or should I not prejudice by premonstration your assured advantage, *When
your value shall come to the weighing*. And yet what are you not that may excell?
What weight would you not cleave in truest ballance of best judgements? More
to be followed by glorie, since you fly-it; which yet many good fellow : Most to
be praised, for refusing all praises; which yet will presse on vertue; will she, nill she.
In which matter of fame (and that exceeding good) wel may you (I doubt not) vse
the word, which my Authour heere (*I feare*) vsurpeth:

Virg. Æn. l. 4.
175.

—*Viresque acquirit eundo.*

The further that she goeth,
The more in strength she groweth:

Since (as in the originall) if of his vertue or glory, more of yours, his Arch-Po-
et might verifie.

177.

Ingrediturque solo, & caput inter nubila condit:

She (great and good) on earth doth move,
Yet veiles hir head in heaven above:

But being by your limit-lesse moderation lockt in limits (*who more desire, no-
thing may be said, than too much*) though I can never say too much, as he of Carthage;
so I of your praise-worthinesse, were better to say nothing, then too little. For this
in hand (if it may be so honored to kisse your Honors gracious hand) if any grace
or good be either afforded to it, or deserved by it, all that by the father, foster-fa-
ther, and all that are of kinne or kinde vnto it, must be to your Honor, grace, and
goodnesse imputed and ascribed. For (that I may discharge me of all this, and
charge you with your owne; pardon Madame my plainenesse) when I with one
Chapter found my selfe over-charged, whereto the charge or choise of an Hono-
rable person, and by me not-to-be denied Benefactor (Noble and vertuous Sir
Edward Wotton) had engaged me, (which I finished in your owne house) your
Honor having dayned to read it, without pittie of my failing, my fainting, my la-
bouring, my languishing, my gasping for some breath (O could so Honorable, be
so pittie-lesse? Madame, now doe I flatter you?) Yet commaunded me on : (and
let me die outright, ere I do not that commaund.) I say not you tooke pleasure at
shore (as those in this Author) to see me sea-rossed, wether-beaten, shippe-wracked,
almost drowned. Nor say I like this mans Indian King, you checkt with a sower-
sterne countenance the yernelful complaint of your drooping, neere-dying subject.
Nor say I (as he alleadgeth out of others) like an ironically modest Virgin, you
enduced, yea commaunded, yea delighted to see mee strive for life, yea fall out of
breath. Vnmercifull you were, but not so cruell. (Madame, now do I flatter you?)
Yet this I may and must say, like in this French-mans report, our third in name, but
first and chiefe in fame, K. Edward, you would not succour your blacke, not sonne,
but servaunt, but bade him fight and conquere, or die : Like the Spartane imperi-
ous Mother, a shield indeede you gave mee, but with this Word. *Aut cum hoc,*

Mon. lib. 3. c. 1.

Lib. 3. c. 6.

Lib. 2. c. 23.

Lib. 1. c. 41.

Giou. Imp. Mar.
Pes.

aut

The Epistle Dedicatorie

aut in hoc. I must needs say while this was in dooing, to put and keepe mee in hart like a captived Canniball fattend against my death, you often cryed *Coraggio*, and called *ça ça*, and applauded as I pass'd, and if not set mee in, yet set mee on, even with a Syrens *ô tres-loüable Vliſſe*. O Madame who then spake faire? As for mee, I onely say, as this mans embossed Hart out of hart, I sweat, I wept, and I went-on, til now I stand at bay: howsoever, I hope that may yet save me, which from others strangles others, I meane the coller you have put about my neck with your inscription, *Noli me cadere, nam sum Diana*. Yet nor can you denie, nor I dissemble, how at first I pleaded this Authors tedious difficultie, my selfe-knowne insufficiencie, and others more leifurefull abilitie. But no excuse would serve him, that must serve without excuse. Little power had I to performe, but lesse to refuse what you impos'de: for his length you gave time: for his hardnesse you advised help: my weaknesse you might bidde doe it's best: others strength you would not seeke-for further. Yet did your honoured name rally to my succour the forces of two deare friends, both devoted to your service, both obliged to your vertues: The one Maister *Theodoro Diodati*, as in name, so indeede Gods-gift to me, my *bonus genius*, and sent me as the good Angel to *Raimond* in *Tasso* for my assistant to combat this great *Argante*: Who as he is happy in you, and you in him, that like *Aristotle* to *Alexander*, he may in all good learning, and doeth with all industrious attention instruct, direct, adorne that noble, hopefull, and much-promising spirit of your beloved brother and house-heire Maister *John Harrington*: So was he to me in this inextricable laberinth like *Ariadnaes* threed; in this rockie-rough Ocean, a guide-fish to the Whale; in these darke-vncouth wayes, a cleare relucient light. Had not he beene, I had not bin able to wade through: and had not he dissolved these knottes, none had, few could. The other (my onelie dearest and in love-sympathising friend, Maister Doctor *Guinne*, of whome I may justly say what my Authour saith of his second-selfe *Steven de la Boetie*: for, he could not better pourtray him for him selfe, then hee hath lively delineated him for me) willing to doe me ease, and as willing to doe your Honour service, as you know him a scholler (and pittie is it the World knowes not his worth better; for as the Prince of Italian Poets saide of *Valerius Corvinus*, *Non so se miglior Duce o Cavalliero*, so may I truely say of him. *Non so se meglio Oratore e Poeta, o Philosopho e Medico*) So Scholler-like did he vnder take what Latine prose; Greeke, Latine, Italian or French Poesie should crosse my way (which as Bugge-beares affrighted my vnacquaintance with them) to ridde them all afore mee, and for the most part drawne them from their dennes: Wherein what indefatigable paines he hath vndergone, and how successfullly overgone, I referre to your Honor, I remit to the learned; for, who but he could have quoted so divers Authors, and noted so severall places? So was hee to mee in this bundle of riddles an vnderstanding *Oedipus*, in this perilous-crook't passage a monster-quelling *Theseus* or *Hercules*: With these two supporters of knowledge and friendship, if I vpheld and armed have pass'd the pikes, the honor be all yours, since all by yours was done for your Honor. That all this is: thus, the reply of that friend vpon my answer to your Ho: invitation in a sonet of the like, (but not same) terminations may signifie and testifie to all the world. Then let none say I flatter, when I forbear not to tell all. Yet more I must needs say, if Poets be inspired by their muse, if souldiers take corage by the eie or memory of their mistresses (as both have made some long believe) having already said, as *Petrark* to his mistress,

In questo stato son Donna per vui,

By you, or for you, Madame thus am I.

I now rather averre as the Lyricke to his *Melpomene*.

A 3

Mont. li. 2. c. 16
Lib. 2. c. 11

Tas. Gier. can. 7

Lib. 1. c. 27
Lib. 3. c. 9

Petr. trin. fam.
cap. 1. ver. 99

Petr. p. I. son.
107

Quod

The Epistle Dedicatorie

Quod spiro, & placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

That I doe breath and please, if please I doe,

It is your grace, such grace proceed's from you.

Tasso. Gier.
can. I. ff. 4.

For, besides your owne inexplicable bounty first-mover of my good, *La quale ritogli me peregrino errante, e fra gli scogli e l'onde agitato, al furor di Fortuna, e benigne-mente guidi in porto di salute e pace,* Your noblest Earles beneficence, fore-running all as farre in curtesie as pedegree, and bearing not onely in his heart or hand, but even in aspect and due respect the native magnanimity of *Bedford*, and magnificent francke-Nature of the *Rvsseles*, hath so kindly bedewed my earth when it was sunburnt, so gently thawed it when it was frost-bound, as (were there anie good in me) I were more sencelesse then earth, if I returned not some fruite in good measure. This may be thought too much for no better a deseruer than I am: Yet more must I acknowledge joyned to this: for as to all, that professe any learning, & do you (but small) steade therein, you and your husbands hand (most bounteous *Ladie Harrington*) have beene stil open, & your hospitable house, my retreate in storms, my reliefe in neede, Yea your hearts ever enlarged: so for an instance, in doing wel by me (the meanest) as if honorable father and mother with their noblest sonne and daughter should contend in that onely praise-worthy emulation of wel doing, you seemed even to strive, who should excelech other, who should best entertaine, cherish and foster mee: And as if this river of benigntie did runne in a blood, your worthie Sonne-in-law, and vertuous Daughter *Chichester* with like-sweete liquor have supplied my drie cesters. So as to the name and house of *Bedford* and *Harrington*, without prophanenesse, let me vow but one worde of the Pastorall,
ILLIVS ARAM,

and with that word my selfe

Your Honorable Ladiships in

humble hartie service,

John Florio.



TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable, *Lucie Countesse*
of Bedford.

Relucet lustre of our English Dames,
In one comprising all most priz'de of all,
Whom Vertue hirs, and bounty hirs doth call,
Whose vertue honor, beauty love enflames,
Whose value wonder writes, silence proclaimes,
Though, as your owne, you know th'originall
Of this, whose grace must by translation fall;
Yet since this, as your owne, your Honor claimes,
Yours be the honor; and if any good
Be done by it, we give all thanks and praise
For it to you : but who enough can give?
Aye-honor'd be your Honorable Blood;
Rise may your Honor, which your merites raise
Live may you long, your Honor you out live.

Il Candido.



¶ To the noble-minded Ladie,
Anne Harrington.

IF Mothers love exceeding others love,
If Honours heart excellling all mens hearts,
If bounties hand with all her beauteous parts,
Poets, or Painters would to pourtray prove,
Should they seeke earth below, or heav'n above,
Home, Court or Countrie, forraine moulds or marts,
For Maister-point, or modell of their artes;
For life, then here, they neede no further move:
For Honour, Bountie, Love, when all is done;
(Detraict they not) what should they adde, or faine,
But onely write, Lady *ANNE HARRINGTON.*
Her picture lost, would Nature second her,
She could not, or she must make her againe.
So vowes he, that himselfe doth hers averre.

Il Candido.



To the curteous Reader.



Hall I apologize translation? Why but some holde (as for their free-hold) that such conversion is the subversion of Universities. God holde with them, and withholde them from impeach or empaire. It were an ill turne, the turning of Bookes should be the overturning of Libraries. Yea but my olde fellow Nolano tolde me, and taught publikely, that from translation all Science had it's of-spring. Likely, since even Philosophie, Grammar, Rhetorike, Logike, Arithmetike, Geometrie, Astronomy, Musike, and all the Mathematikes yet holde their name of the Greekes: and the Greekes drew their baptizing water from the conduit-pipes of the Egyptians, and they from the well-springs of the Hebrews or Chaldees. And can the wel-springs be so sweete and deepe; and will the well-drawne water be so sower and smell? And were their Countries so ennobled, advantaged, and embellished by such deriving; and doth it drive our noblest Colonies upon the rockes of ruine? And did they well? and prooved they well? and must we proove ill that doe so? Why but Learning would not be made common. Yea but Learning cannot be too common, and the commoner the better. Why but who is not icalous, his Mistresse should be so prostitute? Yea but this Mistresse is like ayre, fire, water, the more breathed the clearer; the more extended the warmer; the more drawne the sweeter. It were inhumanitie to coope her up, and worthy forfeiture close to conceale her. Why but Schollers should have some privilege of preheminance. So have they: they onely are worthy Translators. Why but the vulgar should not knowe all. No, they can not for all this; nor even Schollers for much more: I would, both could and knew much more than either doth or can. Why but all would not be knowne of all. No nor can: much more we know not than we know: all know something, none know all: would all know all? they must breake ere they be so bigge. God only, men farre from God. Why but pearles should not be cast to swine: yet are rings put in their noses, and a swine should know his stie, and will know his meate and his medicine, and as much beside, as any swine doth suppose it to be Marioram. Why, but it is not wel Divinitie should be a childe or olde wives, a coblers, or clothiers tale or table-talk. There is use, and abuse: use none too much: abuse none too little. Why but let Learning be wrapt in a learned manile. Yea but to be unwrapt by a learned nurse: yea, to be lapt up againe. Yea, and unlapt againe. Else, hold we ignorance the mother of devotion; praying and preaching in an unknowne tongue: as sory a mother, as a seely daughter: a good minde perhaps, but surely an ill manner. If the best be meete for vs, why should the best be barrd? Why but the best wrote best in a tongue more unknowne: Nay in a tongue more knowne to them that wrote, and not unknowne of them to whome they wrote. Why but more honour to him that speakes more learned. Yea such perhaps, as Quintilians Orator; a learned man I warrant him, for I understand him never a word. Why but let men write for the most honour of the Writer. Nay, for most profit of the Reader: and so haply, most honour. If to write obscurely be perplexedly offensive, as Augustus well iudged: for our owne not to write in our owne but unintelligible, is haply to fewer and more criticall, but surely without honor, without profit, if he goe not, or send not an interpreter; who else what is he but a Translator? Obscure be he that loves obscuritie. And therefore willingly I take his word, though wittingly I doe mistake it, Translata proficit. Why but who ever did well in it? Nay, who did ever well without it? If nothing can be now sayd, but hath beene sayde before (as hee sayde well) if there be no new thing under the Sunne. What is that that hath beene? That that shall be: (as he sayde that was wisest) What doe the best then, but gleane after others harvest? borrow their colours, inherite their possessions? What doe they but translate? perhaps, vsurpe? at least,

To the Reader.

collected? if with acknowledgement, it is well; if by stealth, it is too bad: in this, our conscience is our accuser; posteritie our iudge: in that our studie is our advocate, and you Readers our iurie. Why but whom can I name, that bare a great name for it? Nay who great else, but either in parte, as Plato and Aristotle out of many; Tullie, Plutarch, Plinie out of Plato, Aristotle and many; or of purpose, as all that since have made most know the Greeke, and almost the Latine, even translated their whole treatises? Why Cardan maintaineth, neither Homers verse can be well exprest in Latine, nor Virgils in Greeke, nor Petrarchs in either. Suppose Homer tooke nothing out of any, for we heare of none good before him, and there must be a first; yet Homer by Virgil is often so translated as Scaliger conceives there is the armour of Hercules most puissant put on the backe of Bacchus most delicate: and Petrarch, if well tracked, would be found in their footesteps, whose verie garbage lesse Poets are noted to have gathered. Why but that Scaliger thinks that Ficinus by his rustickall simplicitie translated Plato, as if an Owle should represent an Eagle, or some tara-rag Player should act the princely Telephus with a voyce, as rag'd as his clothes, a grace as bad as his voyce. If the famous Ficinus were so faulty, who may hope to scape scot-free? But for him and vs all let me confesse, as he beere censureth; and let confession make, halfe amends, that every language hath its Genius and inseparable forme; without Pythagoras his Metempsychosis it can not rightly be translated. The Tuscan altiloquence, the Venus of the French, the sharpe state of the Spanish, the strong significancy of the Dutch cannot from heere be drawne to life. The sense may keepe forme; the sentence is disfigured; the finenesse, fitnessse, seatenesse diminished: as much as artes nature is short of natures arte, a picture of a body, a shadow of a substance. Why then belike I have done by Montaigne, as Terence by Menander, made of good French no good English. If I have done no worse, and it be no worse taken, it is well. As he, if no Poet, yet am I no theefe, since I say of whom I had it, rather to imitate his and his authors negligence, then any backbiters obscure diligence. His horse I set before you, perhaps without his trappings; and his meate without sause. Indeepe in this specially finde I fault with my maister, that as Crassus and Antonius in Tullie, the one seemed to contemne, the other not to know the Greekes, whereas the one so spake Greeke as he seemed to know no other tongue; the other in his travells to Athens and Rhodes had long conversed with the learnedst Gracians: So he, most writing of himselfe, and the worst rather then the best, disclaimeth all memorie, authorities, or borrowing of the ancient or moderne; whereas in course of his discourse he seemes acquainted not onely with all, but no other but authors; and could out of question like Cyrus or Cæsar call any of his armie by his name and condition. And I would for vs all he had in this whole body done as much, as in most of that of other languages my peerelesse deere-decreft and never sufficiently commended friend hath done for mine and your ease and intelligence. Why then againe, as Terence, I have had helpe. Tea, and thanke them for it, and thinke you neede not be displeased by them that may please you in a better matter. Why but Essayes are but mens school-themes pieced together; you might as wel say several texts. Alis in the choise & handling Teamary; but Montaigne, had he wit, it was but a French with serdillant, legier, and extravagant. Now say you English wits by the staydest censure of as learned a wit as is among you. The counsell of that indicions worthy Counsellor (honorable Sir Edward Wotton) would not have embarked me to this discovery, had not his wisdom knowne it worth my paines, and your perusing. And should or would any dog-tooth de Criticke, or adder-tongued Satirist scoff or finde fault, that in the course of his discourses, or webbe of his Essayes, or entitling of his chapters, he holdeth a disioynted, broken and gadding stile; and that many times they answere not his titles, and have no coherence together; to such I will say little, for they deserve but little; but if they list, else let them chuse, I send them to the ninth chapter of the third booke, folio 596, where himselfe preventeth their carping, and foreseeing their critikisme answereth them for me at full. Yet are there herein errors. If of matter, the Authors; if of omission, the printers: him I would not amend, but send him to you as I found him: this I could not attend; but where I now finde faults, let me pray and entreate you for your owne sake to correct as you reader, to amend as you list. But some errors are mine, and mine by more then translation. Are they in Grammer, or Orthographie? as easie for you to right, as me to be wrong; or in construction, as mis-attributing him, her, or it, to things alive, or dead, or newter; you may soone know my meaning, and est soones use your mending: or are they in some uncouth termes; as entraine, conscientious, endeare, tarnish, comporte, efface, facilitate, amusing, debauching, regret, effort, emotion, and such like; if you like them not, take others most commonly set by them to expound them, since there they were set to make such likely French words familiar with our English, which well may beare them. If any be capitall in sense mistaking; be I admonished,

To the Reader.

ished, and they shall be recanted: Howsoever, the falseness of the French prints, the diversities of copies, editions and volumes (some whereof have more or lesse then others, and I in London having followed some, and in the countrie others; now those in folio, now those in octavo, yet in this last survey reconciled all; therefore or blame not rashly, or condemne not fondly the multitude of them see for your further ease in a Table (at the end of the booke) which ere you beginne to reade, I entreate you to peruse: this Printers wanting a diligent Corrector, my many employments, and the distance betweene me and my friends I should conferre with, may extenuate, if not excuse, even more errors. In summe, if any thinke he could do better, let him trie; then will be better thinke of what is done. Seven or eight of great wit and worth have assayed, but found these Essayes no attempt for French apprentices or Littletonians. If thus doone it may please you, as I wish it may, and I hope it shall, I wish you shall be pleased: though not, yet still I am.

the same resolute

JOHN FLORIO.





The Author to the Reader.



Reader, loe-here a well-meaning Booke. It doeth at the first entrance fore-warne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed vnto my selfe no other then a familiar and private end : I have had no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commoditie of my kinsfolkes and friends: to the end, that loosing me (which they are likely to do ere long) they may therein finde some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to fore-stall and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinary fashion, without contention, arte or studie; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farreforth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For, if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations, which yet are said to live vnder the sweete libertie of Natures first and vncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selfe am the ground-worke of my booke : It is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a subject. Therefore farewell. From *Montaigne*, the first of March. 1580.



Al mio amato Istruttore Mr. Giovanni Florio.

Florio, che fai? Vai così ardito al Monte?
Al monte più scoscese che Parnasso,
Ardente più che Mongibello? Ah! lasso:
Plinio qui muore prima, che qui monte.

Se'l Pegaso non hai, che cavi'l fonte,
Ritirati dal periglioso passo.
L'hai fatto pur, andand' hor' al' hor' basso:
Ti sò ben dir, tu sei Bellerophonte.
Tre corpi di Chimera di Montagna
Hai trapassato, scosso, rinversato.
Del' honorar' impres' anch'io mi glorio.
Premiar' ti potes' io d'or' di Spagna,
Di più che Bianco-flor' saresti ornato.
Ma del' honor' ti basti, che sei Florio.

Il Candido.

A reply upon Maister Florio's answer to the Lady of Bedfords invitation to this worke, in a Sonnet of like terminations. Anno. 1599.

THEE to excite from Epileptique fits,
Whose lethargie like frost benumbing bindes
Obstupefying sence with sencelesse kindes,
Attend the vertue of *Minervas* writtes;
Colde sides are spurrd, hot mouthes held-in with bittes;
Say No, and grow more rude, then rudest hindes;
Say No, and blow more rough, then roughest windes.
Who never shootes, the marke he never hitt's.
To take such taske, a pleasure is; no paine;
Vertue and Honor (which immortalize)
Not stepdame *Iuno* (who would wish thee flaine)
Calls thee to this thrice-honorable prize;
Montaigne, no cragg'd Mountaine, but faire plaine.
And who would resty rest, when *SHEE* bids rise?

Il Candido.

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side 7 and 8



T H E
E S S A Y E S
of Michael Lorde of
Montaigne.

The first Booke.

The first Chapter.

By diuerse meanes men come vnto alike end. 4

TH E most vsuall waie to appease those mindes wee have offended, when revenge lies in their handes, and that we stand at their mercie, is, by submission to move them to commiseration and pittie: Neverthelessse, courage, constancie, and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have sometimes wrought the same effect. *Edward the blacke Prince of Wales* (who so long governed our Countrie of *Guienne*, a man whose conditions & fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimity) having bin grievously offended by the *Limosins*, though he by maine force tooke and entred their Cittie, could by no meanes be appeased, nor by the wailefull out-cries of all sorts of people (as of men, women, and children) be moved to any pittie, they prostrating themselves to the common slaughter, crying for mercie, and humbly submitting themselves at his feete, vntill such time as in triumphant manner passing through their Cittie, hee perceived three French Gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and vndaunted boldnes gainestood the enraged violence, and made head against the furie of his victorious army. The consideration and respect of so notable a vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and from those three beganne to relent, and shew mercie to all the other inhabitants of the said towne. *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, following one of his souldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by all meanes of humilitie, and submisse entreatie, had first assayed to pacifie him, in such an vnavoydable extremity, resolved at last, resolutely to encounter him with his sword in his hand. This resolution did immediately stay his Captaines furie, who seeing him vndertake so honourable an attempt, not onely forgave, but received him into grace and favour. This example may happily, of such as have not knowne the prodigious force, and matchlesse valor of the said Prince, admit an other interpretation. The Emperour *Conradus*, third of that name; having besieged *Guelphe*, Duke of *Bavaria*, what towns or base satisfaction soever was offred him, would yeelde to no other milder conditions, but onely to suffer such Gentlewomen as were with the Duke in the Cittie (their honors safe) to issue the towne afoote, with such things as they could carry about them. They with an vnrelenting courage, advised and resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carrie their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backs: The Emperour perceiving the quaintnes of their devise, tooke so great pleasure at it, that he wept for joy, and forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle kindnes, that thence forward he entreated both him and his, with all favour and courtesie; Either of these

wayes might easily perswade me : for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mild-
 nesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoope vnto compassion, then
 bend to estimation. Yet is pittie held a vicious passion among the Stoickes. They would
 have vs aide the afflicted, but not to faint, and cosuffer with them. These examples
 seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these mindes are seene to be assaulted and envired
 by these two meanes, in vnadauntedly suffering the one, and stooping vnder the other. It
 may peradventure be saide, that to yeelde ones heart vnto commiseration, is an effect
 offacilitie, tenderness, and meekenesse : whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures,
 as of women, children, and the vulgare sorte are more subiect vnto it. But (having
 contemned teares and wailings) to yeelde vnto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of
 vertue, is the effect of a couragious and inexorable minde, holding a Masculine and con-
 stant vigor, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding amazement and admiration may
 in lesse generous mindes worke the like effect. Witnesse the Thebanes, who having accused
 & indited their captains, as of capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge,
 beyond the time prescribed them, did with one voice condemne *Pelopidas*, because he sub-
 missiue yeelded vnder the burthen of such objections, and to save himselfe, imployed no
 other meanes, but suing-requests, and demisse entreaties ; where on the contrary, *Epami-
 nondas*, boldly relating the exploits atchieved by him, and with a fierce and arrogant
 manner, vpbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their
 lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolved : the assembly much commen-
 ding the stoutnesse of his courage. *Dionisius* the elder, after long-lingering and extreame
 difficulties, having taken the Cittie of *Reggio*, and in it the Capptaine *Phyton* (a very ho-
 nest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needes shew a tragicall ex-
 ample of revenge. First, he tolde him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne, and
 all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whome *Phyton*, stoutly out-staring him answered
 nothing, but that they were more happy then himselfe, by the space of one day. After-
 ward hee caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged
 through the Citie, most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides,
 with outrageous and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no
 whit dismaide, he ever shewed a constant and resolute heart. And with a cheerefull and
 bolde countenance went on still, lowdly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of
 his death, which was, that he would never consent to yeelde his Countrey into the handes
 of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. *Dionisius*
 plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his
 conquered enemy, they in contempt of him, and skorne of his triumph, seemed by the a-
 stonishment of so rare a vertue, to be mooved with compassion, and enclined to mutinie,
 yea, and to free *Phyton* from out the hands of his *Satellites*, caused his torture to cease, and
 secretly sent him to be drowned in the Sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vaine, diuerse,
 and wavering subiect : it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and vniforme judge-
 ment vpon him. Beholde *Pompey*, who freely pardoned all the Cittie of the *Marmetins*,
 against which hee was grievously enraged, for the love of the magnanimitie, and consi-
 deration of the exceeding vertue of *Zeno*, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the
 publike fault wholly vpon himselfe, and desired no other favor, but alone to beare the pu-
 nishment thereof ; whereas *Sillaes* hoste having vsed the like vertue in the Cittie of *Perusa*,
 obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And directly against my first ex-
 ample, the hardiest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, *Alexander* the
 great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Cittie of *Gaza*, encountered by chaunce
 with *Betis*, that commaunded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had heard
 woonderfull and straunge exploits, being then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his
 armes all-broken, all-besmeared with blood and woundes, fighting amongst a number
 of Macedonians, who pell-mell layde still vpon him ; provoked by so deere a victorie
 (for among other mishappes hee had newly received two hurtes in his body) saide thus
 vnto him ; *Betis*, thou shalt ^{not} die as thou wouldest : for make accompt thou must indure
 all the torments, may possibly bee devised or inflicted vpon a carise wretch, as thou arte.
 But he, for all his enemies threatens, without speaking one worde, returned onely an as-
 sured, sterne, and disdainefull countenance vpon him ; which silent obstinacie *Alexander*
 noting

noting, saide thus vnto himselfe : *What? would hee not bend his knee? could hee not utter one suppliant voyce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I can not wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sobbe or groane.* And converting his anger into rage, commaunded his heeles to bee through-pierced, and so all alive with a corde through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembred at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar vnto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper vnto himselfe, that in this height, he could not without the spite of an envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it received any restraint, it may be supposed, that in the ransacking and desolation of the cittie of *Thebes*, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for aboue fixe thousand were slaine and massacred, of which not one was seene, either to runne away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endeavouring to checke their victorious enemies, vrging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeelde, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemy, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pittie, nor might one day suffice to glut or aswage his revengefull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued vnto the last drop of any remaining blood; where none were spared but the vnarmed and naked, the aged and impotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

*The second Chapter.**Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe. 3*

NO man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regarde it : albeit the world hath vndertaken, as it were vpon covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. Therewith they adorne age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base ornament. The Italians have more properly with it's name entitled malignitie : for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottish; and as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibite their Elders and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith, that *Psammeticus* king of *Egipt*, having bin defeated and taken by *Cambises* king of *Persia*, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, beeing sent to drawe water from a well, his friends weeping & wailing about him (he with his eies fixed on the ground, could not be mooved to vtter one word) and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same vndaunted countenance : but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he beganne to beate his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at *Trent*, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his younger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an vnmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortun'd not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffred himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, hee so abandoned himselfe to all maner of sorrow and grieve, that some argued, only this last mischance had toucht him to the quicke : but verily the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sorrowe, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judged of our storie, were it not it followeth, that *Cambises* inquiring of *Psammeticus*, why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne & daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaister of his friend : *It is,* answered he, *Because this last displeasure may bee manifested by weeping, whereas the two former excede by much, all meanes and compasse to bee expressed by teares.* The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fite this purpose, who in the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, being to represent the grieve of the by-standers,

ders, according to the qualitie & interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so yong and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the vtmost skill and effects of his arte, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vaile over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable *Niobe*, who first having lost seaven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters, as one o-uer-burthened with their losses, to have beene transformed into a stone;

*Ouid. Metam.
lib. 6. 303*

— *Diriguisse malis:*
And grewe as hard as stone,
By miserie and moane.

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce vs, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme vs. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreame, must needs astonie the mind, & hinder the liberty of hir actions. As it hapneth at the sodain alarum of some bad tidings, when wee shall feele our selves surpris'd, benumbed, and as it were deprived of al motion, so that the soule bursting afterward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est,
And scarce at last for speech,
By griefe was made a breach.

In the warres which king *Ferdinando* made against the widow of *Iohn* king of *Hungaria*, about *Buda*, a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forsomuch as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowesse of his body, and though vnknowne, beeing slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called *Kaisiac*, as he that was amased at so rare vertue: his body being recovered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere vnto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his owne sonnes, which knowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or dosing his eyes, but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sonne, stoode still vpriight, till the vehemencie of his sad sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall spiritus, fel'd him starke dead to the ground.

*Pet. p. I. Son.
140.*

Chi puo dir com'egli arde è in picciol fuoco,
He that can say how he doth frie,
In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would lively represent an intollerable passion.

*Catul. Epig.
48. 5.*

— *mifero quod omnes*
Eripit sensus mihi, Nam simul te
Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mi
Quod loquar amens.
Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
Flamma dimanat, sonitu suo pte
Tinnunt aures, gemina teguntur,
Lumina nocte.

— miserably from me,
This bereaves all sence: for I can no sooner
Eie thee my sweete heart, but I wot not one word
to speake amazed.

Tongue-tide as in a trance, while a sprightly thin flame
Flowes in all my joynts, with a selfe-resounding
Both my cares tingle, with a night redoubled
Both mine eies are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heate of the fit, that wee are able to display our complaints and perswasions, the soule being then aggravated with heaue thoughts, and the body suppressed and languishing for love. And thence is sometimes engendered that casuall faintnes, which so vnseasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that chilnesse, which by the power of an extreame heate doth seize on them in the verie midst of their joy and en-joying. All passions that may be tasted and digested, are but meane and slight.

The first Booke.

5

Cura leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.

Light cares can freely speake,
Great cares heart rather breake.

*Sen. Hip. act. 2.
Scena 2.*

The surprize of an vnexpected pleasure astonieth vs alike.

*Ut me conspexit venientem, & Troia circum
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstis,
Dirigit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.*

*Virg. Enead.
lib. 3. 306.*

When she beheld me come, and round about
Senselesse sawe Troian armes, she stood astraide
Stone-still at so strange sights: life-heate flew out:
She faints: at last, with long pause thus she saide.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her sonne returne alive from the bat-
tel of *Canna*. *Sophocles* and *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who deceased through ouer-gladnes: and
Talus, who died in *Corfica*, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had con-
ferred vpon him: It is reported that in our age, Pope *Leo* the tenth, having received aduer-
tisement of the taking of the cittie of *Millane*, which he had so exceedingly desired, entred
into such excesse of joy, that he fell into an ague, whereof he shortly died. And for a more
authentick testimonie of humane imbecillitie, it is noted by our Antients, that *Diodorus*
the Logitian, being surprized with an extreame passion or apprehension of shame, fell
downe starke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had been able to re-
solve an argument propounded vnto him. I am little subject to these violent passions. I
have naturally a hard apprehension, which by discourse I daily harden more and more.

The third Chapter.

Our affections are transported beyond our selues.

THose which still accuse men for ever gazing after future things, and go about to teach
vs, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selues vpon them, as having no hold
of that which is to come; yea much lesse then we haue of that which is already past, touch
and are ever harping vpon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to
which Nature hir selfe, for the service of the continuation of hir worke, doth addresse vs, im-
printing (as it doth many others) this false imagination in vs, as more jealous of our actions,
then of our knowledge. We are never in our selues, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope,
draw vs ever towards that which is to come, and remove our sence and consideration from
that which is, to amuse vs on that which shal be, yea when we shal be no more. *Calamitas* ”
us est animus futuri anxius. A minde in suspence, what is to come, is in a pittifull case. ” *Sen. epi. 98.*

This notable example or precept is often alleadged in *Plato*. Follow thy businesse, and ”
knowe thy selfe; Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty; and likewise ”
enfolds his companion. He that should do his businesse, might perceiue that his first lesson
is, to knowe what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe,
takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and corre-
cteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and vnprofitable pro-
positions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wisdom
content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. *Epicurus* doth dispense ”
his sage, from the foresight and care of what shall insue. Amongst the lawes that regard the ”
deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes ”
to me verie solide. They are companions, if not maisters of the lawes: That which justice ”
could not work on their heads, it is reason it effect vpon their reputation, and goods of their ”
successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many ”
singular commodities vnto nations that observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: ”
who have cause to complaine that the memorie of the wicked is vsed as theirs. Wee owe a ”
like

No duty to dead
princes

like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but estimation and affection, we owe it onely to their vertue. If they be vnworthie, we are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, & to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed vnto politike order. But our comerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the vnfoldings of our felt wrongs vnto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a maister, whose imperfections were so well knowne vnto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefite or interest do wickedly imbrace the memorie of an vnwoorthie Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. *Titus Linus* speaketh truly, where he saith, that the speech of men brought vp vnder a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witness: euery man indifferently extolling the king, to the furthest straine of valour and Soveraigne greatnes. The magnimitie of those two Souldiers, may bee reprov'd, one of which being demaunded of *Nero*, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilst thou wast worthie of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fire-brand, a jugler, a player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him; answered, Because I find no other course to hinder thy vncessant outrages and impious deedes. But can any man, that hath his fences about him, justlie reproove the publike and generall testimonies, that since his death, have bin given, and so shal be for ever, both against him and all such like reprobates, of his tyrannicall and wicked demeanors? I am sorie that in so sacred a pollicie as the Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their kings was ever devised and brought in vse. All their confederates and neighbours, all the slave-Ilotes, men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of their griefe and sorrow did mangle and gashe their foreheades; and in their out-cries, and lamentations, exclaimed, that their deceased king, howsoever he had lived, was and had bin the best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in order the commendations due vnto desert, and to the last and latter rancke, what belongs vnto the first merite. *Aristotle* that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things, makes a question, about *Solons* speech, who saith, that no man can truly be counted happy before his death, Whether he that lived and died according to his wish may be named happy, Whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his posteritie bee miserable or no. Whilst we stirre and remove, we transport our selves by preoccupation whersoever we list: But no sooner are wee out of being, but wee have no communication at all with that which is. And it were better to tell *Solon*, that never man is happy then, since he never is so, but when he is no more.

Lucret. rer. nat.
lib. 3. 912.

Quisquam
Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, & eyat:
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inciscus ipse,
Nec remouet satis à proiecto corpore sese, &
Vindicat ———

Scarce any rids himselfe of life so cleare,
But leaves vnwitting some part of him heere:
Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently
From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

Bertrand of *Glesquin* died at the siege of the castle of *Rancon*, neere vnto *Puy* in *Auergne*: the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carrie the keies of the Castle, vpon the deceased body of the Captaine. *Bartholomew* of *Aluiano*, Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about *Brescia*, and his body being to be transported to *Venice*, through the territorie of *Verona*, which then was enemy vnto them, the greatest part of the armie thought it expedient to demaund a safecondukt for their passage of those of *Verona*, to which *Theodoro Trivulcio* stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life-time had never apprehended feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of *Greece*, hee that required a dead bodie of his ennemies, with intent to burie the same, renounced the victory, and might no more erect any trophie of it: and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did *Nicias* loose

loose the advantage he had clearely gained of the Corinthians; and contrariwise, *Agesslaus*, assured that, he doubtfully had gotten of the Boetians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to believe, that heavenly favours do often accompanie vs vnto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne a part) that I neede not wade farre into it.

Edward the first, king of *England*, in the long warres he had with *Robert King of Scotland*, having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he vndertooke in his owne person; when he died, bound his sonne by solemne oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boyled, vntill the flesh fel from the bones, which he should cause to be enterred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carie them about him, whensoever he should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if destiny had fatally annexed the victory vnto his limmes. *Iohn Zisca*, who for the defence of *Wickliffe* opinions so much troubled the state of *Bohemia*, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies: deeming the found of it would be a meanes to continue the advantages, which in his former warres he had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did likewise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regarde of the good successe (whilst he lived) hee had against them: And other nations of that new-found world, do likewise carrie the bodies of such woorthie and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in steade of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former atchievements: but these will also adjoyne vnto it the power of working. The act of Captaine *Bayard* is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, hee would not now foreneere his end, beginne to turne his face from his enemy: and having stowly foughten so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemy; as indeede he did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkeable for this consideration, as any of the precedent. The Emperour *Maximilian*, great grand-father to *Phillip*, now King of *Spaine*, was a Prince highly endowed with many notable qualities, and amongst others with a wel-nigh matchlesse beautie and comelines of body; but with other customes of his, hee had this one much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their waightiest affaires make often their close stoole, their regale Throne or Councel-chamber, which was, that he would never permit any grooms of his chamber (were he never so neere about him) to see him in his inner-chamber, who if he had occasion but to make water, wold as nicely and as religiously withdraw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Phisition, much lesse any other whatsoever, to see those privie partes that all in modestie seeke to keepe secret and vnscene. My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish in speeches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulness. And vnlesse it be by the motion of necessitie or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly imparted those actions and partes (which custome willeth to be concealed) to the view of anie creature. I endure more compulsion, then I deeme besitting a man, especially of my profession. But he grew to such superstition, that by expresse wordes in his last will and testament, he commaunded, that being dead, he should have linnen-slops put about them. He should by *Codicile* have annexed vnto it, that he who should put them on, might have his eyes hood-winckt. The instruction which *Cyrus* giveth his children, that neither they nor any other should either see or touch his body, after the breath were once out of it; I ascribe it vnto some motive of devotion in him. For both his historian and himselfe, amongst many other notable qualities they are endued with, have throughout all the course of their life, seemed to have a singular respect and awefull reverence vnto religion. That storie displeased me very much, which a noble man told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous & well knowne both in peace and warre) which is, that dying verie aged in his court, being much tormented with extreame pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and vnwearied care, employed all his last houres, to dispose the honor and ceremonie of his funeralls, and summoned all the nobilitie

that came to visit him to give him assured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gaspe, he made verie earnest sute, he would command all his household to wait vpon him at his interment, enforcing many reasons, and alleading diuers examples, to prooue that it was a thing verie convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie: which assured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly and contentedly to yeeld vp the ghost. I have seldome seene a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite vnto it (which to prove I need not labor for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosin-german to this: that is, when one is ever readie to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavor, how to reduce the convoy of his obsequies vnto some particular & vnwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne: I heare the humor and appointment of *Marcus Amilius Lepidus* commended, who expressely forbade his heires to vse those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed: Is it temperance and frugalitie, to avoide ~~the~~ charge and voluptuousnes, the vse and knowledge of which is imperceptible vnto vs? Lo here an easie reformation and of smal cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of mans life, everie man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher *Lyeon* did wisely appoint his friends to place his body, where they should thinke it fittest and for the best: and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my parte, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion

“ of the first or next, into whose hands I might chance to fall. *Totus hic locus est contemnendus*
 “ *in nobis, non negligendus in nostris.* All this matter should be despised of vs, but not neglected of
 “ ours. And religiously said a holy man: (*Curatio funeris, conditio sepultura, pompa exequiarum,*
 “ *magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.* The procuration of funeralles, the
 “ manner of buriall, the pompe of obsequies, are rather comfortes to the living, than helpes
 “ to the dead. Therefore *Socrates* answered *Criton*, who at the houre of his death, asked him, how he would be buried: *Even as you please*, saide he: were I to meddle further with this subject, I would deeme it more gallant, to imitate those who yet living and breathing, vndertake to enjoy the order and honour of their sepulchres, and that please themselves to beholde their dead countenance in Marble. Happy they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses with insensibilitie, and live by their death! A litle thing would make me conceive an inexpressible hatred against all popular domination; although it seeme most naturall and just vnto me: when I call to minde that inhumane injustice of the Athenians, who without further triall or remission, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answer for themselves, condemned those noble and worthy captaines, that returned victoriously from the sea-battaile, which they (neere the *Iles Arginenses*) had gained of the Lacedemonians; the most contested, bloodie, and greatest fight the Græcians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces: forso much as after the victorie, they had rather followed those occasions, which the lawe of warre presented vnto them, for their availe, then to their prejudice staide to gather and burie their dead men. And the success^{esse} of *Diomedon* makes their ruthlesse execution more hatefull, who beeing a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both militarie and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned; after he had heard the bloodie sentence, advancing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible audience; he, I say, insteede of excusing himselfe, or endeavouring to iustifie his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquitie of so cruell a doome, exprest but a care of the Iudges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfiing the vowes, which he and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victorie, and honourable fortune, they might not drawe the wrath and revenge of the Gods vpon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or v^{er}ging further reasons, couragiously addrest himselfe to his execution. For *Chabrias*, Captaine Generall of their sea-fleete, having afterward obtained a famous victorie of *Pollis*, Admirall of *Sparta*, in the Ile of *Naxa*, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and onely contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incurre the mischiefe of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated vp and downe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his

“ But fortune som yeares after payde them home with the like measure againe: living

living enemies, whom he might easily haue surprized, to saile away in safetie, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

Queris, quo iaceas, post obitum, loco?

Quo non nata iacent.

Where shall you lie when you are dead?

Where they lie that were neuer bred.

This other restores the sence of rest vnto a bodie without a soule.

Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis:

Vbi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat à malis.

To turne in, as a hav'n, have he no grave,

Where life left, from all grieve he rest may have.

Even as Nature makes vs to see, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations vnto life. Wine dooth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of it's vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beastes and venison doeth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubbes, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

*Sen. Troas.
chor. 2. 30.*

*Cic. Tuscul. qu.
lib. 1. Emili.*

The fourth Chapter.

*How the soule dischargeth her passions vpon false objects, when
the true saile it.*

3

A Gentleman of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly solicited by his Phisitions, to leave all manner of salte-meates, was wont to answere pleasantly, that when the fittes or pangs of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarell with; and that crying and cursing, now against *Bolonie*-sausage, and sometimes by railing against salt neates-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earnest, euen as the arme being lifted vp to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall voide, we feele some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt; and that to yeeld our sight pleasant, it must not bee lost and dispiersed in the vaste ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

Ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densa,

Occurrant silue spatio diffusus inani.

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'de, strength lose,

Vnlesse thick-old-growne woods their strength oppose.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed, if she have not some holde to take, loo-
feth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some object, on which it may light and worke. *Plutarke* saith fitly of those who affectionate themselves to Monkies and little Dogges, that the louing parte which is in vs, for want of a lawefull holde, rather then it will be idle, doth forge a false and friuolous holde vnto it selfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and fantastickall subiect vnto it selfe, yea against her owne conceite, then not to worke vpon something. So doth their owne rage transport beastes, to set vpon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them; yea and sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge themselves against themselves, for the hurt or smart they feele.

Pannonis bandaliter post ictum senior vrsa

Cui iaculum parua Lybis amentauit habena,

Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum

Impetit, & secum fugientem circuit hastam.

Even so the wound enraged Austrian beare,

On whom a Moore hath thirl'd his slinged speare,

Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the darte,

Circling that flies with her, and can not parte.

*Lucan. lib. 6.
220.*

What

The first Booke.

Liv. dec. 3. lib. 5

What causes doe wee not invent, for the crosses that happen vnto vs? bee it right, or wrong: what take we not holde of, to have something to strive withall? It is not the golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly doest smite, that have by meanes of an vnluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother, on something else shouldest thou wreake thy selfe. *Linus* speaking of the Romane army in *Spaine*, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. *Flere omnes repente, & offensare capita: They all wept and often beat their heades.* It is an ordinarie custome: And the Philosopher *Byon*, was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe he tore his haire, when he said, *Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will assuage his griefe?* who hath not seene some to chew and swallow cardes, and well-nigh checke themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some mony? *Xerxes* whipped the Sea, and writ a cartell of defiance to the hill *Athos*: And *Cyrus* for manie daies together amused his whole armie to bee revenged of the river *Cyndus*, for the feare hee tooke passing over the same: And *Caligula* caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was young, my countymen were wont to say, *That one of your neighbour-Kings, having received a blowe at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for tenne yeares space no man should pray vnto him, nor speake of him, nor so long as hee were in authoritie, beleewe in him.* By which report, they doe not so much publish the fortifnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar vnto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in trueth such actions encline rather vnto selfe-conceit, then to fondnes. *Augustus Caesar* having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God *Neptune*, & in the celebration of the *Circensian* games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be remooved from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, then the former, and lesse then he was afterwarde, when having lost a battell, vnder *Quintilius Varro* in *Germanie*, all in a rage and desperate, he went vp and downe beating his head against the walles, mainly crying out: *Oh Varro, restore me my Souldiers againe:* For, those excede all follie, (forso much as impietie is joyned vnto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had eares subject to our batterie: In imitation of the *Thracians*, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a *Titanian* revenge to shoote against heaven, thinking by thooting of arrowes to drawe God to some reason. Now, as saith that auncient Poet in *Plutarich*.

Plutar.

*Point ne se faut corroucer aux affaires,
Il ne leur chant de toutes noz choleres.
We ought not angry be at what God dooth,
For he cares not who beares an angry tooth.*

But we shal never raile inough against the disorder and vnrulinesse of our minde.

The fifth Chapter.

3

*Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to salls
forth to partie.*

L*ivius Marcus* Legate of the Romans, in the warre against *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accomde, wherewith the King inveigled, yeelded vnto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enimie with opportunitie & leasure to arme himselfe: wherof proceeded the Kings last ruine and over-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their fore-fathers customes, condemned this practise as an enimie to their ancient proceedings, which was, said they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagems by night, nor by set-flights, and vnlookt-for approches, never vndertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to *Pirrhus* his traitorous Phisitian, and

to the *Phalises* their disloyall schoole-maister. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian pollicies, nor Punike wyles, with whome to vanquish by force is lesse glorious then to conquer by trecherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee onely is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceite, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

———*Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

Deceite, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

Virg. Enead.
lib. 2. 390.

The Achaians, saith *Polibius*, detested all manner of deceite in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. *Eam vir sanctus, & sapiens* " *sciat esse victoriam veram, quæ salua fide, & integra dignitate parabitur.* A wise and religious man " *will know that is victorie indeede, which shall be attained with credite vnmpeached, and dignitie vn-* " *tainted, saith another.*

Vos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-ve ferat fors

Virtute experiamur.

" *Cic. offic. lib. x.*
ex Enn. de
Pyrrh.

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me,

And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

In the Kingdome of *Ternates*, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never vndertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproch or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to vse what advantage soever, may in any sorte further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient *Florentines* were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by suddaine surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called *Martinella*. As for vs, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the warre, that hath the profit of it, and according to *Lisander*, say, that *Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the* " *Foxes*; the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practise, and as wee " say, there is no time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, then that of parlies, and treatises of accomde: And therefore is it a common " rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Gouvernour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to fallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth, (as a reproach) vnto the Lord of *Montford* and *Assigini*, who defended *Mouson*, against the Earle of *Nanseaw*. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so fallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earle *Guido Rangoni* in the Cittie of *Reggio* (if credite may be given to *Bellay*, for *Guicciardin* affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of *Escute*, for to parlie, made his approaches vnto it, who did so litle forsake his forte, that whilst they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of *Escute* and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found him-selfe to be the weakest, so that *Alexander Trivultio* was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to followe the Earle; and on his word to yeelde himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the citty. *Eumenes* in the City of *Norra*, being vrged by *Antigonus*, that besieged him, to fallie forth to parlie, alleaging that there was reason he should come to him, sith hee was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answer, *I will never thinke any man better then my selfe, so long as I can hold, or* " *rule my sworde*; nor did he ever yeeld vntill *Antigonus* had delivered him *Ptolomey*, his owne " nephew for a pledge, whome he required. Yet shall wee see some to have prospered well in falsifying forth of their houldes to parlie, vpon the worde and honor of the assailant; witnes *Henric of Vaulx*, a knight of *Champaigne*, who being beleagred by the English-men in the Castle of *Commercie*, and *Bartholomew of Bones*, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe, having caused the greatest parte of the Castle to be sapped, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, vnterly to subvert the same, vnder the ruines of it, summoned the saide *Henric* to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied

but

but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was vndoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enimie, vnto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupes, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was vtterly overthrowne and carried away; I am easily perswaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I do it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through dispaire and want of courage, then of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

The sixth Chapter.

That the houre of parlies is dangerous.

NOTwithstanding I saw lately, that those of *Musidan*, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betraid, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had beene surpris'd and defeated; which thing might happily, in other ages have had some apparance of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enimie, except the last seale of bond be fully annexed thereunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilancie required, and much a doe shalbe found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or othe given vnto a Cittie, that yeelds vnto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, blood-thirstie, and pray-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, vnto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. *Lucius Emilius Regulus* a Romane Prætor, having lost much time in attempting by force to take the cittie of *Phoce*, by reason of the singular prowesse, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends vnto the people of *Rome*; and to enter their Cittie as a place confederate, remooving all feare of hostile-action from them. But to the end hee might appeare more glorious, and dreadfull, having caused his armie to enter with him, do what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldiers; and with his owne eies saw most part of the Cittie ransacked and spoyled, the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. *Cleomenes* was woont to say, that *What hurte soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond Iustice, and not subiect vnto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men*: who for seaven dayes having made truce with those of *Argis*, the third night, whilst they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrowed them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had bin made of nights. But the Gods left not his perfidious policie vnvenged: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Cittie of *Casilinum* was by surprise taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Capitaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not saide, that time and place serving, wee must not make vse and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we do of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable priviledges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule. *Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius pradetur inscitia*. That no man should indeneour to pray upon another mans ignorance. But I wonder of the scope that *Xenophon* allowes them, both by his discourse, and by diverse exploytes of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Capitaine and a Philosopher, and one of *Socrates* chiefe Disciples, nor do I altogether yeeld vnto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of *Aubigny* besieging *Capua*, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord *Fabritius Colonna*, Capitaine of the towne, having from vnder a bastion or skonce begunne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and garde, our men did sodainely take the advantage offered-them, entered the towne, over-ranne it, and put all to the sword. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord *Julio Romero* at
Yvoy,

They, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of France, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doors. But that we may not passe vnrevenged. The Marques of Pescara beleaguering Genoua, where Duke Octavian Fregoso commaunded vnder our protection, and an accord betweene them having so long bin treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and vpon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and vsed it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at Lygnie in Barrois, where the Earle of Brienne commaunded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and Bertheuille Lieutenant to the saide Earle being come forth of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the Towne was surprised, and he excluded. They say,

*Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,
Vincas per fortuna o per ingegno.
To be victorious, evermore was glorious,
Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.*

Ariosto, can.
15. st. 1.

But the Philosopher *Chrysippus* would not haue beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, That those who runne for the maisterie may well employ all their strength to make speede, but it is not lawfull for them to lay handes on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse legges, to make him tripple or fall. And more generously answered Alexander the great, at what time Polypercon perswaded him to vse the benefit of the advantage which the darkenesse of the night afforded him, to charge *Darius*; No no, saide hee, it fites not mee to hunt after night-stolne victories: *Malo me fortune pœniteat, quàm victoria pudeat.* I had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victorie.

Cuit. lib. 4.

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodes
Sternere, nec iacta cecum dare cuspide vultus:
Obuius aduersoque occurrit, seque viro vir
Contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis.
He deign'd not to strike-downe Orodes flying,
Or with his throwne-launce blindly-wound him running:
But man to man affront himselfe applying,
Met him, as more esteem'd for strength then cunning.*

Virg. Aen. lib.
10. 732. Me-
zent.

The seauenth Chapter.

That our intention iudgeth our
actions.

4

THE common saying is, that Death acquits vs of all our bondes. I knowe some that have taken it in another sence. Henry the seauenth, king of England made a composition with Philip sonne to Maximilian the Emperour, or to give him a more honorable title, father to the Emperour Charles the fift, that the said Philip should deliver into his handes, the Duke of Suffolke, his mortall enemy, who was fled out of England, and saved himselfe in the Low countries, alwaies provided the king should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, beeing neere his end, he expresselie by will and testament commaunded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, hee should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of Alba presented vs withall at Brussels, on the Earles of Horne and Egmond, were many remarkeable things, and worthie to be noted: and amongst others, that the saide Count Egmond, vpon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of Horne was come in, and yelded himselfe to the Duke of Alba, required verie instantlie to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the worde and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the saide Earle of Horne. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his worde given, and that the second,

cond, without dying, was quit of it. We cannot be tied beyond our strength, and meanes. The reason is, because the effects and executions, are not any waie in our power, and except our will, nothing is truly in our power: on it onely are all the rules of mans dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count *Egmond*, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, howbeit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt clearly absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count *Horne*. But the King of England failing of his word by his intention, cannot be excused, though he delaye the execution of his disloyaltie vntill after his death. No more then *Herodotus* his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Maister the King of Ægypt's treasure when he died, discovered the same vnto his children. I have in my daies seen many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining of other mens goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so vrgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet do they worse, who reserve the revealing of some hainous conceit or affection towards their neighbor, to their last will and affection, having whilst they lived ever kept it secret. And seeme to haue little regarde of their owne honor, by provoking the partie offended against their owne memory, and lesse of their conscience, since they coulde never for the respect of death cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in extending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and vngodly judges, which referre the judgement of a cause to such time as they haue no more knowledge of causes. I will as neere as I can prevent, that my death reveale or vtter anie thing, my life hath not first publikely spoken.

The eight Chapter. L

Of Idlenesse.

6

AS we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring forth store & sundry rootes of wilde & vnprofitable weedes, & that to keepe them in vre, we must subiect and imploy them with certaine seedes for our vse and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring forth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seede: So is it of minds, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them vnder, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.

Virg. Aen. lib.
8. 22.

*Sicut aqua tremulum labris ubi lumen abenis
Sole repercussum, aut radiantis imagine Luna,
Omnia peruolat latè loca, iamque sub auras
Erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.*

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,
Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse-lauers,
Flies over all, in aire vpraised soone.

Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely wavers.

Hor. art. poet. And there is no follie, or extravagant raving, they produce not in that agitation.
7. ——— *velut agri somnia, vana,*

Finguntur species.

Like sicke mens dreames, that faine,

Imaginations vaine.

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will easilie loose it selfe: For, as wee say, *To be euerie where, is to be no where.*

Mart. li. 7. epi.
72. 6

Quisque ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam habitat,

Good

Good fir, he that dwels every where,
No where can say, that he dwels there.

It is not long since I retired my selfe vnto mine owne house, with full purpose, as much
as lay in me, not to trouble my selfe with any businesse, but solitarily, and quietly to weare out
the remainder of my well-nigh spent life; where me-thought I could do my spirite no grea-
ter favour, then to give him the full scope of idlenesse, and entertaine him as he best pleased,
and withall, to settle him-selfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time
become more settled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

Variam semper dant otia mentem.

Evermore idlenesse,

Doth wavering mindes addresse.

Luca. li. 4. 704.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times
more carriere and libertie vnto himselfe, then he did for others, and begets in me so many ex-
travagant *Chimeraes*, and fantastickall monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one
huddling vpon an other, that at-leasure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse
of them, I have begunne to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I liue, one day to make him
ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

The ninth Chapter.

Of Liers. 6

There is no man living, whom it may lesse beleeve to speake of memorie, then my-
selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fullie perswaded that no-mans can be
so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other partes are in me common and vile, but touching
memorie, I thinke to carrie the prise from all other, that have it weakest, nay and to gaine
the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truly considering the necessitie
of it, *Plato* hath reason to name it *A great and mightie Goddesse*) In my countrie, if a man will
imply that one hath no sence, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I com-
plaine of mine, they reprove me and will not beleeve me, as if I accused my-selfe to be mad
and sencelesse. Which is an empaire of my market: But they do me wrong, for contra-
riewise, it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompa-
nie weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to
be a perfect friend) that the same wordes which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude.
From my affection they take holde of my memorie, and of a naturall defect, they inferre a
want of judgement or conscience. Some will say, he hath forgotten this ~~promise~~, or that request
promise, he is not mindefull of his old friends, he never remembered to say, or doe, or con-
ceale this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my
friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmitie, and not
conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humour. Yet am I
somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evill, from which I have chiefly drawne the rea-
son to correct a worse mischiefe, that would easily have growne vpon me: that is to say, am-
bition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with worldly negotiations. For as
diverse like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthened other faculties
in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe
and wire-draw my mind and judgement, vpon other mens traces, without exercising their
proper forces, if by the benefite of memorie, forraine inventions and strange opinions were
present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie, is per-
adventure more stored with matter, then is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out
with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with pratling: the subjects rousing the meane
facultie I have to manage and imploy them, strengthening and wresting my discourses. It is
pittie, I have assaid by the trial of some of my private frinds: according as their memorie hath
ministred them a whole and perfect matter, who recoile their narration so farre-backe, and
They make no difference betwene memorie and wit. C 2 stuff-

stuff-it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story be good, they smother the goodnesse of it: if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no easie matter, being in the midst of the carriere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sodaine periede, and to cut-it-off. And there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, then to make a ready and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some, that strive, but cannot stay their race. Whilest they labor to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weakenesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onelie the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I haue heard some very pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forsomuch as all the by-standers had manie times beene cloyed with them. Secondly, (as saide an auncient Writer) that, *I do not so much remember iniuries received.* I had neede have a prompter as *Darius* had, who not to forget the wrongs he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sat down at his table, caused a page to sing vnto him, *Sir, remember the Athenians*, and that the places or bookes which I read-over, do ever smile vpon me, with some new noveltye. It is not without reason, men say, that *hee who hath not a good and ready memorie, shoulde never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar.* I am not ignorant how the Grammarians make a difference betweene speaking vntrue and lying; and saie that to speake vntruly, is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true; and that the definition of the latine worde, *mentiri*, whence the French word, *mentir*, is derived, which in English is to lie, implyeth and meaneth to goe against ones conscience: and by consequence it concerneth only those, who speake contrary to that which they knowe, of whom I speake. Now these, either invent, scale, stampe and all, or else they disguise and change a true ground. When they disguise or change, if they bee often put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for them to keepe still in one path, and verie strange if they loose not themselves: because the thing, as it is, having first taken vp her stand in the memory, and there by the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted it-selfe, it were hard it should not represent it selfe to the imagination, displacing and supplanting falschood, which therein can have no such footing, or settled fastnesse: and that the circumstances of the first apprenticeshippe, still diving into the minde, should not cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false or bastardized partes gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forsomuch as there is no certaine impression, to front their falschood, they seeme to have so much the lesse feare to mistake or forget themselves, which also notwithstanding being an ayrie bodie, and without hold-fast may easily escape the memorie, except it be well assured: whereof I haue often (to my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at the cost of those, who profess never to frame their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires, they negotiate, and as best shall please the great men, they speake vnto. For the circumstances to which they will subject their credite and conscience, being subject to many changes, their speech must likewise diversifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one selfe same subject they speak diversly, as now white, now gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. And if peradventure these kinde of men hoard vp their so contrarie instructions, what becomes of this goodly arte? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and runne at random: For, what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject? I have in my dayes seene diverse that have envied the reputation of this worthe kinde of wisdom, who perceive not, that if there bee a reputation, there can be no effect. Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes vs men, and no other meanes, keepes vs bound one to another, but ~~the~~ ^{our} word; knew we but the horror and consequence of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly then any other crime. I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine slight and childish errors in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely lying, and stubbornnesse somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have seuerely punished and cut off; for they growe and encrease with them: and if the tongue have once gotten this ill habite, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible is it to make her leave it: whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to be subject and enclined to that fault. I have a good lad to my tailour, whom I never heard speake a truth;

no not when it might stand him instead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as truth hath; we should be in farre better termes then we are: For, whatsoever a lier should say, we would take it in a contrarie sence. But the opposite of truth hath many-many shapes, and an vndefinite field. The Pythagorians make good to be certaine and finite, and euill to be infinite and vncertaine. A thousand by-ways misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreame and evident danger, by a shamelesse and solemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, *We are better in the company of a knowne dogge, than in a mans societie, whose speech is unknowne to vs. Vt externus alieno non sit hominis vice. A stranger to a stranger is not like a man.* And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King Francis the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought Francis Taverna, Ambassador of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millane to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had beene dispatched to excuse his maister, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in *Italie*, whence he had lately beene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of *Millane*, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke; in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparence as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forso much as the Duke, who depended much more of the Emperour (chiefly then that he was treating a marriage with his niece, daughter of the king of *Denmarke*, who is at this day Dowager of *Lorraine*) could not without great prejudice vnto himselfe discover to have any correspondence and conference with vs. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of *Millane*, named *Merveille*, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Querie, was deemed fit. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in favour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour beganne to have some suspicion of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that vnder colour of a murther committed, the Duke one night caused the faide *Merveille* to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two daies. Maister Francis being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this storie (for the King had addressed himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed vpon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings counsell-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause hauing established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apparances of the fact: namely, that the Duke his maister, had never taken *Merveille* for other then a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his private busines, where he had never lived vnder other name, protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the Kings household, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King vrging him with diuers objections and demaunds, and charging him on every side, prest him so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the feeble man, being much entangled and sodainely surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the loue and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Maister, would haue been very loath that such an execution should have bin done by day. Heere euery man may guesse whither he were taken short or no, hauing tripped before so goodly a nose, as was that of our King Francis the first. Pope *Iulius* the second, hauing sent an Ambassador to the King of *England* to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answere vrging and insisting vpon the difficultie he found & foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie, and set vpon so puissant a King, and alleaging certaine pertinent reasons: The Ambassador fondly and vnfitly replied, that him-selfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with al speed, & without more circumstances to vndertake and vndergoe a dangerous warre) the King of *England* tooke holde of the first argument which in effect he afterwarde found true, which was, that the faide Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his maister, his goods were all confiscate, himselfe disgraced, and he verie hardly escaped with life.

The tenth Chapter. 2

Of readie or slowe speech.

" *On ne furent à tous toutes graces donnees. All Gods good graces are not gone to all, or of al any one.* So doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facilitie and promptitude, and that which we call vterance, so easie and at commaunde, that at all assayes, and vpon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slowe, never speake any thing except much laboured and premeditated. As Ladies and daintie Dames are taught rules to take recreations and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence, whereof preachers and pleading-lawyers of our age seeme to make profession; the slowe speaker in mine opinion shoulde be the better preacher, and the other the better lawyer. For so much as the charge of the first allowes him as much leifure as he pleaseth to prepare him-selfe; moreover his carriere continueth still in one kind without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions vrging him still vpon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the v unexpected replies and answers of his aduerser partie, do often diuert him from his purpose, where he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is it, that at the last enter-view which was at *Marceilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seaventh, and *Francis* the first, our King, it hapned cleane-contrarie, where Monsieur *Poyet*, a man of chiefe reputation, and all daies of his life, brought vp to pleade at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con d the same by roate, yea, and as some report, brought it with him ready-penned from *Paris* the verie same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might happily speake something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, sent the argument, which hee at that time & place thought fittest to be treated of, to the king, and by fortune cleane-contrarie to that which *Poyet*, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving him selfe vnable for it, the Cardinall *Bellay* was faine to supply his place and take that charge vpon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder then the preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we finde more passable Lawyers then commendable preachers, at least in *France*. It seemeth to be more proper to the minde, to have hir operation ready and sodaine, and more incident to the judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leifure to prepare him selfe, and he likewise to whome leifure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangenesse. It is reported that *Senecus Cassius* spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, then to his diligence; that to bee interrupted in his speech redounded to his profite: and that his aduersaries feared to vrg-e him, lest his sodaine anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this condition of nature by experience, which can-not abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a free, a voluntarie, and selfe-pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, and rudenesse, which long plodding labour imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides, the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, over-stretched to her enterprise, doth breake and impeach the same; even as it happeneth vnto water, which being closely pent-in, through it's owne violence & abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned vnto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of *Cassius* (for that motion woulde be over-rude) it ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all-alone, it dooth but languish and loyter behinde: agitation is her life and grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine owne possession and disposition, chaunce hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, yea the change of my voice, drawes more from my minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I ^{see} find and endeavor to employ the same. My wordes likewise are better than

than my writings, if choise may be had in so worthlesse things. This also happeneth vnto me, that where I seeke my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chaunce, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhappes have cast-forth some futtle- tie in writing, happily dull and harsh for another, but smoothe and curious for my selfe. Let vs leave all these complements and quaintnesse. That is spoken by every man, according to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I wot not what I would have saide, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwaies a razor about me, where that happeneth, I should cleane raze my selfe out. Fortune may at some other time make the light thereof appeare brighter vnto me, than that of mid-day, and will make mee wonder at mine owne faltring or sticking in the myre.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Of Prognostications. 3

As touching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the comming of our Sauour Iesus Christ, they had begunne to loose their credit: for we see that Cicero laboureth to finde the cause of their declination: And these be his words: *Cur isto modo iam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra etate, sed iam diu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius? Why in like sorte are not Oracles now vttered, not onely in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible?* But as for other prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomie of beasts in sacrifices, to which Plato doth in some sorte ascribe the naturall constitution of the internall members of them, of the scraping of chickens, of the flight of birds, *Aues quasdam rerum augurandarum causas natas esse putamus. We are of opinion, certaine birdes were even bred to prognosticate some things of thunders, of turnings and back-recourse of rivers. Multa cernunt aruspices: multa augures prouident: multa oraculis declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa somnijs: multa portentis. Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets fore-see as much; much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophesies; much by dreames; much by portentuous signes, and others,* vpon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst vs some meanes of divination in the starres, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond curiositie of our nature, amusing it selfe to preoccupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present.

Cic. diuin. lib. 2.

—cur hanc tibi rector Olympi
Sollicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,
Noscant venturas ut dira per omnia clades?
Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit caca futuri
Mens hominum sati, liceat sperare timenti.
Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheares,
To adde this care to mortalls care-clog'd minde,
That they their miserie know, ere it appeares?
Let thy drifts sodaine come; let men be blinde
T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

Lucan. lib. 2. 4.

Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: Miserum est enim nihil proficientem angere. It is not so much as profitable for vs, to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and doe no good. Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here wherefore the example of Francis Marquis of Saluzzo hath seemed remarkeable vnto me: who being Lieutenant Generall vnto Francis our King, and over all his forces, which hee then had beyond the Mountaines in Italie, a man highly favoured in all our court, and otherwise infinitely behold- ing to the King for his owne Marquisate, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affections contradicting the same, suffered him- selfe to be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been manifestly prooved) by the fond pro- gnostications, which then throughout all Europe were given out to the advantage of the

Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in *Italie*, where these foolish predictions had so much possessed the Italians, that in *Rome* were laide great wagers, and much mony given out vpon the exchange, that we should vterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the vnavoidable miseries, which hee foresawe prepared by the fates against the crowne of *France*, and the many friends he had there, he vnkindly reuolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then raigning. But was drawne vnto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all manner of munition and strength in his owne handes, the enemies armie vnder *Antonio Leua* farre from him, and wee nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to doe worse then he did. For notwithstanding his treason we lost neither man nor towne, except *Fossan*: which long after was by vs stoutly contested and defended.

Hor. li. 3. od.
29. 29.

*Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus,
Rideique si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat.*

Our wise God hides in pitch-darke night
Of future time the event decreede,
And laughes at man, if man affright
Feare more, then he to feare hath neede.

41.

*Ille potens sui
Latiusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse, vixi, cras vel atra
Nube polum pater occupato,
Vel sole puro.*

He of himselfe lives merile,
Who each day, I have liv'd, can say;
To morow let God charge the skie
With darke cloudes, or faire sunne-shine raye.
*Latius in praesens animus, quod ultra est,
Oderit curare.*

Æ. 2. od. 16. 25.

For present time a mery minde
Hates to respect what is behinde.

Cic. divi. l. 1. p.
“ *ut & si divinatio sit, dysint: & si dysint, sit divinatio. This consequence is so reciprocal, as if
“ there be any divination, there are Gods: and if there bee Goddes, there is divination. Much
more wisely Pacuvius.*

16. f. Pac.

*Nam istis qui linguam animum intelligunt,
Plurisque ex alieno iccore sapiunt, quam ex suo,
Magis audiendum quàm auscultandum censeo.
Who vnderstand what language birdes expresse,
By their owne, then beastes-livers knowing lesse,
They may be heard, not hearkned-to, I guesse.*

This so famous art of divination of the Tuskanes grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw *Tages*, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisdom. All men ranne to see him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages-after remembred, and collected, contayning the principles and meanes of this art. An offspring futable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, then by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all common-wealthes, men have ever ascribed much authoritie vnto chance. *Plato* in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribeth the deciding of manie important effects vnto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to bee contrived by fortune. And giveth so large priviledges vnto this casuall election, that hee appointes the Children proceeding from them to bee brought vp in the countrie; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled

led shall by fortune happen, whilst he is growing, to shew some good hope of him-selfe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and such amongst the first as shall in their youth give small hope of future good to be banished. I see some that studie, plod, and glosse their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. *Quis est enim qui totum diem iaculans, non aliquando contineet? For who is he that shooting all day, sometimes hits not the white?* I thinke not the better of them, though what they say prove sometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie euer. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, because they are ordinarie and infinit; and their prædictions are made to bee of credite, because they are rare, incredible and prodigious. So answered *Diagoras* surnamed the Atheist (being in *Samothrace*) to him, who in shewing him diuerse vowes and offrings hanging in the Temple, brought thither by such as had escaped shipwracke, saide thus vnto him: *You that thinke the Goddess to have no care of humane things, what say you by so many men saved by their grace and helpe? Thus is it done,* answered hee: *Those which were drowned farre exceeding their number, are not heere sette-foorth.* *Cicero* saith, That amongst all other philosophers that have avowed and acknowledged the Gods, onely *Xenophanes*, the *Colophonian* hath gone-about to roote-out all manner of diuination. It is so much the lesse to be wondred at, if at any time we have seene some of our Princes minds to their great damage, relie vpon such like vanities. I would to God, I had with mine-owne eyes seene those two wonders, mentioned in the booke of *Ioachim* the Abbot of *Calabria*, who fore-told all the Popes that should ensue, together with their names and shapes: And that of *Leo* the Emperor who fore-spake all the Emperors and Patriarkes of *Greece*. This have I seene with mine owne eyes, that in publike confusions, men amazed at their owne fortune, give themselves head-long, as it were to all manner of superstition, to search in heaven the causes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke; and in my time are so strongly successfull therein, as they have perswaded me, that it is an ammusung of sharpe and idle wits, that such as are inured to this sutteltie, by foulding and vnfoulding them, may in all other writings be capable to find out what they seeke-after. But aboue all, their darke, ambiguous, fantastical, and propheticall gibrish, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine sense, that posteritie, may apply what meaning and construction it shall please vnto it. The *Demon* of *Socrates* was peradventure a certaine impulsion of will, which, without the advice of his discourse presented it selfe vnto him. In a minde so well purified, and by continuall exercise of wisdom and vertue so well prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinations (though rash and inconsiderate) where ever of great moment, and worthie to be followed. Euery man feeleth in himselfe some image of such agitations, with a prompt, vehement, and casuall opinion. It is in me to give them some authoritie, that afford so little to our wisdom. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perswasion and dissuasion (which was more ordinarie to *Socrates*) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffred my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of diuine inspiration.

The twelfth Chapter.

Of Constancie. 2

THE law of resolution and constancie implieth not, we should not, as-much as lieth in our power shelter our selves from the mischieues and inconveniences that threaten-vs, nor by consequence feare, they should surprize-vs. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant him-selfe from euills, are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the parte of constancie is chiefly acted, in firmly bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimbleness of bodie, nor wealding of hand-weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any sort defend-vs from the blowe, meant at-vs. Many most warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, vsed retreating and flight as a principall advantage, and shewed their backs to their enemy much more dangerously then their faces. The *Turkes* at this day retaine something of that humour. And *Socrates* in

Plato

Plato doth mocke at *Laches*, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe her-selfe steadie in her rancke against her enemies; *What*, saith hee, were it then cowardise to beate them, in giving them place? And alleadgeth *Homer* against him, who commendeth in *Aeneas* his skill in flying and giving ground. And because *Laches* being better advised, avoweth that custome to be amongst the Scythians, and generally amongst all horsemen, he alleadgeth further vnto him the example of the Lacedemonian footemen (a nation aboue all other vsed to fight on foote) who in the battaile of *Plates*, vnable to open and to put to rowt the Persian Phalange, advised them-selves to scatter and put them-selves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in vpon them, and put that so-combined-masse to rout. By which meanes they gained the victorie. Touching the Scythians, it is reported, that when *Darius* went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for somuch as hee ever saw him retire and give-ground before him, and to avoide the maine battaile. To whom *Indathirsez* (for so was his name) answered, that, *They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his nation to march thus: as having neither citties, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies shoulde reape any commoditie by them.* But if hee had so great a desire to feede on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchres, and there hee should meete with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blanke before them, as the fortune of warre doth diuerse times bring men vnto, it ill beseemeth a resolute minde to start-aside, or be daunted, at the threate of a shot, because by the violence and sodain-nesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable: and there are some, who by lifting vp of a hand, or stooping their head, have sometimes given their fellowes cause of laughter: yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made against vs in *Pronence*, the Marquis of *Gua-sio*, beeing gone out to furuay the cittie of *Arles*, and shewne himselfe out of a winde-mill, vnder colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of *Bonevall*, and the Seneshall of *Agemois*, who were walking vpon the Theatre *Aux arenes* (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lorde of *Villiers*, Commissarie of the Artillerie. he mounted a culverin so leuell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, he had beene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeares before, *Lorence* of *Medicis*, Duke of *Urbino*, and father to the Queene-mother of *France*, besieging *Mondolphe*, a place in *Italie*, in the province named the *Vicariate*, seeing fire given to a piece that stood right vpon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that hee plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a little of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the panch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an ayme, either high or low in a matter so sodaine? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoide the same. I can not chuse, if the cracke of a musket do sodainly streeke mine eares, in a place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at-it: which I have seene happen to men of better sorte then my selfe. Nor do the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their wisest man in any sorte resist the first visions and sodaine fantasies, that surprise the same: but rather consent that, as it were vnto a naturall subjection, he yeeldes and shrinks vnto the lowd clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downefall; for example-sake, vnto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwayes provided, his opinion remaines safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part; the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but faire otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficiall in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

Virg. lib. 4. 449

Mens immota manet, lacrymae voluntur inanes.

His minde doth firme remaine,

Teares are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike dooth not exempt him selfe from perturbations of the minde, but doth moderate them.

The

The thirteenth Chapter.

Of Ceremonies in the enterview of Kings. 2

There is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapsodie. It were a notable discourtesie vnto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And *Margaret Queene of Navarre*, was wont to say to this purpose, *That it was a kinde of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meete with him that is coming to him, how worthie soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civility and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way: and that it sufficeth to accompanie and waite vpon him, when he is going away againe.* As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endeouureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house. Some will bee offended at-it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then my selfe euery day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoyde the servitude of courtes, and entertaine the same in their owne houses? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, commeth first to the place appointed, forsomuch as it belongs to the better man to be staide-for, and waited vpon by the other. Neverthelesse wee saw that at the enterview, prepared at *Marceilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seaventh, and *Francis* the first, King of *France*, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes-leave, to make his entry into-it, and to refresh him-selfe, before he would come to meete him there. Likewise at the meeting of the saide Pope with the Emperour at *Bologna*, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came him-selfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man, should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before-him in whose countrie the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whome the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth vnto-him. Not only each countrie, but every Cittie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully beene brought vp in mine infancie, and have lived in verie good company, because I would not be ignorant of the good maners of our countrie of *France*, and I am perswaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painefull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by error, he shall no whit be disgraced. I have often seene men prove vnmanly by too much manners, and importunate by over-much curtesie. The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accostings of societie and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct vs by the example of others, and to exploite and produce our example, if it have any instructing or communicable thing in it.

The fourteenth Chapter.

Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place. A
without reason.

Valor hath his limites, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall finde him-selfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that vnlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a fudaine, easily hit vpon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie,
and

and follie. From this consideration grew the custome we hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniat themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, can not be kept. Otherwise vpon hope of impunitie, there should bee no cotage, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable *Momorancie* at the siege of *Pavia*, having beene appointed to passe over the river *Tesine*, and to quarter himselfe in the suburbs of *Sainte Antonie*, being impeached by a tower, that stood at the end of the bridge, and which obstinately would needes hould out, yea and to be battered, caused all those that were within-it, to be hanged. The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the *Dolphin* of *France* in his journey beyond the *Alpes*, having by force taken in the castle of *Villane*, and all those that were within the same, having by the furie of the Souldiers bin put to the sworde, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine *Martin du Belay*, the Governour of *Turin*, in the faide countrie, the Captaine of *Saint Bony*: all the rest of his men having beene massacred at the taking of the place. But for somuch as the judgement of the strength or weakenesse of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for some man might justly opiniat him selfe against two culverins, that would play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due vnto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it vnreasonable, any thing should be worthie to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they over-passe what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is scene by the formes of summonings, and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in vse, so fierce, so haughtie, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this vniverfall and inviolable law, that what enemy soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransome or mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enemy-judge, that is victorious and armed.

The fifteenth Chapter.

Of the punishment of Cowardise. 2

I Have heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, holde opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of *Vervins* sentence, who for yeelding vp of *Bollein* was doomed to loose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference betweene faultes proceeding from our weakenes, and those that growe from our malice. For in the latter we are directly bandied against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in vs; and in the former it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it hath left-vs in such imperfection and defect. So as divers nations haue judged, that no man should blame vs for any thing we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants vnto capitall punishments, is partly grounded vpon this rule: and the same which establissheth, that a Iudge or an advocate may not be called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie and shame. And some hold, that this rule was first put in practise by the Law-giuer *Charondas*, and that before him the lawes of *Greece* were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did runne away from a Battell: where he onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe

gaue. *Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quam effundere* : Rather mooue a mans blood to blush in his face, than remooue it by bleeding from his body.

It appeareth also that the Romanelawes did in former times punish such as had runne-away, by death. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Julian* the Emperor condemned tenne of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the *Parthians*, had but turned their backs from it; first to be degraded, and then to suffer death, as he saith, according to their lawes, who neverthelesse, condemneth others for a like fault, vnder the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharpe punishment of the Romanes against those Souldiers that escaped from *Canne* : and in the same warre, against those that accompanied *Cn. Fulcius* in his defeate, reached not vnto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them dispaire, and not onely prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of *Franger*, whilom Lievtenant of the Marshall of *Chatillions* companie, having by the Marshall of *Cabanes* been placed Governor of *Fonterabie*, instead of the Earle of *Lude*, and having yeelded the same vnto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not onely himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and downes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which seuer sentence was put in execution at *Lyons*. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within *Guise*, when the Earle of *Nansaw* entred the towne: and others since. Neuerthelesse if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardise, as that it should exceede all ordinarie, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient prooffe of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

The sixteenth Chapter.

A trickes of certaine Ambassadors.

IN all my trauells I did ever observe this custome, that is, alwayes to learne something by the communication of others (which is one of the best schooles that may be) to reduce those I confer withall, to speake of that wherein they are most conversant and skilfull.

Basti al nocchiero ragionar de' venti,

Al bisolco de' tori, & le sue piaghe

Conti il guerrier, conti il pastor gl' armenti.

Sailers of windes, plow-men of beastes take keepe,

Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepheards their sheepe.

For commonly we see the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their own; supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten: witnes the quip *Archidamus* gaue *Periander*, saying that he forooke the credite of a good Phisitian, to becom a paltrie Poet. Note but how *Cesar* displayeth his invention at large, when hee would have vs conceive his inventions how to builde bridges, and deuises, how to frame other war-like engines; and in respect of that, how close and succinct he writes, when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his warrefare. His exploits prove him a most excellent Captaine, but he would be knowne for a skilfull Ingenier, a qualitie somewhat strange in him. *Dionysius* the elder was a very great chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best fitting his fortune: but he greatly labored, by meanes of Poetrie, to assume high commendation vnto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill in it. A certaine Lawyer was not long since brought to see a studie, stored with all manner of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other faculties, wherein he found no occasion to entertaine himselfe withall, but like a fond cunning darke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and censure a fence or barre, placed over the screw of the studie, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see every day, without observing, or taking offence at them.

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.

The Oxe would trappings weare,

The Horse, ploughs-yoake would beare.

Hor. lib. 1. epist.
14.43.

D

By

By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man indevor to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoemaker to speake of their owne trade, and so of the rest, everie man in his vocation. And to this purpose am I wont, in reading of histories (which is the subject of most men) to consider who are their writers: If they be such as professe nothing but bare learning, the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile, and language: if Phisitions: I believe them in whatsoever they shall reporte concerning the temperatenesse of the aire, the health and complexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities: If Lawyers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretenses of laws and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, maners, complements, cerimonies, and entertainements: If Warriors, what belongs vnto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the atchievements or exploits wherein they have bin themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practises, pollicies, and maner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore, what in an other Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the history of the Lord of *Langey*, a man most expert, and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetched remonstrances of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, made in the consistorie of *Rome*, in the presence of the Bishoppe of *Macon*, and the Lord of *Velly*, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed manie bitter and outrageous words against vs; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulnessse, and sufficiencie in the arte of warre, then our Kings, he would forthwith tie a roape about his necke, and goe aske him mercie: whereof hee seemed to believe something: for afterward whilest hee lived, he chanced twice or thrice to vtter the verie same wordes. Moreover, that he had challenged the king to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boate. The saide Lord of *Langey*, following his story, addeth that the saide Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed vnto the King, dissembled the chiefe part vnto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambasadour to dispence with any point, concerning the advertisements he should give vnto his Maister, namely of such consequence, comming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truely and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly lie in the maister. For, to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should conster and take it otherwise then he ought, and lest that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, me thought should rather have appertained to him, that giveth the law, then to him that receiveth the same; to the Maister or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authoritie, as in wisdom and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would be loath to be so vsed in mine owne small and particular busines, we doe so willingly vpon euery slight occasion and pretence neglect and forgoe commaundement, and are so farre from obaying, that we rather vsurpe a kinde of maisterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire vnto libertie and authoritie, that no profite ought to be so deare vnto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him, as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And *P. Crassus* hee whome the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in *Asia*, having sent a Græcian Inginer, to bring the greatest of two shippe-mastes before him, which hee had seene in *Athens*, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man vnder colour of his skil, presumed to do otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesser of the two mastes which according to his artes reason he deemed the fittest. *Crassus* having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be wel whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline, before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience, belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in manie points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They do not meere execute, but frame and direct by their owne advise and counsel,

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the will of their Maister. I have in my dayes seene some persons of commandement, checked and found fault withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sence, and bare wordes of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of vnderstanding and experience do yet at this day condemne the custome of the Kings of *Persia*, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre-reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable damage vnto their affaires. And *Craesus* writing vnto a man of that profession, and adverting him of the vse whereto he purposed the foresaide mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and with him to enterpose his censure or advise of it?

The seventeenth Chapter. 2

Of feare.

Obstupui, steteruntque, comæ, & vox faucibus hæsit.

I stood agast, my haire on end,

My jaw-tide tongue no speach would lend.

Virg. Aen. lib. 2
774.

I Am no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth worke in vs: but well I wot it is a strange passion: and as phisicians say, there is none doth sooner transport our judgement out of his due seate. Verily I have seene divers become madde and sencelesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled, and best resolved, it is certaine, that whilest his fitte continueth, it begetteth many strange dazelings, and terrible amazements in him. I omitte to speake of the vulgare sorte, to whome it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding-sheets: & to others it somtimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins, Robin-good-fellowes, and such other Bug-beares and *Chimeræes*. But even amongst Souldiers, with whome it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubbes into men-at-armes and Lancers? our friendes into our enemies? and a red crosse into a white? At what time the Duke of *Bourbon* tooke *Rome*, an Ancient that kept Sentinell, in the borough *Saint-Peter*, was at the first alarum surpris'd with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, hee sodainely threw himselfe through the hole of a breach out of the Cittie, and fell just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the waie to goe straite in the hart of the Cittie: but in the end, he no sooner perceived the Duke of *Burbons* troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to bee some fallie, the Cittizens made that way, he better be-thinking him-selke, turned head, and the very same way, hee came out, he went into the town againe, which was more then three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like hapned, but not so successfely vnto Captaine *Iulius* his ensigne-bearer at what time *Saint Paule* was taken from vs by the Earle of *Bures*, and the Lord of *Ren*, who was so frighted with feare, that going about to cast him-selke over the towne walls, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe through a spike-hole, he was cut in pieces by the assailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is verie memorable, which so did choake, seize vpon, and freeze the hart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, hee fell downe starke-dead vpon the ground before the breach. The like passion or rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that *Germanicus* had with the Germanes, two mighty troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ranne away two contrary waies, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings vnto our heeles, as vnto the first named, and other times it takes the vse of our feete from vs: as we may reade of *Theophilus* the Emperour, who in a battell he lost against the Agarenes, was

so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight : *adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat* : Feare is so afraide even of that should help. Vntill such time as *Manuel*, one of the chiefe leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said vnto him, *Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you, for better were it you should loose your life, than being taken prisoner, loose your Empire and all*. Then doth she shew the vtmost of hir power, when for hir owne service, she calls vs off vnto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first set-battel, the Romans lost against *Hanniball*, vnder the Consul *Sempronius*, a troupe of wel-nigh tenne thousand footemen, was so surpris'd with feare, that seeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their basenes free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted and brake through, as it disfranked, and slewe a great number of the Carthagenians : purchasing a reprochfull and disgracefull flight, at the same rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie. It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and just than that of *Pompeys* friends, who in his owne ship were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the *Aegyptian* sailes, which beganne to approach them, did in such sort daunt and skare them, that some have noted, they onely busied themselves to hasten the marriners, to make what speed they could, & by maine strength of oares to save themselves, vntill such time, as being arived at *Tyre*, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themselves, of their late losse, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.

Feare then vnbreasts all wit,

That in my minde did sit.

Those who in any skirmish or sodaine bickering of warre have been thoroughly skared, fore-hurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after, brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to loose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in vncessant agonie and languor; and thereby often loose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelessly and as pleasantly as the others. And so many men, who by the impatience and vrging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and head-long tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught vs, that feare is more importunate and intolerable then death. The *Græcians* acknowledge an other kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse; proceeding, as they say, without any apparent cause, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often seene surpris'd with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a desolation to *Carthage*, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and frightfull exclamations : the inhabitants were seene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sodaine alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt, and enter-kill one another; as if they had beene enemies come to vsurpe and possesse their Cittie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, vntill such time as by prayers and sacrifices, they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the *Punike terror*.

The eighteenth Chapter. 3

That we should not indge of our happinesse, vntill after our death.

— *scilicet ultima semper*
Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremæque funera debet.
 We must expect of man the latest day,
 Nor er'e he die, he's happie, can we say.

THE verie children are acquainted with the storie of *Croesus* to this purpose: who being taken by *Cyrus*, & by him condemned to die, vpon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: Oh *Solon*, *Solon*! which words of his, being reported to *Cyrus*, who inquiring what he meant by them, tolde him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement *Solon* had before times given him: which was, that no man, what cheerefull & blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe happie, til such time as he have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the vncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a verie light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to an other cleane contrary state and degree. And therefore *Agessilaus* answered one that counted the King of *Persia* happy, because being very yong, he had gotten the garland of so mighty and great a dominion: yea but, saide he, *Priame* at the same age was not vnhappy; of the Kings of *Macedon*, that succeeded *Alexander* the great, some were afterward seene to become Ioyners and Scriveners at *Rome*: and of Tirants of *Sicilie*, Schoole-maisters at *Corinth*: One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble, and miserable suter to the raskally officers of a King of *Egipt*: At so high a rate did that great *Pompey* purchase the irksome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers dayes, *Lodowicke Sforce*, tenth Duke of *Millane*, vnder whom the state of *Italie* had so long beene turmoyled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at *Loches* in *France*, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thraldome, which was the worst of his bargaine. Oh inhumane and barbarous crueltie! so various and inconstant is the hand of fortune in disposing of Empires and Kingdomes. And a thousand such like examples. For, it seemeth that as the sea-billowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride, and stubborne height of our buildings. So is there above, certaine spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse here below.

*Vsque adeò res humanas res abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros fasces sevâsq; securas
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.*

*Lucret. lib. 5
1236.*

A hidden powre so mens states hath out-worne
Faïre swordes, fierce scepters, signes of honours borne,
It seemes to trample and deride in scorne.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life; thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow, what for many yeares together she had beene erecting, and makes vs crie after *Laberius*, *Nimirum hac die una plus vixi, mihi quàm vivendum fuit.* Thus it is, *I have lived longer by this one day, then I should.* So may that good advise of *Solon* be taken with reason. But forso much as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by them; and puissances and greatnesse, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a well-borne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed vnto man, vntil he have bin seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be some maske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in vs but by countenance, or accidents that never touch vs to the quick, give vs alwaies leasure to keepe our countenance setled. But when that last parte of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine english, and put off all vizardes: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

*Nam vera voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Eijciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res.*

Lucret. lib. 3. 57

For then are sent true speeches from the heart,
We are our selves, wee leave to play a parte.

Loe here, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the maister-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Wri-

ter, that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death doe I referre the essay of my studies fruite. There shall we see whether my discourse proceede from my heart, or from my mouth. I have seene diuerse, by their death, either in good or euill, give reputation, to all their forepassed life. *Scipio*, father in law to *Pompey*, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion, which vntill that houre men had ever held of him. *Epaminondas* being demanded, which of the three he esteemed most, either *Chabrias*, or *Sphicrates*, or himselfe; *It is necessary*, saide hee, *that wee be seene to die, before your question may well be resolved*. Verily we should steale much from him, if he should bee weighed without the honour and greatnesse of his ende. God hath willed it, as hee pleased: but in my time three of the most execrable persons, that ever I knew in all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have bene seene to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even vnto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have seene her cut the twine of some mans life, with a progresse of wonderfull advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth, and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie couragious designs, thought nothing so high, as might interrupt them: who without going to the place where he pretended, arived there more gloriously and worthily, than either his desire or hope ayimed at. And by his fall fore-went the power and name, whither by his course he aspired. When I judge of other mens lives, I ever respect, how they have behaved themselves in their end; and my chiefest study is, I may wel demean me my self at my last gasp, that is to say, quietly, and constantly.

The nineteenth Chapter.

That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die. 7

Cicero saith, that to *Philosophie* is no other thing, then for a man to prepare himselfe to death: which is the reason, that studie and contemplation doth in some sorte withdraw our soule from vs, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticeship and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve vpon this point, to teach vs, not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes vs, or it onely aymeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all hir trauel to make vs live wel, and as the holy Scripture saith, *at our ease*. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take diuers meanes vnto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first comming. For, who would giue care vnto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissensions of philosophical sects in this case, are verball: *Transcurramus solertissimas nugas: Let vs runne over such over-fine fooleries, and subtil trifles*. There is more wilfulnesse and wrangling among them, then pertaines to a sacred profession. But what person a man vndertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Although they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our ayme is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing: And if it imply any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, then to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnowie, sturdy, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more naturall; and not terme it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this baser sensuality deserue this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and crosses, than vertue. And besides that, hir taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath hir fasts, hir eues, and hir travels, and both sweate and blood. Furthermore she hath particularly so many wounding passions and of so seuerall sorts, and so filthie and lothsome a societie waiting vpon hir, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke hir incommodities serve hir as a provocation, & seasoning to hir sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Where as much more
pro-

properly then vnto voluptuousnes, they ennoble, sharpen, animate, and raise that diuine and perfect pleasure, which it mediates and procureth vs. Truly he is very vnworthie hir acquaintance, that counter-ballanceth hir cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor vse of it. Those who goe about to instruct vs, how hir pursuite is very hard and laborious, and hir iouissance well pleasing and delightfull: what else tell they vs, but that she is ever vnpleasant and yrksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine vnto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest haue bene content but to aspire and approach hir, without ever possessing hir. But they are deceived; seeing that of all the pleasures we know, the pursute of them is pleasant. The enterprize is perceived by the quality of the thing, which it hath regard vnto: for it is a good portion of the effect, and consubstantiall. That happines and felicitie, which shineth in vertue, replenisheth hir approaches and appurtenances, even vnto the first entrance and vtmost barre. Now of all the benefites of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an ease-full tranquillitie, and giues vs a pure and amiable taste of it: without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade vs with a common accord to despise griefe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subiect, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other-some without feeling any griefe or sicknes, as *Xenophilus* the musition, who lived a hundred and sixe yeares in perfect and continuall health: as also if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please vs, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitable.

*Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
Versatur vna, serius, ocius
Sors exitura, & nos in eter-
num exitium impositura cymba.*

*Hor. lib. 3. od.
3.25.*

All to one place are driv'n, of all
Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall
Sooner or later drawne lots fall,
And to deaths boate for aye enthrall.

And by consequence, if she make vs affeard, it is a continuall subject of torment, and which can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole will hide vs from hir, she will finde vs where-soever we are, we may as in a suspected countrie starte and turne here and there: *qua quasi saxum Tantalus semper impendit*: Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of *Tantalus*: Our lawes doe often condemne and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which place, whilst they are going, leade them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

Cic. fin. lib. 1.

*non Sicula dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt sapere:
Non avium, citharæq; cantus
Somnum reducent.*
Not all King *Denys* daintie fare,
Can pleasing taste for them prepare:
No song of birds, no musikes sound
Can lullabie to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the finall intent of their voyage being still before their eyes, hath not altered and altogether distracted their taste from all these commodities and allurements?

*Audit iter, numeratque dies, spatiisque viarum
Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.*

*Hor. lib. 3. od.
1.18.*

He heares his iorney, count's his daies, so measures he
His life by his waies length, vex't with the ill shall be.

The end of our cariere is death, it is the necessarie object of our aime: if it affright vs, how is it possible we should step one foote further without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar sorte is, not to thinke on it. But from what brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindnes come vpon him? he must be made to bridle his Asse by the taile,

Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro.

Who doth a course contrarie runne

With his head to his course begonne.

It is no maruell if he be so often taken tripping; some doe no sooner heare the name of death spoken of, but they are afraide, yea the most part will crosse themselves, as if they heard the Divell named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I warrant you there is none will set his hand to them, til the Phisitian have given his last doome, and vtterly forsaken him. And God knowes, being then betweene such paine and feare, with what sound judgement they endure him. For so much as this sillable sounded so vnpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed so ill-boding and vnluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the same by a Periphrasis. In lieu of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borrowed our phrases *quondam, alias, or late such a one*. It may happily be, as the common saying is, the time we live, is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533. according to our computation, the year beginning the first of Ianuarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39. yeres old. I want at least as much more. If in the mean time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and olde to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, then if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepite, so long as he remembers *Mathusalem*, but thinkes he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the ende of thy daies? Happily thou presumest vpon Physitions reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinarie favour. Thou hast alreadie over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances, and tel me how many more of them haue died before they came to thy age, then have either attained or out-gone the same: yea and of those that through renoune hath ennobled their life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager, I will finde more that haue died before they came to five and thirty yeares, then after. It is consonant with reason and pietie, to take example by the humanity of *Iesus Christ*, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was, being no more then a man, I meane *Alexander* the great, ended his dayes, and died also of that age. How many severall meanes and wayes hath death to surprise vs.

Hor. lib. 2. od.
13. 13.

* *Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas.*

A man can never take good heede,
Hourely what he may shunne and speede.

To mit to speake of agues and pleurifies; who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of *Brittanie* should have beene stifled to death in a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour of mine at *Lyons*, when Pope *Clement* made his entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our late Kings slaine in the midst of his sportes? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of an hog? *Eschilus* fore-threatned by the fall of an house, when he stood most vpon his guard, stricken dead by the fall of a Tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallans of an Eagle flying in the ayre? and another choaked with the kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilst hee was combing his head? And *Lepidus* with hitting his foote against a doore-scele? And *Ausidius* with stumbling against the Confull-chamber doore as he was going in thereat? And *Cornelius Gallus* the Prætor, *Tegillinus* Captaine of the Romane watch, *Lodowike* sonne of *Guido Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, end their dayes betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example *Spensippus* the Platonian Philosopher, and one of our Popes? Poore *Rebuis* a iudge, whilst he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight dayes, beholde his last expired; And *Caius Iulius* a Phisitian, whilst hee was annoynting the eyes of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captaine *Saint Martin*, a man of three and twentie yeares of age, who had alreadie given good testimonie of his worth and forward valor, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right eare, without apparence of any

any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting vpon it, died within six houres after of an Apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eyes, how is it possible for man to forgoe or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme vnto vs, that she is still ready at hand to take vs by the throate? What matter is it, will you say vnto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoever a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from hir darte, yea were it vnder an ox-hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth me to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that doe I ever take; in other matters, as little vaine glorious, and exēplare as you list.

*prætulim delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,*

ib. 2. epi. 2. 126.

Quam sapere & ringi.

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull,
So me my faults may please, make me a gull,
Than to be wise, and beate my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come vnto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they daunce: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if she be once come, and on a sodaine and openly surprise, either them, their wiues, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what dispaire doth then overwhelm them? fawe you ever any thing so drooping, so changed, and so distracted? A man must looke to it, and in better times fore-see it. And might that brutish carelesnesse lodge in the minde of a man of vnderstanding (which I finde altogether impossible) she sels vs her ware at over deere a rate: were she an enemy by mans wit to be avoided, I would advise man to borrow the weapons of cowardlines: but since it may not be: and that be you either a coward or a run-away, an honest or a valiant man, she overtakes you,

*Nempe & fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec parcat imbellis inuenta
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.*

ib. 3. od. 2. 14.

She persecutes the man that flies,
She spares not weake youth to surprise,
But on their hammes and backe turn'd plies.

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or defend you,

*Ille licet ferro cautus se condat in ere,
Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.*

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,
Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.

Let vs learne to stand, and combate hir with a resolute minde. And beginne to take the greatest advantage she hath vpon vs from hir, let vs take a cleane contrary way from the common, let vs remove hir strangenes from hir, let vs converse: frequent, and acquaint our selves with hir, let vs have nothing so much in minde as death, let vs at all times and seasons, and in the vglyest manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen and represent the same vnto our imagination. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a stone, at the least pricke with a pinne, let vs presently ruminare and say with our selves, what if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let vs take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront hir. Amiddest our bankets, feasts, and pleasures, let vs ever have this restraint or object before vs, that is, the remembrance of our condition, and let not pleasure so much misleade or transport vs, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feasting, be subject vnto death, and by how many holde-fasts shee threatens vs and them. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomy of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

*Omne crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,
Grata superveniet, que non sperabitur hora.*

Hor. lib. 1. epi.
4. 13.

Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last,
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.

It

It is vncertaine where death looks for vs; let vs expect hir everie where: the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath vnlearned to serve. There is no evill in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life, is no evill. To know how to die, doth free vs from all subjection and constraint. *Paulus Amilius* answered one, whom that miserable king of *Macedon* his prisoner sent to entreate him, he would not leade him in triumph, let him make that request vnto himselfe. Verily, if Nature afforde not some helpe, in all things, it is very hard that arte and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishness. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more extertained my selfe, than with the imaginations of death, yea in the most licentious times of my age.

Capit. eleg. 4.
16.

Incundum, cum atas florida ver agerer.

When my age flourishing

Did spend it's pleasant spring.

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jelousie, or meditating on the vncertainie of some conceived hope, when God he knowes, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning feuer, and of his sodaine end, comming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceites, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sickenes or end to be as neere me as him.

Lucr. lib. 3. 947

Iam fuerit, nec post, unquam revocare licebit.

Now time would be, no more

You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceite, then at any other. It is impossible; we should not apprehend or feele some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely vpon vs: but doubtlesse, hee that shall manage and meditate vpon them with an impartiall eye, they wil assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in continuall feare and agonie; for no man did ever more distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance: Neither can health, which hitherto I have so long enioied, and which so seldome hath bin crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sickenelle shorten them of it. At every minute me thinkes I make an escape. And I vncessantly record vnto my selfe, that whatsoever may bee done another day, may be effected this day. Truly hazards and dangers do little or nothing approach vs at our end: And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more then millions seeme to threaten vs, and hang over vs, we shall find, that bee we found or sicke, lustie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the middest of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike neere vnto vs. *Nemo alio fragilior est, nemo in crastinum, suu certior.* No man is weaker then other, none surer of himselfe (to live) till to morrow. Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to ende the same, seemeth short vnto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memorial of something I would have done after my death I told him (as in deede it was true,) that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made hast to write it, because I could not assure my self I should ever come home in safety; As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I may be: nor can death (come when she please) put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to do but with himselfe.

Hor. l. 2. od. 16

Quid brevi fortes iaculamur aeo

Multa?

To aime why are we ever bold,

At many things in so short hold?

For then we shal have worke sufficient, without any more accrease. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped-for victorie, than of death it selfe; another cries out, he should give place to hir, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing vp; an other bewaileth he must forgoe

forgoe his wives company : another moaneth the losse of his children as the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now, by meanes of the mercy of God, in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at anie worldly matters, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am everie where free: my farewell is soone taken of all my friendes, except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply, and fully, or more generally speake of all thoughts of it, then I am fully assured I shall doe. The deadeft deaths are the best.

*Miser ô miser (aiunt) omnia ademir,
Vna dies infesta mihi tot premia vita:
O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,
All ioies of life hath taene away:*

Lucr. lib. 3. 932

And the builder,

*—maneat (saith he) opera interrupta, minaq;
Murorum ingentes.
The workes vnfinisht lie,
And walles that threatned hie.*

Virg. Aen. lib. 4
88.

A man should designe nothing so long afore hand, or at least with such an intent, as to passionate himselfe to see the end of it; we are all borne to be doing.

*Cum moriar, medium soluar & inter opus.
When dying I my selfe shall spend,
Ere halfe my businesse come to end.*

Ouid. am. lib. 2.
el. 10. 36.

I would have a man to be dooing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize vpon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her darte, but more of my vnperfect gardin. I sawe one die, who being at his last gaspe, vncessantly complained against his destinie, and that death should so vnkindely cut him off in the midst of an historie which he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth or sixeteenth of our Kings.

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum,
Iam desiderium rerum super insidet vna.
Friends adde not that in this case, now no more
Shalt thou desire or want things wisht before.*

Lucr. lib. 3. 934

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgare and hurtfull humours. Even as churchyards were first placed adjoyning vnto churches, and in the most frequented places of the Cittie, to enure (as *Lycurgus* saide) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, skulls, tombes, graves, and burials, should forewarne vs of our condition, and fatall end.

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia cade
Mos olim, & miscere epulis spectacula dira
Certatum ferro, saepe & super ipsa cadentum
Pocula, resperxis non parco sanguine mensis.*

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests,
And with dire shews of slaughter to mixe feasts
Of them that fought at sharpe, and with boards tainted
Of them with much blood, who o're full cups fainted.

And even as the Ægyptians after their feasting and carowls, caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and by-standers, by one that cried aloude, *Drinke and be mery, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead*: So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwayes death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, then of the death of men: that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death; and in reading of histories, which I so attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling and huddling vp of my examples, I affect no subject so particularly as this. Were I a composer of bookes, I would keepe a register, commented of the diverse deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. *Dicearcus* made one of that title, but of an other and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to me, the effect exceeds the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either loose or forget,

if

if he come once to that point; let them say what they list : To premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage : and is it nothing, at the least to goe so farre without dismay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it : Nature her selfe lends vs her hand, and gives vs courage. If it be a short and violent death, we have no leasure to feare it; if otherwise, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some disdain and contempt of life. I finde that I have more adoe to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, then I have, when I am troubled with a feaver : forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I beginne to loose the vse and pleasure, and view death within the face with a lesse vndanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I go from that, and the neerer I approach to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition, for their exchange. Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which *Cesar* affirmed, that often somethings seeme greater, being farre from vs, then if they bee neere at hand : I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more beene frightened with sicknesse, then when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength, make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplifie these commodities by one moytie, and apprehend them much more heavy and burthensome, then I feele them when I have them vpon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider wee by the ordinary mutations, and dayly declinations, which we suffer, how Nature deprives vs of the sight of our losse and empairing : what hath an aged man left him of his youthe's rigor, and of his forepast life?

Hec senibus vita portio quanta manet!

Alas to men in yeares, how small

A parte of life is left in all?

Cesar to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open streete came to him, to beg leave, he might cause himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepite behaviour, answered pleasantly : *Doe'st thou thinke to be alive then?* Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a slowe, and as it were vnperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she roules vs into that miserable state, and day by day seekes to acquaint vs with it. So that when youth failes in vs, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or transchange at all in our selves : which in essence and veritie is a harder death, then that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leape from an ill being, vnto a not beeing, is not so dangerous or steepie; as it is from a delightfull and flowrishing beeing, vnto a painefull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint stooping bodie hath lesse strength to beare and vndergoe a heavy burden : So hath our soule. She must berouged and raised against the violence and force of this aduersarie. For, as it is impossible, she should take any rest whilest shee feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible, vnquietnes, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in hir.

Hor. lib. 3. od. 3.

Non valuit instantis tyranni

Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,

Dux inquieti turbidus Adria,

Nec fulminantis magna Iovis manus.

No vrging tyrants threatning face,

Where minde is sound can it displace,

No troublous wind the rough seas Maister,

Nor Ioves great hand the thunder-caster.

She is made Mistris of hir passions, and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and Sovereigne libertie, that affords vs meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorn of force and justice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

Li. I. epi. 16. 76

— in manicis, &

Compeditibus, servo te sub custode tenebo.

Ipse Deus simul atque volam, me solvet : opinor,

Hoc sentit moriar, mors ultima linea rerum est.

In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee,
Vnder a layler that shall cruell be:
Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall,
He thinks, I shall die: death is end of all.

Our religion hath had no surer humane foundation, then the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon vs vnto it. For why should wee feare to loose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since wee are threatned by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, then to endure one: what matter is it when it commeth since it is vnaavoidable? *Socrates* answered one that told him, The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death; And *Nature* them, said he. What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought vs the birth of all things, so shall our death the ende of all things. Therefore is it as great follie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeares hence, as to waile weelived not a hundred yeares agoe. *Death is the beginning of another life.* So wept we, and so much did it cost vs to enter into this life; and so did we spoile vs of our ancient vaile in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare, a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. *Aristotle* saith, there are certaine little beasts alongst the river *Hispanis* that live but one day; she which dieth at 8. a clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, & she that dies at 5. in the afternoon, dies in hir decrepitude, who of vs doth not laugh, when we shal see this short moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most & the least in ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equall it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no lesse ridiculous. But nature compels vs to it. Depart saith she, out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death, to ~~death~~ retorne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.

life
Lucr. l. 2. 74. 77.

—inter se mortales mutua vivunt,
Et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.
Mortall men live by mutuall entercourse:
And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of your selves: you flie from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared between life and death. The first day of your birth doth as well addresse you to die, as to live.

Prima quæ vitam dedit, hora, carpsit.
The first houre, that to men
Gave life, strait, crompt it then.
Nascentes morimur, finis quæ ab origine pendet:
As we are borne we die; the end
Doth of th' originall depend.

Sen. Her. fur.
chor. 3.

Manil. astr. li. 4.

All the time you live, you steale it from death: it is at hir charge. The continuall work of your life, is to contrive death; you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for, you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are stil dying: and death doth more rudely touch the dying, then the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also bin fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

Cur non ut plenus vite conviva recedis?
Why like a full-fed guest,
Depart you not to rest?

Lucr. li. 3. 969

If you have not knowne how to make vse of it: if it were vnprofitable to you, what neede you care to have lost it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

—cur amplius addere queris
Rursum quod pereat male, & ingratum occidat omne?
Why seeke you more to gaine, what must againe
All perish ill, and passe with griefe or paine?

Lucr. l. 3. 972.

Life in it selfe is neither good nor evill: it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seene all: one day is equall to

all other daies : There is no other light, there is no other night. This Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same, which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

Non alium videre patres : aliumve nepotes

Aspicient.

No other sawe our Sires of old,

No other shall their sonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my commoditie, is performed in one year. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, and the olde age of the world. He hath plaied his parte: he knowes no other wilines belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other,

Lucr. 16. 1116.

—Versamur ibidem, atque insumus usque,

We still in one place turne about,

Still where we are, now in, now out.

Virg. Georg. l. 2

493

Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.

The yeare into it selfe is cast

By those same steps, that it hath past.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sportes.

Lucr. l. 10 975.

Nam tibi prater ea quod machinor, inveniamque

Quod placeat, nihil est, eadem sunt omnia semper.

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame

Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

“ Make room for others, as others have done for you. Equalitie is the chiefe ground-woke of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained? So may you live long enough, you shall never diminish any thing from the time, you have to die: it is bootlesse; so long shall you continue in that state, which you feare, as if you had died being in your swathing-clothes, and when you were sucking.

Ib. 1126.

—licet, quod vis, vivendo vincere secla,

Mors aeterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit.

Though yeares you live, as many as you will,

Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no discontent.

Lucr. li. 3. 911.

In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te,

Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum,

Stansque iacentem.

Thou know'st not, there shall be no other thou,

When thou art dead indeede, that can tell how

Aliue to waile thee dying, standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall wish for life, which you so much desire.

950.

Nec sibi enim quisquam tuum se vitamque requirit,

953.

Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit vllum.

For then none for himselfe or life requires: himself

Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared then nothing, if there were any thing lesse, then nothing.

967.

—multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,

Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus.

Death is much lesse to vs, we ought esteeme,

If lesse may be, then what doth nothing seeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concerne you nothing. Alive, because you are: Dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours, then that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

1003.

Respice enim quam nil ad nos antea cuncta vetustas

Temporis aeterni fuerit,

For marke, how all antiquitie fore-gone

Of all time ere we were, to vs was none.

Where-

Wherefoever your life endeth, there is it all. The profit of life consistes not in the space, but rather in the vse. Some man hath liued long, that hath had a short life. Follow it whilst you have time. It consistes not in number of yeares, but in your will, that you have liued long enough. Did you thinke you should never come to the place, where you were still going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company may solace you, doth not the whole world walke the same path?

—omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur.

Life past, all things at last
Shall follow thee as thou hast past.

Do not all things moue as you doe, or keepe your course? Is there any thing growes not olde together with your selfe? A thousand men, a thousand beastes, and a thousand other creatures die in the very instance that you die.

*Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora sequuta est,
Que non audierit mistos vagitibus agris
Ploratus mortis comites & funeris atri.*

lib. 2. 377.

No night ensued daie light: no morning followed night
Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens groaning.
With death and funeralles joyned was that moaning.

To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe? You have seene many who have found good in death, ending thereby many many miseries. But have you seene any that hath received hurt thereby? Therefore is it meere simplicity to condemne a thing you never proved, neither by your selfe nor any other. Why doest thou complaine of me and of destinie? Although thy age be not come to hir periede, thy life is. A little man, is a whole man, as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are measured by the Ell. *Chiron* refused immortalitie, being informed of the conditions thereof, euen by the God of time and of continuance, *Saturne* his father. Imagine truely how much an ever-during life would be lesse tollerable and more painefull to a man, then is the life which I have given him. Had you not death, you would then vncessantly curse, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and wittingly blended some bitternes amongst it, that so seeing the commoditie of it's vse, I might hinder you from over greedily embracing, or indiscreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is neither to flie from life, nor to runne to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetnes & sowrenes. I first taught *Thales* the chiefest of your Sages and Wise men, that to live & die, were indifferent, which made him answere one very wisely, who asked him, wherefore he died not; *Because*, saith he, *it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my universe, are no more the instruments of thy life, then of thy death. Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conserreth no more to thy death, then any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth wearines: it onely declares it. All daies march towards death, onely the last comes to it.* Beholde here the good precepts of our vniversall mother Nature. I have oftentimes bethought my selfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the visage of death (whether we see it in vs or in others) seemeth without all comparison much lesse dreadfull and terrible vnto vs, then in our houses, or in our beds, otherwise it should be an armie of Phisitians and whiners, and she ever being one, there must needes bee much more assurance amongst contrie-people and of base condition, then in others. I verily beleue, these fearefull lookes, and astonishing countenances wherewith we encompasse it, are those that more amaze and terrifie vs then death: a new forme of life: the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swooning friends: the assistance of a number of pale-looking, distracted, and whining servants; a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch beset round with Phisitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of vs: are we not already dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked; and so are we: The maske must as well be taken from things, as from men, which being remoued, we shal finde nothing hid vnder it, but the verie same death, that a feely varlet, or a simple maide. seruant, did lately suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.

Do we offer thee anie wrong? Is it for thee to direct us, or for us to gouerne thee?

The twentieth Chapter.

Of the force of imagination.

FOrtis imaginatio generat casum: A strong imagination begetteth chance, say learned clarkes. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impressiō of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist hir, my endeavor is to avoide it. I could live with the onely assistance of holy and mery-hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish; and my sense hath often vsurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throate. I am more vnwilling to visite the sicke dutie dooth engage me vnto, then those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evil which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give hir scope to worke hir will, and applaude hir. *Simon Thomas* was a great Phisitian in his daies. I remember vpon a time comming by chance to visit a rich olde man that dwelt in *Tholouse*, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said *Simon Thomas* of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes vpon the livelines and freshnes of my face, and setting his thoughts vpon the jolitie and vigor, wherewith my youthfull age did then florish, and filling all his senses with my flourishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. *Gallus Vibius* did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that hee so transported his judgement from out his seate, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast, to have become a foole through wisdom. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hang-mans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth wherewith he was hood-winkt, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead vpon the scaffold, wounded onely by the stroke of imagination. We sweate, we shake, we growe pale, and we blush at the motions of our imagination; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner, as sometimes we are readie to yeeld vp the spirit. And burning youth (although asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfolded, that dreaming it doth satisfie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Lucr. lib. 4. 927.

*Vt quasi transactis saepe omnib' rebus profundant
Fluminis ingentes fluctus, vestemque cruentant.*

As if all things were done, they powre forth streames
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreames.

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing vpon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed: notwithstanding the fortune or successe of *Cyppus* King of *Italie* is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection, assisted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the sonne of *Cræsus* his voice, which nature had denied him. And *Antiochus* got an ague, by the excellent beautie of *Stratonica* so deeply imprinted in his minde. *Plinie* reporteth to have seene *Lusius Cossinius* vpon his mariage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. *Pontanus* and others recount the like Metamorphesies to have hapned in *Italie* these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother,

Ouid. Metam.
lib. 9. 794.

Vota puer solvit, qua femina voverat Iphis.

Iphis a boy, the vowes then payde,

Which he vow'd when he was a mayde.

My selfe traveling on a time by *Uirry* in *France*, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop
of

of *Soissons* had in confirmation, named *Germane*, and all the inhabitants there about have both knowne and scene to be a woman-childe, vntill shee was two and twentie yeares of age, called by the name of *Marie*. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long bearde, and was yet vnmarried. Hee saith, that vpon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape an other, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he sodainly felt the instruments of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countrie have a song in vse, by which they warne one an other, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should be turned to boyes, as *Marie Germane* was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that least she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpenesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this virile parte vnto wenches. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of ~~the~~ King *Dagobert*, or the cicatrices of Saint *Francis* vnto the power of imagination. Other some will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes removed from their places. And *Celsus* reportes of a priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained voyde of all expiration and sence. Saint *Augustine* speaketh of an other, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wailefull cries, would sodainly fall into a fowne, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loude, pinch and thumpe him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, vntill he came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundry strange voyces, comming as it were from a farre, and perceiving his pinches and bruses, wondered at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sence, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchauntments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgare sort, as the weakest and feeblest, whose conceit and beliefe is so seized vpon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, wherewith our world is so fettered, and *France* so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are happily but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answere as for my selfe, and in whom no manner of suspicion either of weakenesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make reporte of an extraordinary faint fawning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, wherevpon the horror of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping: And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits: So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in time remedied by an other kinde of raving. For himselfe avowing and publishing afore hand the infirmitie he was subject vnto, the contention of his soule was solaced vpon this, that bearing his evill as expected, his duty thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and vnmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due and place) to make the same to bee felt, seized vpon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once beene capable, he can not afterward be incapable, except by a iust and absolute weakenesse. Such a mischief is not to be feared, but in the enterprises, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunitie comes v unexpected and requires a sodaine dispatch. There is no meanes for a man to recover himselfe from this trouble; I know some, who have found to come vnto it with their bodies as it were halfe glutted else-where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heate of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse vnable, by how much more they be lesse able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchauntments, to preserve him in any such conflict: It is not amisse I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with whom I was familiarly acquainted, being married to a very faire Lady, who had long beene solicited for love, by our assisting at the wedding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an olde Lady his kinswoman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was fo-

lemnized, as she that much feared such forceries and witchcrafts : which she gave mee to vnderstand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relie vpon me : I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my truncke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiall figures, good against the sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fitly layde vpon the future of the head : and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a riband, to be fastened vnder the chinne. A fond doting conceit, and cosin-germane to that wee now speake of. *James Peletier* had whilst he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift vpon mee ; I advised my selfe to put it to some vse, and tolde the Earle, he might happily be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was worse, some spitefull shame; but neverthelesse I willed him boldly to goe to bed : For I would shew him the parte of a true friend, and in his neede, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power; alwayes provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret; which was onely, that when about mid-night he should have his candle brought him, if he had had no good successe in his businesse, hee should make such and such a signe to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed, and his eares so dulled, that by reason of the bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination had tied him, hee could not runne on poste : and at the houre appointed, made the signe agreed vpon betweene vs, I came and whispered him in the eare, that vnder pretence to put vs all out of his chamber, he should rise out of his bed, and in jesting maner take my night gowne which I had on, and put it vpon himselfe (which he might well doe, because we were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appointment, which was, that when we should be gone out of the Chamber, he should with-draw himselfe to make water, and vsing certaine jestures, I had shewed him, speake such wordes thrice over. And every time he spake them he should girt the Ribbond, which I put into his handes, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastned, just vpon his kidneys, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the laste time so fastened the ribbond, that it might neither be vntide nor stirred from his place, hee should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spreade my night-gowne vpon his bed, but so as it might cover them both. These fopperies are the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being vnable so to free it selfe, but some strange meanes will proceede from some abstruse learning : Their inanie gives them weight and credite. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters proved more venerian than solare, more in action, than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemy to craftie and fained actions, and hate all suttletie in my handes, not onely recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course vnto it, is facultie. *Amasis* king of *Egipt* tooke to wife *Laodice*, a very beauteous yong virgine of *Greece*, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a lustie gallant, found himselfe so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had bin some charme or forcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she addrest him to devotion. And having made his vowes and promises to *Venus*, he found himselfe divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong vs, to receiue and admit vs with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting vs a fire, extinguish vs.

Pythagoras his neece was wont to say, *That a woman which lies with a man, ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe.* The minde of the assailant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismaide. And hee whom imagination hath once made to suffer this shame (and shee hath caused the same to be felt but in the first acquaintances; because they are then burning and violent, and in the first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraide and quaint to misse the marke he shootes at) having begunne ill he falls into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may goe to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprize, vnlesse they be readie. And it is better vndecentlie to faile in hanfeling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, lesse sodaine and alarmed, then to fall into a perpe-

perpetuall miserie, by apprehending an astonishment, and desperation of the first. Before possession taken, a patient ought by sallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer him selfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as knowe their members docile and tractable by nature, let them onely endeavour to counter-cosin their fantasie. Men have reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no neede of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently failing, at what time wee have most neede of him; and so imperiously contesting by his authority, with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our sollicitations both mentall and manuall. Neverthelesse if a man inasmuch as hee dooth gormandize and devoure his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause, I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have in envy of his importance, and sweetnesse of his vse, devised this imposture, and framed this set quarrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre it to your thought, whether there be anie one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse hir particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces, witnesse the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers? The same cause that dooth animate this member, doth also, vnwitting to vs, embolden our hart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on vs, the flame of a contagious or aguish emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not onely of our will, but also of our thought? We cannot commaunde our haire to stand on end, nor our skinne to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to seeke of their faculties, the one looseth her speach, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feede vpon, wee would willingly forbid it: the appetites to eate, or list to drinke, doe not leave to moove the partes subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh vs, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilations, besides our intent, and against our meaning, as these are destined to discharge the kidneis. And that which, the better to authorize our willes power, an ancient Father alleadgeth, to have seene one, who could at all times commaund his posterior, to let as many scapes as he would, and which *Vives* endeareth by the example of an other in his dayes, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voyce propounded vnto his eares, inferreth the pure obedience of that member: than which, none is commonly more indiscrete and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe knowe one so skittish and mutinous, that these fortie yeeres keeps his maister in such awe, that will he, or nill he, hee will with a continuall breath, constant and vntermittted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knewe it but by Histories, how that many times our belly, being restrained thereof, brings vs even to the gates of a pining and languishing death: And that the Emperour, who gave vs free libertie to vent at all times, and every where, had also given vs the power to doe it. But our will, by whose priviledge wee advance this reproch, how much more likelic, and consonant to trueth may wee taxe it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its vnrulinesse and disobedience? Will shee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is she not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and damage? Doth she suffer herselfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would vrge in defence of my client, that it would please the Iudges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseperably conjoyned to a consort, and indistinctly: yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his saide consort. For, his effect is indeede sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the sawcinesse and illegalitie of the accusers scene. Howsoever it be, protesting that advocates and judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course: who, had she endewed this member with a-

decoction?

ny particular priviledge, yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the onely immortall woorke, of mortall men. Divine woorke according to *Socrates*; and love, desire of immortallitie, and immortall *Demon* himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination, leaveth the pox or Kings evill here, which his companion carrieth into *Spaine* againe: loe here why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepared minde, wherefore do Phisitians labour and practise before hand the conceite and creance of their patients, with so many false promises of their recovery and health, vnlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their ~~imposture~~? They knew that one of their trades-maister hath left written, how some men have beene found, in whom the onely sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation, : All which humor or caprice is now come into my mind, vpon the report which an Apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer; a nation little vaine glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a marchant in *Tholouse*, sickill, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had neede of glisters, who according to the fits and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by Physitians. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hote, and view them well, and lying along vpon his bedde, on his bellie, and all complements performed, only injection excepted; which ceremonie ended, the Apothecary gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeede, he found and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And if the Physitian saw it had not wrought sufficiently, hee would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witnesse protesteth, that the sicke mans wife, to save charges (for he paide for them as if he had received them) having sometimes affaid to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, & vse the Apothecarie. A woman supposing to have swallowed a pinne with her breade, cryed and vexed hir selfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke; but because there appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived or opinion, apprehended by eating of some pretty piece of bread, which happily might pricke hir in the swallow, made hir to vomite, and vnknowne to hir, cast a pinne in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, & imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of hir paine. I have knowne a Gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and in jeast, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eate of a baked Catte; whereat a Gentlewoman of the company apprehended such horror, that falling into a violent ague and distemper of hir stomacke, shee could by no meanes be recovered. Even brute beastes, as well as wee, are seene to be subject to the power of imagination; witnesse some Dogges, who for sorrow of their Maisters death are seene to die, & whome we ordinarily see to startle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and struggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow future of the Spirite and the body, enter communicating their fortunes one vnto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth sometimes worke, not onely against hir owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one body reiecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore eyes, that goe from one to another.

Onid. am. lib. 2.
219.

Dum spectant oculi lasos, leduntur & ipsi:

Multaque corporibus transiione nocent.

Eyes become sore, while they looke on sore eyes:

By passage many ills our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination moved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some dartes, that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of *Scythia*, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, onely with their looke. The Tortoises and the Estriges hatch their egges with their looks only, a signe that they have some ejacular vertue. And concerning Witches they are saide to have offensive and harme-working eyes.

Virg. buc. ecl.
3. 103.

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

My

My tender Lambs I cannot see,
By what bad eye, bewitched be.

Magicians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience we see women to transferre divers markes of their fantasies, vnto children they beare in their wombes; witnes she that brought forth a Black-a-more. There was also presented vnto *Charles* king of *Bohemia*, and Emperour, a young girle, borne about *Pisa*, all shagd and hairy over and over, which hir mother saide, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of *Saint Iohn Baptist*, that was so painted, & hung over hir bed. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by *Iacobs* sheepe, and also by partridges and hares, that grow white by the snowe vpon mountains. There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting vpon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one vpon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have happily heard the Falkners tale, who earnestly fixing his sight vpon a Kite in the aire, laide a wager that with the onely force of his looke, he would make it come stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and holde together by the prooffe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not leave to thinke, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the studie wherein I treat of our manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at *Rome*, or at *Paris*, to *Iohn* or *Peter*, it is alwaies a trick of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advised by this reporte. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadowe as in body. And in divers lessons that often histories affoord, I commonly make vse of that, which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose ende is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare, what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet do not I so, and concerning that point, in superstitious religion, I exceede all historicall credit. To the examples I here set down, of what I haue read, heard, done, or seene, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least opinion, that it may well become a divine, a Philosopher, or other men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdom, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credite vpon a popular reputation? How can they answere for the thoughts of vnknowne persons? And make their bare conjectures passe for currant payment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to beare witnes of them, if by a iudge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would vndertake to answere at full. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past, then present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give accompt but of a borrowed trueth. Some perswade me to write the affaires of my time, imagining, I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, then other men, and perhaps nearer, by reason of the acceffe which fortune hath given me to the chiefeft of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glorie of *Salust*, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowed enemy to observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie to my stile, as a continued narration. I doe so often for want of breath breake off and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phraes and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accomodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my nature might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might happily publish judgements, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet vnlawfull and punishable. *Plutarke* would peradventure tell vs of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others, that his examples are in all and everie where true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and presented with a lustre, that lights and directs vs vnto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinal drugge, whether in an old tale or report, it be thus or thus, so or so.

I wot not what my inscience doth. Concerning this subiect I enter sometimes into conceits,
The

The one and twentieth Chapter.

The profit of one man is the damage of an other. 6.7

Demades the Athenian condemned a man of the Cittie, whose trade was to sell such necessities as belonged to burials, vnder colour, he asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come vnto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all maner of gaine. The Marchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husband man by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suites and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practise of religious Ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. No Phisitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend, saith the ancient Comike: nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Cittie, and so of the rest. And which is worse, let every man sound his owne conscience, he shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most parte nourished and bred in vs by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I beganne to thinke, how Nature doth not gaine say herselfe concerning her generall policie: for Phisitians hold, that *The birth, encrease, and augmentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another.*

*Lucr. lib. 681.
l. 2. 751. l. 3.*

*Nam quodcumque suis mutatum finibus exit,
Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.*

What ever from it's bounds doth changed passe,
That strait is death of that, which erst it was.

The two and twentieth Chapter.

*Of custome, and how a received law should not easily
be changed.* 8

MY opinion is, that hee conceived aright of the force of custome, that first invented this tale; how a countrie woman having enured her selfe to cherish and beare a yong calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great oxe, she carried him still in her armes. For truly, *Custome is a violent and deceiving* schoole-mistress. She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establissheth the foote of her authoritie in vs; by which milde and gentle beginning, if once by the ayde of time, it have settled and planted the same in vs, it will soone discover a furious and tyrannicall countenance vnto vs, against which we have no more the libertie to lift so much as our eyes: wee may plainly see her vpon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: *Usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister. Use is the most effectuall maister of all things.* I beleeve Platoes anchor in his common wealth, and the Phisitians that so often quit there arts reason to her authoritie; and the same King who by meanes of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that Albert mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live vpon spiders: and now in the new found world of the *Indiges*, there were found diverse populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived vpon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them; as also of grasse-hoppers, pisse-mires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toade was solde for six crownes in a time that all such meates were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, roste, bake, and dresse with diverse kindes of sawces. Others have bin found to whom our vsuall flesh and other meates were mortall and venomous. *Consuetudinis magna est vis, Pernoctant venatores in nive, in montibus vrise patiuntur: Pugiles, cestibus*

con-

contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem. Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wil watch all night in snow, and endure to bee scorched on the hills: Fencers brused with sand-bags or cudgels, do not so much as groane. These forraine examples are not strange, if we but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome quaieth and weakeneth our customary senses. We neede not goe seeke what our neighbours reporte of the Cataractes of Nile; and what Philosophers deeme of the celestiall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solide smooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonie: by the changes and entercaprings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carrols of the asters and planets are caused and transported. But that vniverally the hearing senses of these lowe worlds creatures, dizzied and lulled asleepe, as those of the Ægyptians are, by the continuation of that sound, how loud and great soever it be, can not sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noyse that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth vs. My perfumed Ierkin serveth for my nose to smell vnto, but after I have worne it three or foure dayes together, not I, but others have the benefite of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression vpon our senses; as they proove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere vnto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime *Ave-marie* and *Cover-few*, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times it can not waken me out of my sleepe. *Plato* did once chide a childe for playing with nuts, who answered him. *Thou chidest me for a small matter.* *Custome* replied *Plato*, is no small matter. I finde that our greatest vices, make their first habite in vs, from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education, lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sporte to see a childe wring off a chickens necke, and strive to beate a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will conster as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a readie wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceite, they see them cosine and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the true seedes or rootes of crueltie, of tyrannie, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by the meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weakenesse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then shriller, purer, and more native, when it is tenderer, newer, and youngest. Secondlie, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus. Why should not he as well deceave one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? Then as commonly some doe, saying, alas, it is but a pinne. I warrant you, he will not doe so with crownes. A man should carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuitie, and to distinguish the deformitie of them, that they may not onely eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceite may seeme odious, vnto them. I know well, that because in my youth, I have ever accustomed my selfe to treade a plaine beaten path; and have ever hated to entermeddle any manner of deceit of cosoning-craft, even in my childish sportes (for truly it is to bee noted, that Childrens playes are not sportes, and should be deemed as their most serious actions.) There is no pastime so slight, that in wardlie I have not a naturall propension, and serious care, yea extreame contradiction, not to vse any deceit. I shuffle and handle the cardes, as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or loose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoever it be, mine owne eies will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch me so narrowly; nor that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at *Nantes*, was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feete to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meate, hee chargeth and shootes off a pistole, he threds a needle, he serveth, he writeth, puttes off his cappe, combeth

combeth his head, playeth at cards and dice; shuffleth and handleth them with as great dexterity as any other man that hath the perfect vse of his hands : the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath carried away with his feete, as well as any other could do with his handes. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because hee had no handes) would brandish a two hand-Sword, & mannage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could do with his hands : he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throwe a Dagger, and make a whippe to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in France. But hir effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions, which it worketh in our mindes where it meets not so much resistance. What cannot she bring to passe in our judgements, and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical or conceit so extravagant (I omit to speake of the grosse imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have bin befotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, do loose and mis-carry himself therein) or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions soever it hath thought good? And this aunient exclamation is most just : *Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque natura, ab animis consuetudine imbutis querere testimonium veritatis?* Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the watch-man and hunts-man of nature, to seeke the testimonie of truth, from mindes enaied and double dyed with custome? I am of opinion, that no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worshipping. There are others, who when their King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretcheth forth hir hand; and in an other countrey, where the noblest about him, stoupe to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth : Let vs here by the way insert a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand, (a thing much against our fashion) maintaining his so doing; and who in wittie jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what priviledge this filthy excrement had, that wee should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully folde it vp, and keepe the same about vs, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrements and filth. Me thought he spake not altogether without reason : and custome had taken from me the discerning of this strangenesse, which being reported of an other countrie we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; vse brings the sight of our judgement asleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to vs, then we are to them : nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had traueiled through these farre-fetched examples, hee could stay himselfe vpon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what forme soever they be of : infinite in matter : infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theame. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King, but through a trunk. Another nation, where virgines shew their secret partes openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion vsed in other places, hath some relation : where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake; and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children, with certaine medicaments, which they have onely for that purpose. And in another country, if a Marchant chance to marrie, all other Marchants that are bidden to the wedding, are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is hers, for constancie and capacite : the like if a gentleman or an officer marrie; and so of all others : except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custome) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall accompt, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publike brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open marte of marriages are ever to be had : where wo-

men

Strang Customs

2p 26

men goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in commaund, where they do not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lips, and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of golde through their pappes and buttocks, where when they eate, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitories, and the soles of their feete, where not children, but bretheren and nephewes inherite; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Sovereigne Majestrates have the generall charge of husbandry and tilling of the landes, and of the distribution of the fruites, according to every mans neede, where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their olde mens decease. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives, where such women as loose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not: where the condition of women is so detested, that they kill all the maiden children, so soone as they are borne, and to supply their naturall neede, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alledging any cause put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a morter, so long till it come to a kinde of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to be devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with all commodities, and that from them proceeds that *Eccho*, which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shute exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and stoope with their heads, and put off their shooes when they enter their kings houses. Where Eunukes that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses and lips cut off. And Priests, that they may the better acquaint themselves with their *Demons*, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes himselfe a God of what he pleaseth: the hunter, of a Lion or a Fox; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of Fish; and frame themselves Idols of every humane action or passion: the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefe Gods: the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking vpon the Sunne, and when they eate both flesh and fish raw. Where the greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man, that hath lived in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send vnto Princes their vassals every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the olde fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound vpon paine *lese maiestatis*, to fetch for their vses. Where, when the King (which often commeth to passe) wholly to give himselfe vnto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe the like, and conuaieth the right of the kingdome vnto the third heire. Where they diversifie the forme of policie, according as their affaires seeme to require: and where they depose their Kings, when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to vndertake and wealde the kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the communalitie. Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with seaven enemies heads, is made noble. Where some live vnder that so rare and vnsofiable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a bed without paine of griefe. Where women on both their legs weare greavs of Copper: and if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maide dare marrie, except she have first made offer of hir Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it vp toward heaven: where all men beare burthens vpon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse standing, and men cowering. Where in signe of true friendshippe they send one another some of their owne blood, and offer incence to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children sucke till they be foure, and sometimes twelve yeares olde, in which place they deme it a small thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to

punish their male-children, and mothers onely maide-children, and whose punishment is to hang them vp by the fecte, and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised; where they eate all manner of hearbes, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill flavour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all theeves much more severely punished there, than any where else; where, as monkies doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crusht betweene their nailes; where men, so long as they live, never cut their haire, nor pare their nailes: another place where they onely pare the nailes of their right hand, & those of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained: where they indeavour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow; and very often shave away that of the left side: where in some Provinces neere vnto vs, some women cherish their haire before, and other some that behinde, and have the contrarie: where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their guests, so that they pay ready mony: where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their sonnes: where, in solemne assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of blood or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feede vpon humane flesh: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preserved, and which die and bee cast out, whilest they are yet in their mothers wombe: where olde husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what vse soever they please: In other places, where all women are common without sinne or offence: yea in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many fringed tassels, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall common-wealth of women? hath it not taught them to manage Armes? to leavie Armies, to marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that which strickt-searching Philosophie could never perswade the wisest, doth she not of her owne naturall instinct teach it to the grossest-headed vulgare? For we know whole nations, where death is not only contemned, but cherished; where children of seven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or shewing any signe of dismay endured to be whipt to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablest & neediest wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoop for a purse full of gold. Have we not heard of diverse most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding all maner of necessarie victualls, where neverthelesse the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes, were but bread, water-creffes, and water? Did not custome worke this wonder in *Chios*, that during the space of seaven hundred yeares it was never found or heard of, that any woman or mayden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or can not: and with reason doth *Pindarus*, as I have heard say, *Call her the Queene and Empresse of all the world*. Hee that was mette beating of his father, answered, *It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather; and pointing to his sonne, saide, this childe shall also beate mee, when he shall come to my age*. And the father, whom the sonne haled and dragged through thicke and thinne in the streete, commaunded him to stay at a certaine doore, for himselfe had dragged his father no further: which were the bounds of the hereditarie and injurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to shew their fathers. By custome, saith Aristotle, *as often as by sicknesse, doe we see women tug and teare their haire, bite their nailes, and eate coles and earth: and more by custome then by nature do men meddle and abuse themselves with men*. The lawes of conscience, which we say to proceede from nature, rise and proceede of custome: every man holding in speciall regarde, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, can not without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe vnto them: when those of *Crete* would in former ages curse any man, they besought the Gods to engage him in some bad custome. But the chiefe effect of her power is to seize vpon vs, and so to entangle vs, that it shall hardly lie in vs, to free our selves from her holde-fast, and come into our wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordinances; verily, because wee sucke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worldes visage presents it selfe in that estate vnto our first view, it seemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that course. And the common imaginations we finde in credite about vs, and by our fathers seede infused in our soule, seeme

to be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compasse of custome, wee deeme likewise to bee beyond the compasse of reason. God knowes how for the most parte, vnreasonably. If as we, who study our selves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sorte belong vnto his private state, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blowe to the ordinary sottishnesse of his iudgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgare, & never to themselves; and in hew of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and vnprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let vs returne to customes soveraignety, such as are brought vp to libertie, and to commaund themselves, esteeme all other forme of pollicie, as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affoordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they runne to plant a new one with semblable difficulties, because they can not resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the mediation of custome, that every man is contented with the place, where nature hath settled him: and the savage people of Scotland have nought to doe with Touraine, nor the Scythians with Thessalie. Darius demanded of certaine Græcians, For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to eat their deceased fathers (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, then in their owne bowels) they answered him, That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhumane a custome: But having also attempted to perswade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Græcians, which was to burne their corpes, they were much more astonished thereat. Every man dooth so, forso much as custome dooth so bleare vs that wee can not distinguish the true visage of things.

Note xp

*Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non minuant mirari omnes
Paulatim.*

Lacr. l. 2. 983.

Nothing at first so wonderous is, so great,
But all, t'admire, by little slake their heate.

Having other times gone about to endear, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute auctoritie received in most parts about vs, and not desiring, as most men doe, onelie to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from hir beginning, I found the foundation of it so weake, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much adoe to keepe my countenance. This is the receipte by which Plato vndertaketh to banish the vnnaturall and preposterous loves of his time; and which hee esteemeth Sovereigne and principall. To wit that publike opinion may condemn them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receipt by meanes whereof the fairest Daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor bretheren most excellent in beautie, the love of their sisters. The very fables of *Thyestes*, of *Oedipus* and of *Macareus*, having with the pleasure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chastitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne: but to vse it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is easie, to endear it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and vniverfall reasons are of a hard preservation. And our Maisters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves head-long into the liberty or sanctuarie of custome. Those that wil not suffer themselves to be drawne out of this originall source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions, witnesse *Chrissippus*; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small account he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an vndoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head, and frowning wrinkles of custome, which ever attends them: which maske being pulled off, & referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his iudgement, as it were over-turned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I wil then aske him, what thing can be more strange, then to see a people bound to followe lawes, he never vnderstood? Being in all his domesticall affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases, and sales, necessarily bounde to custo-

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many rules; which forsoinuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot vnderstand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and vse. Not according to the ingenious opinion of *Isocrates*, who counselleth his King to make the *Trafikes and negotiations of his subiects, free, enfranchized and gainefull, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burthen-some, and charged with great subsidies, and impositions*: But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and traficke of reason it selfe, and to give lawes a course of marchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians reporte) it was a Gentleman of *Gaskonie*, and my Countryman, that first opposed himself against *Charles the great*, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst vs. What is more barbarous then to see a nation, where by lawfull custome the charge of judging is solde, and judgements are paide for with readie money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to paie for it; and that this marchandize hath so great credite, that in a politicall government there should be set vppe a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joyned to the three auncient states, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobility, and the Communalitie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double Lawes must followe; those of honour, and those of justice; in many things very contrary do those as rigorously condemne a lie pocketed vp, as these a lie revenged: by the lawe and right of armes hee that putteth vp an injurie shalbe degraded of honour and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civill Lawe incurre a capitall punishment? Hee that shall addresse himselfe to the Lawes to have reason for some offence done vnto his honour, dishonoreth himselfe. And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished and chastised. And of these so different partes, both nevertheless having reference to one head; those having peace, & these warre committed to their charge; those having the gaine, and these the honor: those knowledge, and these vertue: those reason, these strength: those the worde, these action: those justice, these valour: those a long gowne, & these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever wil reduce them to their tru end, which is the service & commodity of the bodie, whence dependeth their original grace & comelineffe, for the most fantastical to my humour that may bee imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet, that hangs over our womens heades, with his parti-coloured, *traine*, and that vaine and vnprofitable modell of a member, which wee may not so much as name with modestie, whereof notwithstanding we make publike shewe, and open demonstration. These considerations doe nevertheless never distract a man of vnderstanding from following the common guise: Rather on the contrarie, me seemeth, that all severall, strange, and particular fashions proceede rather of follic, or ambitious effectations, then of true reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the common prease, and holde the same libertie and power to judge free lie of all things, but for outward matters, he ought absolutely to followe the fashions and formes customarily received. Publicke societie hath nought to doe with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travell, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to it's service and common opinions: as that good & great *Socrates*, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and vnjust. For that is the rule of rules, and generall lawe of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

νόμοις ἔπεισθαι τοῖσιν ἐν χάρις καλόν.

Lawes of the native place,

To followe, is a grace.

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth a great doubt, whether any so evident profite may be found in the change of a received lawe, of what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing the same; forsoinuch as a well settled pollicie, may be compared to a frame or building of divers partes joyned together with such a ligament as it is impossible to stirre or displace one, but the whole body must needs be shaken, and shewe a feeling of it. The *Thurians* Law-giver instituted, that, *whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of the olde Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himselfe before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently be strangled.* And he of *Lacedemon*, laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens, that they

⌘ those reason, their force: would

would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That *Ephore* or *Tribune*, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that *Phrynis* had added vnto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accordes of it be better filled, hee hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the olde forme. It is that which the olde rustie swoorde of justice of *Marseille* did signifie. I am distasted with noveltye, what countenance soever it shew: and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so presse vs, hath not yet exploited all: But some may alledge with apparance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendred all, yea both the mischiefes and ruines, that since are committed without and against it: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

Hæu patior telis vulnera facta meis,

Alas I suffer smart

Procur'd by mine one dart.

*Ouid. epist.
Phyl. 48.*

Those which attempt to shake an Estate, are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is the first moover of the same, reapeth not alwaies the fruite of such troubles; he beates and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismist and dissolved by it, namely in hir olde yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the toppet to the middle, then it tumbleth downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischiefe. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glorie of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All sortes of new licentiousnesse doe happily drawe out of this originall and frutefull source, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprentifage and excuse of all sortes of wicked enterprises: And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing & allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceites, *Honestas oratio est. It is an honest speech and well said.* But the best pretence of innovation or noueltie is most dangerous: *Ad eò nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est. So nothing moved out the first place is allowable:* Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it argueth a great selfe-love and presumption, for a man to esteeme his opinions so farre, that for to establish them, a man must be faine to subvert a publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable mischiefes, and so horrible a corruption of manners, as ciuill warres, and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne countrie. It is not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine and knowne vices, for to combate contested and debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of vices, then those which shooke a mans owne conscience and naturall knowledge? The Senate durst give this defeate in payment about the controversies betweene it and the people for the mysterie of their religion: *Ad deos, id magis quam ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur:* That that did rather belong to the Gods then to them, and the Gods should looke to it, that their due rites were not polluted. Agreeing with that, which the Oracle answered those of *Delphos*, in the *Medoisan* warre, fearing the invasions of the *Persians*. They demanded of that God what hee doe with the treasures consecrated to his Temple, whether to hide, or to cary away: who answered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselves, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreame justice and profit, but none more apparant then the exact commendation of obedience due vnto magistrates, and manutention of policies: what wonderfull example hath divine wisdom left vs, which to establish the well-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hirs against death and sinne, would not doe it but by the mercy of our politike order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthe effect, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocent blood of so many hir favored elect to runne, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruite? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countrie, and him that vndertaketh to governe and change them. The first alledgeth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example; what-

*Teren. And.
act. 1. sc. 1. 114*

He refers this
to ye rebellion
then in France
upon pretence
of Reformation

they should
them

soever he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas? For who is he whom antiquitie wil not move, being witnessed & signed with former monuments?* Besides that, which *Isocrates* saith, that defect hath more part in moderation, then excesse. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, vsurpeth the authoritie of judging: and must resolve himselfe, to see the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthening my shoulders with so filthie a burthen, as to make my selfe respondent of so important a science. And in this to dare, what in sound judgement I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I had beene instructed, and wherein the rashnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publike constitutions and vn-moueable observances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to vndertake that on devine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill lawe. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they soverainly judges of their judges: and their extreame sufficiencie, serveth to expound custome and extend the vse, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time devine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessarily constrained vs, it is not to give vs a dispensation of them. They are blowes of hir divine hand, which we ought not to quitate, but admire: as extraordinarie examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kindes of wonders, which for a testimonie of hir omnipotencie it offereth vs, beyond our orders and forces, which it is folly and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration and meditate with astonishment. Acts of hir personage, and not of ours. *Cotta* protesteth very opportunely. *Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scauolam, Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum sequor. When we talke of religion I follow Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio P. Scauola and the professors of religion, not Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus.*

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles, yea great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are, who may boast to have exactly survaied the reasons and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble vs. But whither goeth all this other throng? Vnder what colours doth it quarter it selfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors, that it would have purged in vs, it hath enflamed, exasperated, and sharpened, by hir conflict, and still doth remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of hir weakenes purge vs, but hath rather weakned vs; so that we cannot now voide it, and by her operation we reape nothing but long, continuall and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving hir authoritie above our discourses, doth sometimes present vs the vrgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld hir some place: And when a man resisteth the increafe of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe eachwhere and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sorte advance their desseigne, that have nor lawe, nor order, but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation and prejudiciall inequality.

*Sen. Oed. act. 3.
sc. 7.*

*Aditum nocendi perfido prestat fides.
Trust in th'vntrustie, may
To hurt make open way.*

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents, it presupposeth a body holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding is a cold, dull, heaume, and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and vnbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men knowe, a reproch to those two great personages, *Octavius* and *Cato*, in their civill warres; the one of *Scilla*, the other of *Cesar*, because they rather suffered their countrie to incurre all extremities, then by hir lawes to aide hir, or to innovate any thing. For truly in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hould by, it were peradventure better, to shrugge the shoulders, stoope the head, and somewhat yeelde to the stroke, then beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing the

the better, and give violence occasion to trample all vnder-foote: and better were it, to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleep foure and twentie houres: And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender: And another who of the moneth of Iune made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being vrged by their lawes, which precisely forbad and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring, that *Lysander* should once more take that charge vpon him, they created one *Araus* Admirall, but instituted *Lysander* superintendent of al maritime causes. And with the same sutteltie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the charge of some ordinance, *Pericles* alleadging, that it was expressly forbid to remove the table, wherein a lawe had once bene set downe, perswaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof *Plutarke* commendeth *Philopamon*, who being borne to commaund, could not onely comaund according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publike necessitie required it.

The three and twentieth Chapter. 3

Divers events from one selfe same counsell.

IAmes Amiot, great Almoner of France, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes. (And so he was indeede by very good tokens, albeit by ofspring he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the siege of *Roane*, the said Prince being advertised by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and enterprife, that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the partie that should performe it, who was a gentle-man of *Aniow*, or *Manse*, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking vpon *Saint Catherins* hill, whence our battery played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to *Roane*) with the said Lord great Almoner, and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descrie the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described vnto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus vnto him, perceaving him already to waxe pale, and tremble at the alarums of his conscience: *Maister, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore-imagine what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly shewe it, you can conceale nothing from me: for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all, you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing* (which were the chiefest props and devises of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) *faile not therefore as you tender your life, to confesse the truth of all your purpose.* When the silly man sawe himselfe so surprized and convicted (for the whole matter had bene discovered vnto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way, but to lift vp his handes, and begge for grace and mercie at the Princes handes, at whose feet hee would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus followeth his discourse. *Come hither my friend,* saide he, *Did I ever doe you any displeasure? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wronged or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprife my death?* The Gentleman with a faint-trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to roote out, and in what maner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then saide the Prince, *I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde, than that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never bin offended by me: and mine, commaundes me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let mee never see you heere againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take honest men for*

// Duke of Guise.

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your counsellors, than those of your religion. The Emperour Augustus being in Gaule, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that L. Cinna complotted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advise and counsell, but passed the fore-going night with great anxietie and vnrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a young Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great Pompeys nephew, to his death: which perplexitie produced diuerse strange discourses and considerations in him. *What?* said he vnto himselfe, *Shall it ever bee reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemy to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many cruell warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an vniuersall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe unpunished, that hath, not only determined to murder, but to sacrifice me?* (For, the complot of the conspiracie was to murder him, when he should be at sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lowerd voyce beganne to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, *Why liuest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may countervaike the sundry mischiefes that are like to ensue, if it be preserved?* Livia his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, saide thus vnto him: *And may not womens counsels be admitted? Doe as Physitians are wont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto thou couldest never doe any good with severitie: Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, Scipio Murena, Egnatius Scipio, beginne now to proove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby encrease thy glory.* Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermaunded his friendes, whome hee had sommoned to the Counsell, commaunded Cinna to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinna to sit in, he thus bespake him: *First Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leasure to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe; I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious o- ver the conquered. The Priests office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friendes had in many battells shed their bloud for me: After all which benefites, and that I had in ductie tied thee so fast vnto me, thou hast notwithstanding undertaken to kill me.* To whome Cinna replied, crying alowde, *That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same.* Oh Cinna, this is not according to thy promise, answered then Augustus, which was, that thou wouldest not interrupt me: *What I say, is true, thou hast undertaken to murder me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, and in such manner: and seeing him so amazed in heart, and by his evidence stricken dombe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; why wouldest thou doe it, replied he, is it because thou wouldest be Emperour? True lie the common wealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine own house, and didst but lately loose a proceffe, only by the favor of a seely libertine. What? hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt Cæsars life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposeth thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Cossenians or the Servillians will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe of noble men, noble, not onely in name, but such as by their vertues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it? After many other such like discourses (for he talked with him more than two houres) he saide vnto him, *Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemy, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour, and a patricide: let a true friendship from this day forward beginne betweene vs, let vs strive together, which of vs two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with greater confidence: and so left him.* Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not ask it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heire and executor of his goodes. Now after this accident, which hapned to Augustus in the xl. yeere of his age, there was never any conspiracy or enterprise attempted against him; and he received a just reward for*

for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildenesse and lenitie, could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason: so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdom: and contrary to all projects, devises, counsels, & precautions, fortune doth ever keep a full sway and possessions of all events. We count those Physicians happy and successful, that successfully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue: as if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subsist of it selfe, and whose foundations were too feeble, to stand and rely upon his owne strength: and as if there were none but it, that standes in neede of fortunes helpe-affoording hand, for the effecting of his operations. My conceit of it, is both the worst and the best a man may imagine: for thanks be to God, there is no commerce betweene vs: I am contrary to others; for I ever despise it, and when I am sick, in stead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most: and answer such as urge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarry till such time as I have recovered my health and strength againe; that then I may the better be enabled to endure the violence and hazard of their potions. I let Nature worke, and presuppose vnto my selfe, that she hath provided hir selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend hir self from such assaults as shall beset hir, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In lieu of bringing helpe vnto hir, when shee most striveth, and is combated by sickenesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor vnto hir aduersarie, and surcharge her with newe enemies. Now I conclude, that not only in physicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine artes, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth, that they exceede his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledgeth to proceede from elsewhere, then from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more then Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shewe, the share, shee hath in all their workes, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not only beyond the intent, but besides the very knowledge of the workman. A heedie Reader shall often discover in other mens compositions, perfections farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses, and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them: even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdom can effect, is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weakenesse findes it in it selfe, and so much the more dooth it distrust it selfe. I am of *Sillaes* opinion: and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploits of warre, me thinks I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neither counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave the best parte of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayde, they stil goe beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded vpon apparance or reason, and which quail their courage beyond reason; whence it hath succeeded vnto diverse great Captaines, by giving credite to such rash counsels, and alleaging to their soldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to such and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this vncertainty and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilitytie dooth bring vs to see and chuse what is most commodious, for the difficulties which the diverse accidents and circumstances of everie thing drawe with them: the surest way, if other considerations did not invite vs thereto, is, in my conceit, to followe the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice; and since a man doubteth of the nearest way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt, but that it was more commendable and generous in him, who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the same, then to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill successe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man knoweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he should escaped the end, to which his destinie called him; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations, of so feld-scene humanitie. Sundrie

dry men possessed with this feare, are read-of in auncient Histories; the greatest parte of which have followed the way of fore-running the conspiracies, which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good; witnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to be in this danger, ought not much to rely vpon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safegarde himselfe from an enemy, that masks vnder the visage of the most officious and heartie-seeming friend we have? And to knowe the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings of such as daily attend, and are continually with vs? It will little avails him to have forraine nations to his garde, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men; whosoever he be that resolveth to contemne his owne life, may at any time become maister of other mens lives.

Moreover that continuall suspicion, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when *Dion* was advertised that *Callippus* watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe against him: affirming; *He had rather die once, then ever live in feare and miserie, and to garde himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends.* Which thing *Alexandrr* presented more lively and vndantedly by effect, who by a letter of *Parmenio* having received advertisement, that *Phillip* his neereft and best regarded Phisitian, had with mony beene suborned and corrupted by *Darius*, to poyson him, who at the very instant that he gave *Phillip* the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shunne them, but consent to their treachery? This Prince is the Sovereigne patterne of hazardous attempts: yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more resolute constancie, then this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which dayly preach and buzze in Princes eares, vnder colour of their safetie a heady defiance and ever-warie distrustfulnesse, doe nought but tell them of their ruine, and further their shame and downfall. No noble act is atchived without danger. I know one by his owne complexion of a right martiall courage, and readie for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies: to stand vpon his owne garde; never to commit himselfe to any stronger then himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrary counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldenesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwayes at hand, when ever neede shall be, as gloriously in a dublet as in an armor; in a cabinet as in a campe; the arme held downe, as lifted vp. A wisdomes so tenderly-precise, and so precisely-circumspect, is a mortall enemy to haughty executions. *Scipio*, to sound the depth of *Siphax* intent, and to discover his minde, leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet unsettled country of *Spaine*, which vnder his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into *Affrike* onely with two simple ships or small barks, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe-countrie, to engage his person, vnder the power of a barbarous King, vnder an vnknowne faith, without either hostage, or letters of credence, yea without any body, but onely vpon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his successfull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. *Habitu fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat.* Most commonly trusting obligeth trustinesse. To an ambitious and fame-aspiring minde, contrarywise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspicions: Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings established his affaires, and settled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an vndoubted affiance in him. *Cesar* did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-mooving fiercenesse of his wordes: and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a sedicious and rebellious Armie.

Nilmetuens.

He on a rampart of turfe vprear'd,
Fearelesse, and fearing none was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this vndaunted assurance can not so fully and lively be represented, but by those in whom the imagination or apprehension of death, and of the worst that may happen, can strike no amazement at all: for, to represent it fearefully-trembling, doubtful and vncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gaine the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without constraint of any necessitie, and in such sorte, that a man bring a pure and vnspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance voide of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the commaund of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously-furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppress the rising-fire of this tumult, resolved to fall out from a strongly-assured place, where he was safe, and yeelde himselfe to that many-headed-monster mutinous rowt; thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably flaine amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great in issuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remissenesse, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, then of guiding, and by requiring sute, then by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme a gratioously-milde severitie, with a militarie commaundement, full of confidence and securitie, becomming his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more successfull, at least with more honour, and well seeming comelinesse. There is nothing lesse to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous-faced-multitude, thus agitated by furie, then humanitie and gentlenesse; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having vndertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave then rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weake and vnarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean offencelesse and mad men, he should have gone through-stitch with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleede at the nose; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance hee had vndertaken, into a dismaide and drooping looke, filling both voyce and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to squatt himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them vpon him. It was determined, there should be a generall muster made of diverse troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be atchieved) there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very vnsecure, or at least, to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Diverse counsells were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advise was, they shoulde carefully avoyde to give any testimonie of suspition, or shew of doubt, and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Souldier shewe an vndanted carriage, and vndismayed countenance, and in stead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aymed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their fallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that *Iulius Caesar* held to be the best a man may take: First he assayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered vnto him, simply to shewe they were not vnknownen to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or dismay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainly, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murdered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach *Dionisius* the tyrant of *Siracusa*, a way to vnderstand and discover the very certaintie of all the practises, his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestowe a good summe of mony vpon him: *Dionisius* being thereof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret and vnderstand the truth of so necessarie an arte for his preservation: the stranger tolde him, there was no other skill in his arte, but that he

he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the vse of so vnvaluable a secret of him. *Dionysius* allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused fixe hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of monie to an vnknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisementes as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons, practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleewe, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of *Athens* committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie vpon the Florentines, but this the chiefest, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies, & Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by *Mathew*, surnamed *Allorozo*, one of the complices, thinking to suppress this warning, and conceale that any in the Cittie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediatly to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the *Triumvirate*, had many times by the subteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him. It fortun'd vpon a day, that a troupe of horse-men, who had the charge to apprehend him, passing alongst a hedge, vnder which he lay lurking, had well nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himselfe from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die once, then live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might ridde them and himselfe from further pursuit and care, did willingly yeelde vnto their cruelty. For a man to call his enemies to aide him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, then remaine still in the continuall fit off such a feaver that hath no remedie. But since the provisions a man may apply vnto it, are full of vnquietnes and vncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe, patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and drawe some comfort from that, which a man is never sure shall come to passe.

The foure and twentieth Chapter.

Of Pedantisme.

6

Xp

I Have in my youth oftentimes beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian Comedies, for a vice or sporte-maker, and the nicke-name of *Magister* to be of no better signification amongst vs. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deede I sought to excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion, that is betweene the vulgar sorte, and rare and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: forsomuch as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choyselt men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe, witnes our good *Bellay*:

Bellay.

Mais ie hay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque.

A pedant knowledge, I

Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for *Plutarch* saith, that Greeke and Scholer, were amongst the Romans, words of reproach and imputation. And comming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found they had great reason, and that, *magis magni clerici, non sunt magis magni sapientes. The greatest Clarkes are not the wisest men.* But whence it may proceede, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quicke-sighted; and a grose-headed, and vulgare spirit, may without amendement, containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits, the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs followe (saide once a Lady vnto me, yea one of our chiefest Princesses, speaking of some body)

dy) that a mans owne wit, force, droope, and as it were diminish it selfe, to make roome for others. I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lampes dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and studie: which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, looseth the mean to spread and cleare it selfe; and that furcharge keepeth it lowe-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellors in matters of estate, to have bin therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publike negotiations, they have indeede sometimes beene vilified, by the comike libertie of their times, their opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridiculous. Will you make them judges of the right of a procelle, or of the actions of a man? They are ready for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man bee any thing then an Oxe; what working or suffering is; what strange beastes law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they vnto him? They do it with an vnreverent and uncivill liberty. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepheard to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world, as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your descent of seaven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the vniversall image of nature, and howe many predecessors every one of vs hath had, both rich and poore, kings & groomes, Greeks and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from *Hercules*, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or alleadge this gift of fortune. So did the vulgare sort disdain them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonicall lustre is farre from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions, as having proposed vnto themselves a particular and inimitable life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common vse: these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an vsociable life, and professing base and abject customs, after the vulgar kind. *Odi homines ignavos opera, Philosophos sententia. I hate men that are fooles in working, and Philosophers in speaking.* As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they reporte of that *Syracusan* Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practise of his skill, for the defence of his countie, reared sodainely certaine terror-mov-ing engines, & shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceits, him selfe notwithstanding disdaining all his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his arte; his engines and manuell workes being but the apprenticeships, and trialls of his skill in sporte. So they, if at any time they have beene put to the triall of any action, they have beene seene to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparantly see their mindes and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seate of politike government possessed by unworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselves from it. And hee who demaunded of *Crates*, how long men should Philosophize, received this answere, vntill such time as they who have the conduct of our armies be no longer blockish asses. *Heraclitus* resigned the royalty vnto his brother. And to the Ephesians, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple: hee answered, And is it not better to doe so, then to governe the publike affaires in your company? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seates of justice, and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And *Empedocles* refused the royaltie, which the *Agrigentines* offered him. *Thales* sometimes accusing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied vnto him, that hee did as the fox, because he could not attaine vnto it him selfe: which hearing, by way of sporte he would needes shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thrifte and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches, as the skillfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That

which *Aristotle* reporteth of some, called both him, *Anaxagoras*, and such like men, wise, and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I doe not very well digest this nice difference of words, that serveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the base and needy fortune, wherewith they are content, we might rather have just cause to pronounce them, neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and thinke it better to say, that this evill proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Maisters, howbeit they proove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the dayly care, and continuall charges of our fathers, aymeth at nothing so much, as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and vertue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, cry out to our people; *Oh what a wise man goeth yonder? And of another: Oh what a good man is yonder?* He will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third cryer were needefull, to say, *Oh what blocke-heads are those!* We are ever ready to aske, *Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse?* But whether hee bee growne better or wiser, which should bee the chiefeft of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wise, then who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both vnderstanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke vp corne or any graine, and without tasting the same, carry it in their bills, therewith to feede their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further then their lips, onely to degorge and cast-it to the wind. It is strange how fitly fottishnesse takes holde of mine example. Is not that which I doe in the greatest parte of this composition, all one and selfe same thing? I am ever here and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to reserve them in) but to transport them into this: where, to say truth, they are no more mine, then in their first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wise, but by present learning, not by that which is past, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worse, their Schollers, and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but passeth from hand to hand, to this end onely, thereby to make a glorious shew, therewith to entertaine others, and with it's helpe to frame some quaint stories or pretty tales, as of a light and counterfeite coyne, vnprofitable for any vse or employment, but to reckon and cast acompts. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum.* They have learned to speake with others, not with themselves; speaking is not so requisite as government. Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth, causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most vnarted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the most artist productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe, pretty and quaint? *Bouba prou bouba, mas à remuda lous dits quém.* You may blow long enough, but if once you stirre your fingers, you may goe seeke. Wee can talke and prate, *Cicero* sayeth thus, These are *Platoes* customes, These are the very words of *Aristotle*; but wat say we our selves? what doe we? what judge we? A Perot would say as much. This fashion puts me in minde of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had bene very industrious to finde out the most sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time, occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be ready to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of *Homere*, othersome with a sentence, eachone according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants mindes. As they doe whose sufficiencie is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turne over his *Lexicon* to see what posterious and scabious is, we take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must bee enfeoffed in vs, and made our owne. Wee may very well be compared vnto him, who having neede of fire, shoulde goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, shoulde there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carry some home, what avails it vs to have our bellies full of meate, if it be not digested? if it bee not

trans-

transchanged in vs? except it nourish, augment and strengthen vs? May we imagine that *Lucullus*, whom learning made and framed so great a Captaine without experience, would have taken it after our manner? We relie so much vpon other mens armes, that we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme my selfe against the feare of death? it is at *Senecaes* cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe or any other? I borrow the same of *Cicero*. I would have taken it in my selfe, had I beene exercised vnto it, I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiency. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, wee can never be wise, but by our owne wisdom.

μὴ σοφιστὴν, ὅστις ἑὶ αὐτῷ σοφός.

Proverb. Lamb.

That wise man I cannot abide,

That for himselfe cannot provide,

Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret. Whereupon saith *Ennius*.
Ennius. That wise man is vainely wise, who could not profit himselfe.

— si cupidus, si

Vanus, & Euganea quantumvis vilior agna.

Iuvenal. Sat.
8.14.

If covetous, if vaine (not wise)

Then any lambe more base, more nice.

* *Non enim paranda nobis solū, sed fructuosa sapientia est.* For, wee must not onely purchase wisdom, but enjoy and employ the same. *Dionysius* scoffeth at those Gramarians, who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of *Ulysses*, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those Musicians, that so attentively tune their instruments, and never accord their manners; derideth those Orators, that study to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our minde be the better, vnlesse our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had employed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his body would be the nimbler. See + xp but one of these our vniuersitie men or bookish schollers returne from schoole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve yeares vnder a Pedants charge: who is so vnapt for any matter? who so vnfitte for any company? who so to seeke if hee come into the world? all the advantage you discover in him, is, that his Latine and Greeke, have made him more fortish, more stupide, and more presumptuous, then before he went from home. Whereas hee should returne with a minde full-fraught, he returnes with a winde-puff conceite: instead of plum-feeding the same, hee hath onely spunged it vp with vanitie. These Maisters, as *Plato* speaketh of Sophisters (their cosin germanes) of all men, are those, that promise to be most profitable, vnto men, and alone, amongst all, that not onely amend not what is committed to their charge, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearely be payed. If the lawe which *Protagoras* proposed to his disciples, were followed, which was, that either they should pay him according to his word, or sweare in the temple, how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfie him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the othe of my experience. My vulgar Perigordin-speech doth very pleasantly terme such selfe-conceited wifards, Letter-ferits, as if they would say letter stricken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most parte they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the vnwily shoemaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking onely of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puff pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their litterall doctrine which floteth vp and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they vnecessarily intricate and entangle themselves: they vtter lofty words, and speake golden sentences, so that another man, place, fit, and apply them. They are acquainted with *Galen*, but know not the disease. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They knowe the Theorike of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practise. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sporte talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kinde of fustian tongue, and spake a certaine gibbish, without rime or reason, sans head or foote, a hotch-pot of diuerse things, but that he did often enterlace it with inke-pot termes, incident to their disputations, to amuse the bookish sot a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the Objections made vnto him; yet was hee a man of letters,

letters, and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

Vos ô patritius sanguis quos vivere par est

Occipiti ceco, postica occurrere sanna.

You noble bloods, who with a noddle blinde,
Should live, meet with the mocke that's made behind.

Whosoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spread it selfe, he shall finde (as I have done,) that for the most part, they neither vnderstand themselves, nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgement ever hollow & emptie: except their naturall inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene *Adrianus Turnebus*, who having never professed any thing but study and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand yeeres, and who notwithstanding had no Pedanticall thing about him, but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions, that could not well be reduced, and incivilized to the courtiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people, that wil more hardly endure a long roabe vncuriously worne, then a crosse skittish mind: & that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demenor view his boots or his hat, & marke what maner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deeme him to have bin one of the most vnspotted and truly. honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose vrged him to speake of matters furthest from his study, wherein hee was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgement distinguish them, that hee seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie then warre, and matters of state. Such spirites, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solide.

— *queis arte benigna*

Et meliore luto finxit precordia Titan.

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed
Of better molde, art wel-disposed.

That maintaine themselves against any badde institution. Now it sufficeth not that our institution marre vs not, it must change vs to the better. There are some of our Parliaments and Courtes, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgement of some lawe cases, endeouore to found their vnderstanding. Me thinks the latter keepe the better stile: And albeit these two parts are necessary, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should that of learning bee lesse prized then judgement, this may well be without the other, and not the other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith.

ὥς οὐδ' ἐν ἡ μάθης, ἢ μὴ μάθης παρῇ.

Learning nought worth doth lie,
Be not discretion by.

Wherto serveth learning, if vnderstanding be not joyned to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of Lawyers were as wel stored with judgement, discretion, and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. *Non vite, sed schola discimus. We learne not for our life, but for the Schoole.* It is not enough to joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated vnto it: it must not be sprinkled, but dyde with it; and if it change not and better hir estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leaue it. It is a dangerous Sworde, and which hindereth and offendeth hir maister, if it bee in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: *Vt fuerit melius non didicisse: So as it were better that we had not learned.* It is peradventure the cause, that neither we, nor divinitie require not much learning in women; and that *Francis Duke of Britannie*, sonne to *Iohn the fifth*, when hee was spoken vnto for a marriage betweene him and *Isabel* a daughter of *Scotland*; and some tolde him she was but meanelly brought vp, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved hir the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough, if she could but make a difference betweene her smocke, and her husbands doublet. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncesters did never make any great accompt of Letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chaunce) they are not often found in our Kings or Princes chiefest counsels and consultations: And if the end to growe rich by them, which now adayes is altogether proposed vnto vs by the studie of Lawe, of Phisicke, of Pedantifine, and of Divinitie, did not keep them in credit, without doubt you should see them

as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach vs to thinke well, nor do well? *Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt. Since men became learned, good men failed.* Each other science is prejudiciall vnto him, that hath not the science of goodnesse. But may not the reason I whilome sought for, also proceede thence? That our study in *France*, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, then lucrative, giving themselves vnto learning, or so briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired vnto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to study & Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning & letters seeke some meane to live, and enrich themselves. The mindes of which people beeing both by naturall inclination, by example, and familiar institution, of the basest stampe, doe falselie reape the fruite of learning. For it is not in hir power to give light vnto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The mystery of it is not to affoord him sight, but to direct it for him, to addresse his goings, alwayes provided he have feete of his owne, and good, strait and capable legges. Knowledge is an excellent drugge, but no drugge is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessell, that containes it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and seeth knowledge, but makes no vse of it. The chiefeft ordinance of *Plato* in his common wealth, is, to give vnto his Cittizens their charge, according to theire nature. Nature can do all, and dooth all. The crookte backe or deformed, are vnfit for any exercise of the body, and crooked and mishappen mindes vnproper for exercises of the minde. The bastard and vulgare sorte are vnworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shodde, if he chaunce to be a shoemaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shodde then they. Even so it seemes, that experience doth often shew vs, a Phisitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient then an other. *Aristo Chius* had heeretofore reason to say, that Philosophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest number of mindes are not apt to profite by such instructions, which, if they take not a good, they will follow a bad course: *ἀσώτους Ex Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis scholae exire.* They proceede licentious out of the Schoole of *Aristippus*, but bitter out of the Schoole of *Zeno*. In that excellent institution which *Xenophon* giveth the Persians, we finde, that as other Nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. *Plato* saith the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. As soone as he was borne, hee was delivered, not to women, but to such Eunuches, as by reason of their vertue were in chiefeft authoritie about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie, goodly, and healthie; and at seaven yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to sitte on horsebacke, and to ride a hunting: when hee came to the age of foureteene, they delivered him into the handes of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most temperate, and the most valiant of all the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever vpright and true; the third, to become Maister of his owne desires; and the fourth, to feare nothing. It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse pollicie of *Lycurgus*, and in trueth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Muses bosome and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that generous youth disdaining all other yokes but of vertue, ought onely be furnished, in lieu of tutors of learning, with maisters of valour, of justice, of wisdom, and of temperance. An example which *Plato* hath imitated in his Lawes. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions vnto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse, they condemned or praised, either this man, or that deede, they must be tolde the trueth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpened their wittes, and learned the right. *Astages* in *Xenophon* calleth *Cyrus* to an accompt of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a greatlad in our Schoole, having a little coate, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coate from him, which was too big for him: our Maister having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had doone ill; because I had onely considered the

comelineffe, where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and saide, hee was whipt for it, as we are in our countie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or *Aoriste* of $\tau\upsilon\pi\lambda\omega$. My Regent might long enough make mee a prolix and cunning Oration in *genere demonstrativo*, in the oratorie kinde of praise or dispraise, before ever hee should perfwade me his Schoole is worth that. They have gone about to make the way shorter: and since Sciences (even when they are right taken) can teach vs nothing but wisdom, honesty, integritie and resolution; they have at first sight, attempted to put their children to the proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action, lively modeling and framing them, not onely by precepts and woordes, but principally by examples and woorkes, that it might not be a Science in their minde, but rather his complexion and habitude; not a purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose when *Agésilas* was demaunded, what his opinion was, children should learne: answered, *What they should doe being men*. It is no marvell, if such an institution have produced so admirable effects. Some say, that in other Cities of *Greece* they went to seeke for Rhetoricians, for Painters and for Musicians; whereas in *Lacedemon*, they sought for Lawe-givers, for Magistrates, and Emperors of armies: In *Athens* men leard to say well, but here, to doe well: there to resolve a sophisticall argument, and to confound the imposture and amphivologie of words, captiously enterlaced together; here to shake off the allurements of voluptuousnes, and with an vndanted courage to contemne the threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those busied and laboured themselves about idle wordes, these after materiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise of speaking, here the minde in an vncessant practise of well-doing. And therefore was it not strange, if *Antipater* requiring fiftie of their children for hostages, they answered cleane contrarie to that wee would doe, *that they would rather deliver him twice as many men*; so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When *Agésilas* inviteth *Xenophon* to send his children to *Sparta*, there to be brought vp; it is not, because they should learne Rhetorike or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, *to the ende they may learne the worthiest and best science that may bee, to witte, the knowledge how to obey, and the skill how to command*. It is a sport to see *Socrates*, after his blunt manner, to mocke *Hippias*, who reporteth vnto him, what great summes of monie he hath gained, especially in certaine little Cities, and small townes of *Sicily*, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at *Sparta* he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no account of grammer or of rythmes; and who onely amuse themselves to knowe the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, *Socrates* forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happines and vertue of their private life, remits vnto him to guesse the conclusion of the vnprofitablenesse of his artes. Examples teach vs both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and effeminate mens mindes, then corroborate and adapt them to warre. The mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now in the world, is that of the *Turkes*, a nation equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and disesteeme of letters. I finde *Rome* to have beene most valiant, when it was least learned. The most warlike nations of our daies, are the rudest and most ignorant. The *Scythians*, the *Parthians*, and *Tamburlane*, serve to verifie my saying. When the *Goths* over-ranne and ravaged *Greece*; that which saved all their Libraries from the fire, was, that one amongst them, scattered this opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers must be left vntoucht and whole for their enemies, as the onely meane, and proper instrument to divert them from all militarie exercises, and amuse them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations. When our King *Charles* the eight, in a manner without vnsheathing his sworde, sawe himselfe absolute Lord of the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and of a great part of *Thuscany*, the Princes and Lords of his traine, ascribed this sodaine, and vn hoped for victorie, and facilitie of so noble and prodigious a conquest, onely to this, that most of the Princes and nobilitie of *Italie* amused themselves rather to become ingenious and wise by learning, then vigorous and warriors by militarie exercises.

The five and twentieth Chapter.

Of the institution and education of children; to the Ladie Diana of

Foix, Countesse of Gurson.

Note how he himself learned ye Latin tongue p. 84

I Never knew father, how crooked and deformed soever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (vnlesse he be merely belotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So is it in my selfe. I see better then any man else, that what I have set downe, is nought but the fond imaginations of him, who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seene but the superficialities of true learning: whereof hee hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme: a sinacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be shorte, I know there is an arte of Phisicke; a course of lawes; foure partes of the Mathematickes; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend vnto. And perhaps I also knowe the scope and drift of sciences in generall, to befor the service of our life. But to wade further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding vpon Aristotle (the Monarch of our moderne doctrine) or obstinately continued in the search of any one science: I confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one arte, whereof I am able so much as to drawe the first lineaments. And there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser then I, who am not able to appose him in his first lesson: and if I be forced to it, I am constrained very impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much vnknowne to them as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except *Plutarke* or *Seneca*, from whom (as the *Danaides*) I drawe my water, vncessantly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: *Historie* is my chiefe studie, *Poesie* my onely delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as *Cleantes* said, that as the voice being forcibly pent in the narrow gullet of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Poesie, darts it selfe forth more furiously; and woundes me even to the quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold here an essay) I perceive them to faint vnder their owne burthen; my conceites, and my judgement march but vnertaine, and as it were groaping, staggering, and stumbling at every rush: And when I have gone as farre as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe: for the further I faile, the more land I descry, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-cast with cloudes, that my sight is so weakned, I cannot distinguish the same. And then vndertaking to speake indifferently of all that presents it selfe vnto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to employ therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) amongst good Authors, to light vpon those very places which I have vndertaken to treate off, as even now I did in *Plutarke*, reading his discourse of the power of imagination, wherein in regarde of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake and so poore, so dull and grosse-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disdain my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to iumpe with theirs, and that I follow them a loose-off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I knowe the vtmost difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to runne abroade, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faultes, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had neede have a strong backe, to vndertake to march foote to foote with these kinde of men. The indiscreete writers of our age, amidst their trivall compositions, entermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors; supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinit varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face, so wan, so ill-favored and so vgly, in respect of theirs, that they loose much more then gaine thereby. These were two con-

His own learning

Note:

trarie humors: The Philosopher *Chrysippus* was wont to foiste-in amongst his bookes, not onely whole sentences, and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in *Euripides* his *Medea*. And *Appollodorus* was wont to say of him, that if one should drawe from out his bookes, what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Where as *Epicurus*, cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behinde him, had not made vse of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light vpon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some french words, so naked and shallowe, and so voide either of sence or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French-words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell I chanced to stumble vpon an high, rich, and even to the cloudes-raised piece, the descent whereof hadde it beene somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had beene excusable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a steepie downe-fall, and by meere strength he-wen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first sixe words, me thought I was caried into another world: whereby I perceived the bottom whence I came to bee so lowe and deepe, as I durst never more adventure to goe through it; for, if I did stufte any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnes of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faultes in others, seemes to me no more vn-sufferable, then to reprehend (as I doe often) those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused everywhere, and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from them: yet doe I knowe how overbouldly, at all times I adventure to equall my selfe vnto my filchings and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare the eyes of the judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously front, and body to body wrestle with those olde champions: it is but by sleights, advantages, and false-offers I seeke to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I doe not rashly take them about the necke, ^{but} nor doe I goe so farre as by my bargain I would seeme to doe; could I but keepe even with them, I should then be an honest man; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seene some, that is, to shroud themselves vnder others armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers endes vnarmed, and to botch vp all their workes (as it is an easie matter in a common subiect, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, here and there hudled-vp together. And in those who endeavored to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, then a plaine argument of cowardlines; who having nothing of any worth in them-selves to make shoue of, will yet vnder the countenance of others sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer: Moreover (oh great foolishnes) to seeke by such cosening trickes to forestall the ignorant approbation of the common sorte, nothing fearing to discover their ignorance to men of vnderstanding (whose praise onely is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never spake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingle-mangles of many kindes of stufte, or as the Grecians call them *Rapsodies*, that for such are published, of which kinde I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seene divers most ingenious and wittie; amongst others, one vnder the name of *Capilupus*; besides many of the ancient stampe. These are wits of such excellence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone be perceived, as our late famous writer *Lipsius*, in his learned and laborious worke of the Politikes: yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as they are but follies, my intent is not to smother them, no more then a bald and hoarie picture of mine, where a painter hath drawne not a perfect visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them but to shoue what my conceite is, and not what ought to be beleaved. Wherein I ayme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new prentiship change me) shall be another to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase believe, neither do I desire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, tolde me not long since in mine owne house, I should somewhat more have extended my selfe in the discourse concerning the institution of children. Now (Madam) if there were any sufficiencie in me, touching that subiect, I could not better imploy the same, then to bestowe it as a present vpon that little lad, which ere long threatmeth to make a happie issue from out your honorable wombe: for (Madame) you are too generous to beginne with

with other then a man childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successfull marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatnes and prosperity of all that shall proceede from it: moreover the ancient and rightfull possession, which you from time to time have ever had, and still have over my service, vrgeth mee with more then ordinarie respectes, to wish all honour, well-fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sorte concerne you and yours. And truly, my meaning is, but to shewe, that the greatest difficulty, and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth to be in this point, where the nurture and institution of young children is in question. For, as in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be vsed before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was sown, set and planted, commeth to take life; before it come to ripenes, much adoe, and great varietie of proceeding belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what continuall cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and feares, doe daily waite on their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilest they are young is so vncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtfull, that it is very hard, (yea for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured successe vpon them. Behold *Cymon*, viewe *Themistocles*, and a thousand others, how they have degenerated, and falne from themselves, and deceived the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelpes both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong imbracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that or this lawe, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet is it hard to force the naturall propension or readines of the mind, whereby it foloweth that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse yong children in those sciences, whereunto they are not naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them vp in the best and profitablest studies, and that a man should slightly passe-over those fond prefages, and deceiving prognostikes, which wee over-precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinkes, that *Plato* in his commonwealth alloweth them too-too much authoritie.

Madam, Learning joyned with true knowledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, and an implement of wonderfull vse and consequence, namely in persons raised to that degree of fortune, wherein you are. And in good truth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beauteous lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. (For, as famous *Torquato Tasso* sayeth; Philosophie being a rich and noble Queene, and knowing her owne worth, graciously smileth vpon, and lovingly embraceth Princes and noble men, if they become sutors to her, admitting them as her minions, and gently affoording them all the favours she can; whereas vpon the contrarie, if shee be wooed, and sued vnto by downes, mechanickall fellowes, and such base kinde of people, she holds hir selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therefore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman or nobleman followe hir with any attention and wooe her with importunity, hee shall learne and knowe more of hir, and proove a better scholler in one yeere, then an vngentle, or base fellow shall in seaven, though he pursue hir never so attentively.) She is much more ready and fierce to lend hir furtherance and direction in the conduct of a war, to attempt honorable actions, to command a people, to treat a peace with a prince or forraine nation, then she is to form an argument in Logick, to devise a Sillogisme, to canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe a receit of pills. So (noble Ladie) forsomuch as I cannot perswade my selfe, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tasted the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet possesse the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of *Foix*, from out whose heroicke loynes your husband and you take your of-spring. And *Francis* Lord of *Candale* your worthie vnckle, doth dayly bring forth such fruites thereof, as the knowledge of the matchlesse qualitie of your house shall hereafter extend it selfe to many ages; I will therefore make you acquainted with one conceite of mine, which contrarie to the common vse I holde, and that is all I am able to affoorde you, concerning that matter. The charge of the tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne, in the choise of whom consisteth the whole substance of his education and bringing

bringing-vpon which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any moment to it) I wil not touch at-all. And for that point, wherein I presume to advise him, he may so farre forth give credite vnto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that aymeth at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for gaine or commoditie to himselfe (because so abject an end is farre vnworthie the grace and favour of the Muses, and besides, hath a regarde or dependencie of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, then a bare learned man. My desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman bee very circumspect, and carefull in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, then a full stufte head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather preferre wisdome, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, then bare and meere litterall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers eares (as if they were still powring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else, but to repeate, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this parte, and that at first entrance, according to the capacite of the wit he hath in hand, he should beginne to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to chuse and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times allowing him to open-it by him-selfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. *Socrates*, and after him *Arcefilas*, made their schollers to speake first, and then would speake them-selves. *Obest plerumque ijs qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum, qui docent.* Most commonly the authoritie of them that teach, hinders them that would learne.

It is therefore meete, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guesse how long he will hold out, that accordingly hee may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often marre-all. And to know how to make a good choyce, and how farre forth one may proceede (still keeping a due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an vndanted spirit, to know how to second, and how farre forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and howe to guide them. As for my selfe, I can better and with more strength walke vp, then downe a hill. Those which according to our common fashion, vndertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of diverse formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meete with two or three, that reape any good fruite by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not onely have him to demaund an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of-it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witnesse of his life. That what hee lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pourtray the same into sundry shapes, and then to accommodate-it to as many different and severall subjects; whereby he shal perceive, whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enseoffed him-selfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by *Plato*. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld-vp his meate, even as he swallowed the same: the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, vnlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and digest. We see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough; our minde doth move at others pleasure, as tied and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought vnder by authoritie, and forced to stoope to the lure of their bare lesson; we have beene so subjected to harpe vpon one string, that we have no way left-vs to descant vpon voluntarie: our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. *Nunquam tutela sua sunt. They never come to their owne tuition.* It was my hap to bee familiarly acquainted with an honest man at *Pisa*, but such an *Aristotelian*, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to *Aristotles* doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solide imaginations, and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with-it, was but fond *Chimeraes*, and idle humours; in asmuch as he had knowne-all, seene-all, and saide-all. This proposition of his, being somewhat over-amply and injuriously interpreted by some, made him a long time after to be troubled in the inquisition of *Rome*, I would have him make his scholler narrowly

rowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by meere authoritie, or vpon trust. *Aristotles* principles shall be no more axiomes vnto him, then the Stoikes or Epicurians. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed vnto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtfull.

Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada.

No lesse it pleaseth me,

To doubt, then wise to be.

*Dant inferno.
Cant. 12. 48.*

For if by his owne discourse he embrace the opinions of *Xenophon*, or of *Plato*, they shall be no longer theirs, but his. Hee that meereley followeth another, traceth nothing, and seeketh nothing: *Non sumus sub rege, sibi quisque se vindicat: Wee are not under a Kings command; everie one may challenge himselfe for himselfe:* It is requisite he indevor as much to feede him selfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so hee know how to apply, let him hardly forget, where, or whence he had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper vnto him that spake them heretofore, than vnto him that shall speake them hereafter. And it is no more according to *Platoes* opinion, than to mine, since both he and I vnderstand and see alike. The bees do heere and there sucke this, and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Marjoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwayes provided, his judgement, his travel, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceale, where, or whence hee hath had any helpe, and make no shew of any thing, but of that which hee hath made himselfe. Pirates, filchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchases and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secret fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shal manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receites, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honest. It is the vnderstanding power (said *Epicharmus*) that seeth and heareth, it is it, that profiteth all, and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth and ruleth all: all things else are but blinde, sencelesse, and without spirit. And truly in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of him selfe, we make him thereby more servile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rethorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of *Cicero*? Which things thoroughly fettered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and fillables are substantiall partes of the subject. To knowe by roate is no perfect knowledge, but to keepe what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that wil he dispose-of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is vnpleasant. All I expect of it, is an imbellishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to *Platoes* minde, who saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have *Paluel* or *Pompey*, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie trickes, and high capers, onely with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellowes would instruct our mindes without mooving or putting it in practise. And glad would I be to finde-one, that would teach vs how to manage a horse, to tolle a pike, to shoote-off a peece, to play vpon the lute, or to warble with the voyce, without any exercise, as these kinde of men would teach vs to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kinde of life, or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action or object soever presents it-selfe vnto our eies, may serve vs instead of a sufficient booke. A pretty pranke of a boy, a knavish trick of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse-else, spoken either in jeast or earnest, at the table or in company, are even as new subjects for vs to worke-vpon: for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of forraine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are very necessary, not only to be able (after the maner of our yong gallants of *France*) to report how many paces the Church of *Santa Rgtonda* is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan *Signora Livia* weareth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to dispute how

how much longer or broader the face of *Nero* is, which they have seene in some olde ruines of *Italie*, then that which is made for him in other olde monuments else-where. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seene, that they may the better know, how to correct and prepare their wittes by those of others. I would therefore have him beginne even from his infancie to travell abroad; and first, that at one shoote hee may hitte two markes, he should see neighbour-countries, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, vnlesse a mans tongue be fashioned vnto them in his youth, hee shall never attaine to the true pronuntiation of them, if he once growe in yeares. Moreover, we see it received as a common opinion of the wiser sorte, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwayes nuzled, cockered, dandled, and brought vp in his parents lappe or sight; forsomuch as their natural kindenesse, or as I may call it tender fondnesse causeth often, even the wisest, to proove so idle, so over-nice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neyther can they finde in their hearts to see them cheekt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought vp so meanelly, and so farre from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and beymyed, other times sweatie and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreame hote, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-vntamed horse, or with his weapon furiously incounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shoote-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he wil make him proove a sufficient, compleate, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth; and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shooke the rules of Physicke.

Hardy & du-
cation

Hor. li. I. od. 2.4

*Vitamq, sub dio & trepidis agas
In rebus. —*

Leade he his life in open aire,
And in affaires full of despaire.

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muscles must also be strengthened: the minde is over-borne if it be not seconced: and it is too much for hir alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joyned to so tender and sensible a body, and that lyeth so heavy vpon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive howe my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skinne and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, then a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stirre tongue nor eyebrows, beate them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes, then of their harte. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate griefe: *Labor collum obducit dolori. Labour worketh a hardnesse vpon sorrow.* Hee must be endured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of ~~of~~ falls, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans body: yea if neede require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance hee shall come to be had in more esteeme and accoumt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may haply fall into them; we have seene it by experience. Whosoever striveth against the lawes, threats good men with mischief and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect, which the household beares him, and the knowledge of the meanes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement, no small letts in a yong Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and society among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only indevor to make our selves known to them: and we are more ready to vtter such marchandize as we have, then to engrose and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities very convenient to civill conversation. It is also necessary, that a yong man be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing, and close-handed, then prodigally-wastefull & lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shalbe spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivill importunity,

Cic. Tus. qu. li. 2

cautevie,

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to

to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour: let him bee pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others, which he refuseth to doe him self, nor goe about to withstand common fashions. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia. A man may be wise without ostentation, without envie.* Let him avoide those Prosopopœall images of the world, those uncivill behaviours, and childish ambition, wherewith God-wot, too-too many are posselt: that is, to make a faire shewe of that, which is not in him: endeavouring to be reputed other then indeede he is; and as if reprehension and new devises were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire vnto himselfe, the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to vse the libertie of artes; so is it tollerable but in noble minds, and great spiritues to have a preheminance above ordinary fashions. *Siquid Socrates & Aristippus contra morem & consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magnis enim illi & divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur.* If Socrates and Aristippus have done aught against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke he may doe the same: for they obtained this licence by their great and excellent good partes: He shalbe taught, not to enter rashly into discourse or contesting, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthy his strength; And then would I not have him imploy all the trickes that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevity. That above all, hee be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons vnto truth, as soone as he shall discern the same, whether it proceede from his adversarie, or vpon better advice from himselfe; for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a prescript part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further then he may approove it; nor shall he be of that trade, where the liberty for a man to repent and re-advise himselfe is solde for ready mony. *Neque, ut omnia, qua prescripta & imperata sint, defendat, necessitate vlla cogitur.* Nor is he enforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commaunded him. If his tutor agree with my humor, hee shall frame his affection, to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and couragious Gentleman, in all that may concerne the honor of his Sovereigne, or the good of his countrie. And endeavour to suppress in him all manner of affection to vndertake any action, otherwise then for a publike good and duty. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie, by reason of these particular bonds; the judgement of a man that is waged and bought, either it is lesse free and honest, or else it is blemisht both with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier, can neither have lawe nor will to speake or thinke, otherwise then favourably of his maister, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him up with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion-courtiers, corrupt (not without some colour of reason) his libertie, and dazle his judgement. It is therefore commonly seene, that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credite in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speach, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faultes as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which are the chiefe qualities he aymeth at. That willfully to strive, and obstinately to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparant in basest mindes: That to re-advise and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion; are rare, noble, and philosophical conditions. Being in company, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and every-where: For I note, that the cheife places are vsually seized vpon the most vnworthy, and lesse capable; and that height of fortune is seldome joyned with sufficiency. I have seene, that whilst they at the vpper end of a boarde were busily entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taste of some good cup of wine, many good discourses at the lower end, have vterly beene lost. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mason, a Stranger, or a Traveller; all must be employed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make up household; yea the folly and the simplicitie of others, shall bee as instructions to him. By controlling the graces and maners of others, he shall acquire vnto himselfe envy of the good, and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be posselt with an honest curiositie to search-out the nature and causes of all things: let him survey what-soever is rare and singular

lare about him; a building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any battell hath beene fought or the passages of *Cæsar* or *Charlemaine*.

Prop. li. 4. cl. 3
39.

*Qua tellus sit lenta gelu, qua putris ab æstu,
Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat.*

What land is parcht with heate, what clog'd with frost,
What winde drives kindly to th' *Italian* coast.

Plutarke

He shall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted with the customes, with the meanes, with the state, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to be learned, and most profitable to be knowne. In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by the memorie of bookes. He shall, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest mindes that were in the best ages. It is a frivolous studie, if a man list, but of vnvaluable worth, to such as can make vse of it. And as *Plato* saith, the onely study the Lacedemonians reserved for themselves. What profit shal he not reape, touching this point, reading the lives of our *Plutarke*? Alwayes conditioned, the maister bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his schollers minde the date of the ruine of *Carthage*, as the manners of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, nor so much where *Marcellus* died, as because he was unworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not so much to know Histories, as to judge of them. It is, amongst things that best agree with my humour, the subject to which our spirits doe most diversly apply themselves. I have read in *Titus Livius* a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whome *Plutarke* happily read a hundred more, then ever I could reade, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to sette downe. To some kinde of men, it is a meere gramaticall studie, but to others a perfect anatomy of Philosophie; by meanes whereof, the secretest parte of our nature is searched into. There are in *Plutarke* many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefe worke-maister of such workes, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point vs out a way to walke in, if we list; and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent studie to be drawne, and so brought into open market. As that saying of his. That the inhabitants of *Asia*, served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely syllable, which is *Nen*, gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my friend *Beotie* to compose his booke of voluntarie servitude. If it were no more but to see *Plutarke* wrest a slight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to beare no such sence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is pittie men of vnderstanding should so much love brevitie, without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worse. *Plutarke* had rather we should commend him for his judgement, then for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kinde of longing-desire in vs of him, then a facietie. He knew very well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that *Alexandridas* did justly reprove him, who spake very good sentences to the *Ephores*, but they were overtedious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest what thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thinne bodies stuffe them vp with bumbasting. And such as have but poore matter wil puffe-it vp with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme-it an enlightning of mans judgement drawn from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all so contrived and compact in ourselves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our nose. When *Socrates* was demaunded whence he was, he answered, not of *Athens*, but of the world; for hee, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to al man-kind: and not as we-do, that looke no further then our feete. If the frost chance to nip the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of God hangs over our head, and threateneth all mankind: and judgeth that the rheume is alreadie false vpon the Caniballs.

In viewing these intestine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worldes vast-frame is neere vnto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is ready to fall on vs? never remembring that many worse revolutions have bin scene, and that whilest we are plunged in grieve, and overwhelmed in sorrowe, a thousand other partes of the worlde-besides, are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on-vs? whereas,

whereas, when I beholde our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated *Savoyard* saide, that if the seely king of *France* could cunningly have managed his fortune, hee might very well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords householde, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Maisters; we are all insensible of this kinde of errour: an errour of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present vnto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our vniversall-mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her visage shall reade, so generall, and so constant a varietie; he that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, hee onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnes and proportion. This great vniverse (which some multiply as *Species* vnder one *Genus*) is the true looking-glasse wherein we must looke, if we wil know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right byase. To conclude, I would have this worldes-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundry sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantastical customs teach vs to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weakenesse, which is no easie an apprenticeship: So many innovations of estates, so many falles of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may and ought to teach vs, not to make so great account of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names, but ridiculous, by the surprising of tenne *Argo-letiers*, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-pufft majestie of so many courtes, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and assure our sight, vndauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-clappes of ours, without feeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, lowe-layde in their graves afore-vs, may encourage-vs, not to feare, or be dismayed to goe meete so good company in the other world; and so of all things else. Our life (saide *Pithagoras*) drawes-neare vnto the great and populous assemblies of the *Olympike* games, wherein some, to get the glory, and to winne the gale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchandise to sell: others there are (and those be not the worst) that seeke after no other good, but to marke, how, wherefore, and to what end, all things are done: and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Vnto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie bee sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whome may be saide,

— quid fas optare, quid asper

Utile nummus habet, patria charisque propinquis

Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse

Inssit, & humana qua parte locatus es in re,

Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur:

What thou maiest wish, what profit may come cleare,

From new-stampt coyne, to friends and countrie deare,

What thou oughtst give: whom God would have thee bee,

And in what parte mongst men he placed thee.

What we are, and wherefore,

To live here we were bore.

Pers. sat. 3. 69

67.

What it is to know, and not to know (which ought to be the scope of studie) what valour, what temperance, and what justice is: what difference there is betweene ambition and avarice, bondage and freedome, subjection and liberty, by which markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how farre-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, griefe, or shame.

Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.

How ev'ry labour he may plie,

And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.

*Virg. Aen. lib. 9
893.*

What wardes or springs move-vs, and the causes of so many motions in-vs: For me seemeth,

meth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to bee those, that rule his manners, and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himselfe, and how to live, and how to die. well. Among the liberall Sciences, let vs beginne with that which makes vs free: Indeepe, they may all in some sorte steade vs, as an instruction to our life, and vse of it; as all other things-else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let vs make especiall choyce of that, which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraine & adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byase and naturall limites, we should finde the best parte of the sciences that now are in vse, cleane out of fashion with vs: yea and in those that are most in vse, there are certaine by-ways and deepe-flows most profitable, which we should doe well to leave, and according to the institution of *Socrates*, limite the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting.

— *sapere aude,*

Hor. li. 1. epist.
2.49.

*Incipe: vivendi qui rectè prorogat horam,
Rusticus expectat dum defluat annis, at ille
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

Be bolde to be wise: to beginne, be strong,
He that to live well doth the time prolong,
Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be runne;
That runnes, and will runne, till the world be done.

It is more simplicitie to teach our children,

Prop. 1.4. el. 1.
85.

*Quid moveant pisces, animosæque signa leonis,
Lotus & Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.*

What *Pisces* move, or hot-breath'd *Leos* beames,
Or *Capricornus* bath'd in westerne streames.

The knowlege of the starres, and the motion of the eight spheare, before their owne.

τί πλείονός ἐστι καὶ μοί τίς ἀστέρας βοώτεω.

What longs it to the seaven starres, and me,
Or those about *Boötes* be.

Anaximenes writing to *Pythagoras*, saith, with what sence can I amuse my self to the secrets of the starres, having continually death or bondage before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of *Persia* were making preparations to warre against his countrie. All men ought to say so.

with ambition.

Being beaten, with avarice, with rashnesse, and with superstition, and having such other enemies vnto life within him. Wherefore shall I studie and take care about the immobility and variation of the world? When hee is once taught what is fit to make him better and wiser, he shall be entertained with *Logicke*, *Musicke*, *Geometrie*, and *Rhetoricke*, then having settled his judgement, looke what science he doth most addict him-selfe vnto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of-it. His lecture shall be sometimes by way of talk, and sometimes by booke: his tutor may now and then supplie him with the same Authour, as an ende and motive of his institution: sometimes giving him the pith and substance of-it readie chewed. And if of him-selfe he be not so thoroughly acquainted with bookes, that he may readily find so manie notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amiss, that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of neede, may furnish him with such munition, as he shall stand in neede of; that hee may afterwarde distribute and dispence them to his best vse. And that this kind of lesson be more easie and naturall than that of *Gaza*, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, and vnpleasent precepts; vaine, idle and immateriall words, on which smal hold may be taken; wherein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirite findeth substance to bite and feed vpon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone be ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought vnto in this our age; and howe *Philosophy*, even to the wisest, and men of best vnderstanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantasticall name, of small vse, and lesse worth, both in opinion and effect. I thinke these *Sophistries* are the cause of-it, which have forestalled the wayes to come vnto-it: They doe verilyll, that goe about to make-it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come vnto, setting-it forth with a wrimpled, gawlie, and frowning visage; who hath masked hir with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gameesome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanted:

for

for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sporte and pastime. A sadde and lowring looke plainly declareth, that that is not hir haunt. *Deme-rius* the Gramarian, finding a company of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of *Delpbos*, said vnto them, either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selues; to whome one of them named *Herackon* the Megarian answered, that belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking, whether the future tense of the verbe *βάνω* hath a double λ, or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives, *χαίρων βέλτιον*, & of the superlatives *χαίρων βέλτιστον*, it is they, that must chafe in entertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, reioyce, and not to vex and molest those that vse them.

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in agro,
Corpore, deprendas & gaudia sumit utrumque
Inde habitum facies.*

Iuven. sat. 9. 18

You may perceive the torments of the minde,
Hidde in sicke body, you the joyes may finde,
The face such habite takes in either kinde.

That minde which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of hir sound health, make that body also sound and healthie: it ought to make hir contentment to through-shine in all exterior partes: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it: and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious stoutnes, and liuely audacitie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a settled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisdome, is a constant, and vnconstrained reioycing, whose estate is like vnto al things above the Moone, that is, ever cleare, alwaies bright. It is *Baroco* and *Baralipton*, that makes their followers proove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know hir not, but by heare-say; what? Is it not shee, that cleereth all stormes of the minde? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sicknes to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue: it is vertue shee seekes after, which as the schoole saith, is not pitcht on the top of an high, steepie, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come vnto hir, affirme, that cleane-contrarie, shee keepes hir stand, and holds hir mansion, in a faire, flourishing, and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch Tower, she survaileth all things, to be subject vnto hir, to whome any man may with great facility come; if he but knowe the way or entrance to hir pallace: for, the pathes that lead vnto hir, are certaine: fresh, and shadie greene allies, sweete and flowerie wayes, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like vnto that of heavens vaultes. Forso much as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majesty fittes soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovelie, equally delicious, and courageous, protesting her-selfe to be a professed and irreconcilable enemy to al sharpenesse, austerity, feare and compulsion; having nature for hir guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for her companions; they according to their weakenesse have imaginarily fained hir, to have a foolish, sadde, grimme, quarrelous, spitefull, threatning and disdainfull visage, with an horride and vnpleasant looke; and have placed her, vpon a craggy, sharpe, and vnfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes, and vncouth crags, as a skarre crowe, or Bugge-beare, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that hee should rather seeke to fill the minde, and store the will of his disciple, as much or rather more, with love and affection, then with awe, and reverence vnto vertue, may shewe and tell him, that Poets followe common humours, making him plainly to perceive, and as it were palpable to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at the entrances, which leade to *Venus* chambers, then at the doores, that direct to *Pallas* cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting *Bradamant*, or *Angelica* before him, as a Mistresse to enjoy, embelished with a natural, active, generous and vnspotted beautie, not vglie or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, softe, affected, and artificiall-flaring beautie; the one attired like vnto a yoong man, coyfed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like vnto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepheard of *Phrigia*. In this new kinde of lesson, he shall declare vnto him, that the

prize, the glory, & height of true vertue, consisteth in the facility, profit & pleasure of his exercises: so farre from difficultie, and encombrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come vnto hir. Discretion and temperance, not force or waywardnesse are the instruments to bring him vnto hir. *Socrates* (vertues chiefe favorite) that hee might the better walke in the pleasant, natural and open path, of hir progresses, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and foster-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and vpright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, shee keepeth them in vre and breath. In limiting and cutting them off, whome she refuseth; she whets vs on toward those she leaveth vnto vs; and plenteously leaues vs them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kinde mother giveth vs over vnto societie, if not vnto wearisomnesse; vnlesse we will peradventure say, that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkennesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the lecher before the loosing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile hir, it cleerely scapes hir; or she cares not for hir, or she frames another vnto hir-self, altogether hir owne, not so fleeting, nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mighty and wise, and how to lie in sweete-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beauty, in glory, & in health. But hir proper and particular office is, first to knowe how to vse such goodes temperately, and how to loose them constantly. An office much more noble, then severe, without which, al course of life is vnnaturall, turbulent and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those encombrances, and those hideous monsters. If so it happen, that his Disciple proove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give care to an idle fable, then vnto the report of some noble voiage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the sound of a drumme or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowze and arme the youthly heate of his companions, turneth to another that calleth him to see a play, tumbling, jugling tricks, or other idle loose-time sports; and who for pleasures sake doth not deeme it more delightfome to returne all sweaty and weary from a victorious combate, from wrestling or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honor of such exercises; The best remedy I know for such a one, is, to put him prentise to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea were he the sonne of a Duke; according to *Platoes* rule, who saith, *that children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind.* Since it is Philosophie that teacheth vs to live, and that infancy as well as other ages, may plainly reade hir lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted vnto yong schollers?

Perf. sat. 3. 23.

Vdum & molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandus, & acri

Fingendus sine fine rota.

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by

Be cast, made vp, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have beene infected with that lothsome and marrow-wasting disease, before ever they came to reade *Aristotles* treatise of Temperance. *Cicero* was wont to say, *That could be out-live the lives of two men, he should never finde leasure to studie the Lyrike Poets.* And I finde these Sophisters both worse and more vnprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters; And but the first fiftene or sixteene yeares of his life, are due vnto Pedantisme, the rest vnto action: let vs therefore employ so short time, as we have to live in more necessarie instructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophie; know how to chuse and fitly to make vse of them: they are much more easie to be conceived then one of *Bocace* his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, then he is to learne to reade or write. Philosophie hath discourses, whereof infancy as well as decaying old-age may make good vse. I am of *Plutarques* minde, which is, that *Aristotle* did not so much amuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Sillogismes, or the principles of Geometrie, as he endeavoured to instruct him with good precepts, concerning valor, prowesse, magnanimitie and temperance, and an vndanted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet very yong, to subdue the Empire of the world, onely with 30000. footemen, 4000. horsemen, and 42000. crownes in monie. As for other artes and sciences, he saith *Alexander* honored them, and commended their excellencie and comelines;

but

but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easily be drawne to exercise them.

— petite hinc iuvenēſque ſenēſque

Sat. 5. 64.

Finem animo certum, miſerique viatica canis.

Young men and olde, drawe hence (in your affaires)

Your mindes ſet marke, provision for graie haire.

It is that which *Epicurus* ſaid in the beginning of his letter to *Meniceus*: Neither let the yongest ſhunne, nor the oldeſt wearie himſelfe in philoſophying, for who doth otherwiſe ſeemeth to ſay, that either the ſeaſon to live happily is not yet come, or is alreadie paſt. Yet would I not have this yong gentleman pent-vp, nor careleſſly caſt-off to the heedles choller, or melancholie humor of the haſty ſchoole-maſter. I would not have his budding ſpirit corrupted with keeping-him faſt-tide, and as it were labouring foureteene or fiſteene houres a day poaring on his booke, as ſome doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinke-it fit, if at any time, by reaſon of ſome ſolitarie or melancholie complexion, he ſhould be ſeene with an over-indiſcreete application given to his booke, it ſhould be cheriſhed in him; for, that doth often make-him both vnapt for civill converſation, and diſtracts him from better employments: How many have I ſeene in my daies, by an over-greedie deſire of knowledge, become as it were fooliſh? *Carneades* was ſo deeply plunged, and as I may ſay beſotted in it, that he could never have leaſure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble maners obſcured by the incivilitie and barbariſme of others. The French wiſedome hath long ſince proverbially beene ſpoken-off, as very apt to conceive ſtudie in hir youth, but moſt vnapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we ſee at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to beholde, then the yong children of *France*; but for the moſt part, they deceive the hope which was fore-apprehended of them: for when they once become men, there is no excellencie at all in them. I have heard men of vnderſtanding holde this opinion, that the colledges to which they are ſent (of which there are ſtore) doe thus beſotte-them: whereas to our ſcholler, a cabinet, a gardin, the table, the bed, a ſolitarines, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres ſhall be alike vnto him, all places ſhall be a ſtudie for him: for Philoſophie (as a former of judgements, and modeler of cuſtomes) ſhall be his principall leſſon, having the priviledge to entermedle hir ſelfe with all things, and in all places. *Iſocrates* the orator, being once requeſted at the great banquet to ſpeake of his arte, when all thought he had reaſon to anſwere, ſaid, *It is not now time to doe what I can, and what ſhould now be done, I cannot doe-it*; For, to preſent orations, or to enter into diſputation of Rhetorike, before a companie aſſembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medly of harſh and jarring muſicke. The like may be ſaid of all other ſciences. But touching Philoſophie, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath beene the common judgement of the wiſeſt, that in regarde of the pleaſantnes of hir converſation, ſhe ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets, nor at ſportes. And *Plato* having invited hir to his ſolemne feaſt, wee ſee how kindly ſhe entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly ſuting hir ſelfe to time and place, notwithstanding it be one of his learnedſt and profitable diſcourſes.

Aequè pauperibus prodeſt, locupletibus aequè,

Et neglecta aequè pueris ſenibꝫque nocebit.

Hor. lib. 1. epiſt.
125.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it eaſeth,

Alike it ſcorneth old, and yong diſpleaieth.

So doubtles he ſhall leſſe be idle then others; for even as the paces we beſtow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie-vs not ſo much as thoſe we ſpend in going a ſet journey: So our leſſon being paſt over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without ſtriſt obſervance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, ſhall be digeſted, and never felt. All ſportes and exerciſes ſhalbe a part of his ſtudie; running, wreſtling, muſike, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horſes. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the diſpoſition of his perſon to be faſhioned together with his minde: for, it is not a minde, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we muſt not make two partes of him. And as *Plato* ſaith, *they muſt not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwiſe then a couple of horſes matched to drawe in one ſelfe ſame reeme.* And to heare-him, doth he not ſeeme to employ more time and care in the exerciſes

of his body: and to thinke that the minde is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed by a sweet-severe mildnes; Not as some doe, who in lieu of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in me seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a well-borne, and gentle nature: If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to it: accustome him patiently to endure sweate and colde, the sharpenes of the winde, the heate of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards.

He blames y^e
Schools

Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, & in drinking: fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lusty & vigorous boy: When I was a childe, being a man, & now I am old, I have ever judged & beleevd the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kinde of discipline vsed in most of our Colledges. It had peradventure bin lesse-hurtfull, if they had somewhat enclined to mildenes or gentle entreatie. It is a very prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come vpon them when they are going to their lesson, & you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, & maisters besotted with anger & chafing. How wide are they, which goe about to allure a childes minde to goe to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands-full of rodde? Oh wicked and pernicious manner of teaching! which *Quintilian* hath very well noted, that this imperious kinde of authoritie, namely this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences with-it. How much more decent were it, to see their schoole-houses and formes strewed with greene boughes and flowers, then with bloodie burchen twiggess? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher *Speusippus* did, who caused the pictures of Gladnes and Ioy, of *Flora* and of the Graces to be set vp round about his schoole-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meates ought to be sugred-over, that are healthfull for childrens stomakes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull *Plato* sheweth himselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation and pastime of the youth of his Cittie, and how farre he extends himselfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, whereof he saith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage vnto the Gods themselves, namely to *Appollo*, to the Muses, and to *Minerva*. Marke but how farre-forth he endevoreth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of body and minde. As for learned Sciences, hee stands not much vpon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poesie, but for Musickes-sake. All strangenes and selfe-particularitie in our manners, and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemy to societie and civill conversation. Who would not be astonished at *Demophoons* complexion, chiefe steward of *Alexanders* household, who was wont to sweate in the shadowe, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the sinell of an apple, more then at the shotte of a peece; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a feather-bed shaken: As *Germanicus* who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may happily be some hidden propriety of nature, which in my judgement might easily be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this vpon me (I must confesse with much a doe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans foode agree indifferently with my taste. The body being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (alwaies provided his appetites & desires be kept vnder) let a yong man boldly be made fit for all nations and companies, yea if neede be for, all disorders and surfetings; let him acquaint himselfe with all fashions; That he may be able to doe all things, and love to doe none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame *Calisthenes*, for loosing the good favour of his Maister *Alexander*, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shal laugh, jest, dally, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go al his fellowes in vigor and constancie, and that he omitte not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will. *Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolet, aut nesciat.* I thought to have honored a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as farre from such riotous disorders as any is in *France*) by enquiring of him in very good companie, how many times in all his life he had beene drunke in Ger-

manie,

manie, during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King; who tooke it even as I ment-it, and answered, three times, telling the time and manner-how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have beene much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of *Alcibiades*, to see how easily he could sute himselfe to so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice vnto his health; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnes and pompe of the Persians, and now and then surpassing the austeritie and frugallitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in *Sparta*, as voluptuous in *Ionia*. Epist. 17. 23.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res.

All colours, states, and things are fit

For courtly *Aristippus* wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

— *quem duplici panno patientia velat,*

Mirabor, vita via si conversa decebit,

Whom patience clothes with futes of double kind,

I muse, if he another way will finde.

Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque.

He not vnfitly may,

Both parts and persons play.

Loe-here my lessons, wherein he that acteth them, profiteth more, then he that but knoweth them, whome if you see, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, sayeth some body in *Plato*, that to Philosophie, be to learne many things, and to exercise the artes. *Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quam literis persequuntur sunt.* This discipline of living well, which is the amplest of all other artes, they followed rather in their lives, then in their learning or writing. *Leo* Prince of the *Philicians*, enquiring of *Heracledes Ponticus*, what arte he professed, answered. Sir, I professe neither art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved *Diogenes*, that being an ignorant man, he did neverthelesse meddle with Philosophie, to whome he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with-it. *Hegesias* praid him vpon a time to reade some booke vnto him; *You are a merry man*, saide hee: As you chuse naturall and not painted, right and not counterfeit figges to eate, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeate, as acte his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. We must observe, whether there be wisdom in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his jestures, justice in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech, courage in his sickenes, moderation in his sports, temperance in his pleasures, order in the government of his house, and indifferencie in his taste, whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or water, or whatsoever he feedeth vpon. *Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientia, sed legem vita putet: quique obtemperet ipse tibi, & decretis pareat.* Who thinkes his learning not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life, and himselfe obayes himselfe, and doth what is decreede.

The true mirror of our discourfes, is the course of our lives. *Xenxidamus* answered one that demanded of him, why the Lacedemonians did not drawe into a booke, the ordinances of prowesse, that so their yong men might reade them; *it is*, saith he, *because they would rather accustom them to deedes and actions, then to bookes and writings.* Compare at the end of fiftene or sixteene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers, who hath employed all that while onely in learning how to speake, to such a one as I meane. The world is nothing but babling and words, and I never saw man, that doth not rather speake more then he ought, then lesse. Notwithstanding halfe our age is consumed that way. We are kept foure or five yeares learning to vnderstand bare words, and to joyne them into clauses, then as long in proportioning a great body extended into foure or five parts; and five more at least, ere we can succinctly know how to mingle, joyne & interlace them handsomly into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let-vs leave-it to those, whose profession is to doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward *Orleans*, it was my chance to meete vpon that plaine that lieth on this side *Clery*, with two Maisters of Arts, traveling toward *Burdeaux*, about fiftie paces one from another, farre-off behinde them, I descrie a troupe of horsemen, their Maisters riding formost, who was the Earle of *Rocheaucault*; one of my servants enquiring of

of the first of those Maisters of artes, what gentleman he was that followed him; he supposing my servant had meant his fellow-scholler, for he had not yet seene the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, *He is no gentleman Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am a Logitian.* Now we that contrariwise seeke not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a compleate gentleman, let vs give them leave to mispend their time; we have else-where, and some what else of more importance to doe. So that our Disciple be well and sufficiently stored with matter; words will followe apace, and if they will not followe gently, hee shall hale them on perforce. I heare some excuse themselves, that they cannot expresse their meaning, and make a semblance that their heades are so full-stufft with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither vtter nor make shewe of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you knowe what, in my seeming, the cause is? They are shadows and *Chimeraes*, proceeding of some formelesse conceptions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve within, and by consequence are not able to produce them, inasmuch as they vnderstand not themselves: And if you but marke their earnestnesse, and how they stammer and labor at the point of their delivery, you woulde deeme, that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downelying; and that they doe but like that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter. As for me, I am of opinion, and *Socrates* would have it so, that he who hath a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easily produce and vtter the same, although it be in *Bergamask*, or *Welsh*, and if he be dumbe, by signes and tokens.

Hor. art. poet.
311.

Verbaque praevisam rem non invita sequentur.

When matter we fore-knowe,
Wordes voluntary flowe.

As one saide, as poetically in his prose, *cum res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt.* When matter hath possess their mindes, they hunt after words: and another: *ipse res verba rapiunt.* Things themselves wil catch and carry words: He knowes neither Ablative, Coniunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, no more dooth his Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streetes, and yet if you have a mind to-it, he wil entertaine you your fil, and peradventure stumble as litle and as feldome against the rules of his tongue, as the best maister of artes in *France*. Hee hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can hee with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to knowe it. In good sooth all this garish painting is easily defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred, and simple trueth; for these dainties and quaint devises, serve but to amuse the vulgare sorte; vnapt and incapable to taste the most solide, and firme meate: as *Aster* very plainly declareth in *Cornelius Tacitus*. The Ambassadors of *Samos* being come to *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stirre him vp to war against the tyrant *Policrates*, after he had listned a good while vnto them, his answer was: *Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it! the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I wil do nothing in-it.* A fit, and (to my thinking) a very good answer; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to reply. And what said another? the *Athenians* from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and selfe-presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smoothe forepremeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of the common people vnto his liking; but the other in fewe wordes, spake thus: *Lords of Athens, what this man hath saide, I will performe.* In the greatest earnestnesse of *Ciceroes* eloquence many were drawne into a kinde of admiration; But *Cato* jesting at it, said, *have not we a pleasant Consull?* A quicke cunning Argument, and a witty saying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of reason. If it have no coherence with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in it selfe. I am none of those that thinke a good rime, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short fillable long, it is no great matter: if the invention bee rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly plaide their part. I wil say to such a one; he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

Hor. li. i. Cat.
4.8. Lucil.

Emuncta maris durus componere versus.

A man whose sense could finely pearce,
But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith *Horace*) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and joynts.

Tempora certa modoque, & quod prius ordine verbum est.

58.

Posterius,

*Posterius facias, prapponens, vltima primis,
Inuenias etiam disiecti membra Poeta.*

62.

Set times and moods, make you the first worde last,

The last worde first, as if they were new cast:

Yet find th' unjoynted Poets joynts stand fast.

He shall for all that, nothing gaine-say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered *Menander* those that chidde him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begunne the same, *Tut-tut*, saide he, *it is alreadie finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse vnto-it*: for, having ranged and cast the plot in his minde, he made small accompt of feete, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small import in regarde of the rest. Since great *Ronsarde* and learned *Bellay*, have raised our French Poesie vnto that height of honour, where it now is: I see not one of these petty-ballad-makers, or prentise-dogrell rymers, that doth not bumbast his labors with high swelling and heaven-disimbowelling wordes, and that doth not marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe. *Plus sonat quàm valet. The sound is more then the weight or worth.* And for the vulgare sort, there were never so many Poets, and so fewe good: but as it hath bin easy for them to represent their rymes, so come they farre short in imitating the rich descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he bee vrged with sophistickall subtilties about a Sillogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a man drinke, drinking quenchem a mans thirst, *Ergo*, a gammon of bacon quenchem a mans thirst. Let him mock at-it, it is more wittie to be mockt at, then to be aunswered. Let him borrowe this pleasant counter-craft of *Aristippus*; *Why shall I vnbind that, which being bound doth so much trouble me?* Some one proposed certaine Logickall quiddities against *Cleanthes*, to whom *Chrysippus* saide; vse such jugling trickes to plaie with children, and divert not the serious thoughtes of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, *contorta & aculeata sophismata. Intricate and stinged sophismes*, must perswade a lie, it is dangerous; but if they proove void of any effect, and moove him but to laughter, I see not why he shall beware of them. Some there are so foolish that wil go a quarter of a mile out of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if they once get in chace; *At qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba conueniant. Or such as fit not wordes to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, whereto words may be fitted.* And another, *Qui alicuius verbi decore placentis, vacentur ad id quod non proposuerunt scribere. Who are allured by the grace of some pleasing word, to write that they intended not to write.* I doe more willingly winde vp a witty notable sentence, that so I may sewe-it vpon me, then vnwinde my thread to goe fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serue and waite vpon the matter, and not for matter to attend vpon words, and if the French tongue cannot reach vnto-it, let the Gaskonie, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkeneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the wordes. It is a naturall, simple, and vnaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken; & such vpon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithy, sinnowie, full, strong, compendious, and materiall speech, not so delicate and affected, as vehement and piercing.

Hec demum sapiet dictio, qua feriet.

In fine, that word is wisely fit,

Which strikes the sence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult then tedious, voyde of affectation, free, loose and bolde, that every member of-it seeme to make a bodie; not Pedanticall, nor Frierlike, nor Lawyerlike, but rather downe-right, Souldier-like. As *Suetonius* calleth that of *Iulius Cesar*, which I see no reason that some shoulde goe about to disgrace. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licentiousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelesly to let their cloakes hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikenwise, and their stockings loose-hanging about their legs. It represents a kinde of disdainefull fiercenesse of these forraine embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse of arte: But I commend-it more being employed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the liveliness and libertie of *France*, is vnseemely in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every gentleman ought to addresse himselfe vnto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to encline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seene: As in a well compact body, what neede

neede a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally? *Que veritati operam
 dat oratio, incompocita sit & simplex. Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult puidè loqui?* The speech
 that intendeth truth must be plaine and vnpollisht: Who speaketh elaborately, but he that meanes
 to speake vnfaouredly? That eloquence offereth injurie vnto things, which altogether
 drawes-vs to observe-it. As in apparrell it is a signe of pusillanimitie for one to marke him-
 selfe, in some particular and vnusuall fashion: so likewise in common speech, for one to
 hunt after new phrases, and vnaccustomed-quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and
 childish ambition. Let me vse none other then are spoken in the halls of *Paris*. *Aristophanes*
 the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reprov'd *Epicurus*, for the simplici-
 tie of his words, and the end of his arte oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speech. The
 imitation of speech, by reason of the *facile* ~~facile~~ *facile* of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The
 imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers,
 because they have found one selfe-same kinde of gowne, suppose most falsly to holde one
 like body. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and
 strength of the body. Most of those that converse with me, speake like vnto these Essayes;
 but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as *Plato* averreth) have for
 their parte great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speech; The Lacedemonians ende-
 uour to be short and compendious; And those of *Greet* labour more to be plentiful in con-
 ceites, then in language. And these are the best. *Zeno* was wont to say, *That hee had two*
sortes of disciples; the one hee called φιλόλογος, curious to learne things, and those were his dar-
 lings, the other he termed λογophilus, who respected nothing more then the language. Yet
 can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable, but not so ex-
 cellent as some make it: and I am grieved to see how we employ most parte of our time a-
 bout that onely. I would first knowe mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours
 with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and La-
 tine tongues, are great ornaments in a gentleman, but they are purchas'd at over-high a
 rate. Vse-it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much soo-
 ner then is ordinarily vs'd, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having by all the
 meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best
 vnderstanding, to finde a most exquisite and ready way of teaching, being advis'd of the in-
 conveniences then in vse; was given to vnderstand, that the lingering while, and best parte
 of our youth, that we employ in learning the tongues, which cost-them nothing, is the on-
 ly cause wee can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the
 Greekes, and Romanes, I doe not believe that to be the onely cause. But so it is, the ex-
 pedient my father found-out, was this; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loos-
 ing of my tongue, I was deliver'd to a Germaine (who died since, a most excellent Phisitian
 in *France*) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely ready
 and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my father had sent-for of purpose, and to
 whom he gave very great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine
 onely overseer. There were also joyned vnto him two of his cuntrymen, but not so lear-
 ned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me; and all these together
 did never entertaine me with other then the Latine tongue. As for others of his household,
 it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maide-ser-
 vant, were suffered to speake one worde in my company, except such Latine wordes, as e-
 very one had learned to chatte and prattle with mee, It were strange to tell how everie one
 in the house profited therein. My father and my mother learned so much Latine, that
 for a neede they could vnderstand-it, when they heard-it spoken, even so did all the hous-
 holde servants, namely such as were neereft and most about-me. To be short, we were all
 so Latinized, that the townes round about vs had their share of-it; insomuch as even at this
 day, many Latine names both of workemen and of their tooles, are yet in vse among them.
 And as for my selfe, I was above six yeares olde, and could vnderstand no more French or
 Perigordine, then Arabike, and that without arte, without bookes, rules, or gramer,
 without whipping or whining. I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my maister could
 speake; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues.
 If for an Essay they would give me a Theame, whereas the fashion in Colledges is, to give
 it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And *Nicholas Grucchi*,
 who

who hath writtten *De comitijs Romanorum*, *William Guarenti*, who hath commented *Aristotle*: *George Buchanan*, that famous Scottish Poet, and *Marke-Antonie Muret*, whom (while he lived) both *France* and *Italie* to this day, acknowledge to have beene the best Orator: all which have have beene my familiar tutors, have often told me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine tongue so readie and so perfect; that themselves feared to take mee in hand. And *Buchanan*, whom afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of *Brissack*, told me, he was about to write a treatise of the institution of children, and that he toke the modell and patterne from mine: for, at that time he had the charge and bringing vp of the yong Earle of *Brissack*, whom since we have seene prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine. As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small vnderstanding, my father purposed to make mee learne it by artes; But by new and vncustomed meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exercise. We did tolle our declinations, and conjugations to and fro, as they doe, who by way of a certaine game at tables learne both Arithmetike and Geometrie. For, amongst other things he had especially beene perswaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie and science by an vnforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choyce; and without any compulsion or rigor to bring me vp in all mildenesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition, that, whereas some are of opinion, that sodainely to awaken yong children, and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more heaue and deeper plunged then wee) dooth greatly trouble and distemper their braines, he would every morning cause me to be awakened by the sound of some instrument; and I was never without a servant. Who to that purpose attended vpon me. This example may serve to judge of the rest; as also to commend the judgement and tender affection of so carefull and loving a father: who is not to bee blamed, though hee reaped not the fruites answerable to his exquisite toyle, and painefull manuring. Two things hindered the same; first the barrennesse and vnfit soyle: for howbeit I were of a sound and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeelding condition, yet was I so heauy, so sluggish, and so dull, that I could not be rouzed (yea were it to goe play) from-out mine idle drowzinesse. What I saw, I saw it perfectly; and vnder this heauy, and as it were Lethe-complexion did I breede hardie imaginations, and opinions farre-above my yeares. My spirit was very slow, and would go no further then it was led by others; my apprehension blockish, my invention poore; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weakemorie: it is therefore no wonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those that in some dangerous sickness, moved with a kinde of hope-full and greedy desire of perfect health againe, give-eare to every Leache or Emperike, and follow all counsells, the good-man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any oversight, in a matter he rooke so to harte, suffered himselfe at last to be led away by the common opinion, which like vnto the Cranes, followeth ever those that go before, and yeelded to custome: Having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of *Italie*. Being but six yeares olde I was sent to the Colledge of *Guienne*, then most flourishing and reputed the best in *France*, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient Maisters, that could bee found, to reade vnto mee, as also for all other circumstances pertaining to my education; wherein contrary to vsuall customes of Colledges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a Colledge. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of vse: which new kinde of institution, stood me in no other steade, but that at my first admittance, it made me to overskip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the Colledge, I had read over the whole course of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no accompt of it. The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of *Ovids Metamorpholies*; for, being but seaven or eight yeares olde, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, onely to reade them: Forso much as the tongue wherein they were written was to me naturall; and it was the easiest booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained, most agreeing with my yong age. For of King *Arthur*, of *Lancelot du-Lake*, of *Amadis*, of *Huon of Burdeaux*, and such idle time-consuming, and wit-befotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly amuse it-selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their

I

names,

names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they containe: So exact was my discipline. Whereby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall-out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discrete maister, who out of his judgement could with such dexteritie winke-at, and second my vntowardnesse, and such other faults that were in mee. For by that meanes, I read-over *Virgils Aeneados*, *Terence*, *Plato*, and other Italian Comedies, allured therevnto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects: Had he beene so foolishly-severe, or so severely-froward as to crosse this course of mine, I think verily I had never brought any thing from the Colledge, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see; hee would foster and encrease my longing: suffering me but by stealth, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those bookes; holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefeest thing my father required at their hands (vnto whose charge he had committed me) was a kinde of well-conditioned mildenesse, and facilitie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull-languishing, and heavie slouthfulnesse. The danger was not, I should do-ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever suspect, I would prove a bad, but an vnprofitable man: foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse, then a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that dayly are buzzed in mine eares are these; that I am idle, colde, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents, and kinsfolkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over-singular and disdainfull. And those that are most injurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paid? but may rather demaund, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a favour, they should with such effects of superarrogation in me. But they are vnjust and over-partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor then they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they vtterly cancell, both the gratifying of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to-me. Whereas the active well-doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regarde I have no passive at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and justly vpbraide some, that they are not so much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more then I doe. Yet my minde ceased not at the same time to have peculiar vnto-it selfe well-settled motions, true and open judgements, concerning the objects, which it knewe; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things I verily believe, it would have proved altogether incapable, and unfit to yeeld vnto force, or stoope vnto violence. Shall I accompt or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldenesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voyce, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexteritie in conforming my selfe to the parts I vndertooke? for before the age of the

Virg. Buc. ecl. 8.

39.

Alter ab undecimo tum me vix coeperat annus:

Yeares had I (to make even.)

Scarfe two aboue eleuen.

I have vnder-gone and represented the chiefeest parts in the Latine Tragedies of *Buchanan*, *Guarenti*, and of *Muret*; which in great state were acted and plaid in our colledge of *Guienne*: wherein *Andreas Goveanus* our Rector principall; who as in all other partes belonging to his charge, was without comparision the chiefeest Rector of *France*, and my selfe (without ostentation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe maister, yet a principall Actor in them. It is an exercise I rather commend then disallow in yong gentlemen: and have seene some of our Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) both commendably and honestly, in their proper persons acte and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tollerable profession in men of honor, namely in *Greece*. *Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic & genus & fortuna honesta erant: nec ars quia nihil tale apud Gracos pudori est, ea deformabat.* He impartes the matter to *Ariston* a Player of tragedies, whose progenie

and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Gracians.

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disallowe such kindes of recreations, and blamed those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, (or as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publike sportes. Politike and well-ordred commonwealths, endeavor rather carefully to vnite and assemble their citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formall and regular pastimes allowed them, then such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and in the presence of the magistrates themselves: And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnes towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres and places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worse inconveniences, and secret actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way then to allure the affection, and to entice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breede but asses laden with bookes. With jerkes of rodde they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to doe well, one must not onely harbour in him-selfe, but wed and marry the same with his minde.

The sixe and twentieth Chapter.

It is follie to refferre Truth or Falsehood to
our sufficiencie.

Miracles.

IT is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving, and easines of perswasion, vnto simplicitie and ignorance: For, me seemeth to have learnt heretofore, that beliefe was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistance, it was easier to imprint any thing therein. *Ut necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis deprimi: sic animum perspicuis cedere.* As it is necessarie a scale must goe downe in the ballance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeelde to things that are manifest. Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most emptie and without counterpoize, so much the more easily doth it yeelde vnder the burthen of perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sorte, women, and sicke-folkes, are so subject to be mis-led, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a fottish presumption to disdain and condemne that for false, which vnto vs seemeth to beare no shew of likelyhoode or trueth: which is an ordinarie fault in those, who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiencie then the vulgar sorte. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach,

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala:
Dreames, magike terrors, witches, vncouth-wonders,
Night-walking spirits, Thessalian conjur'd-thunders.*

Hor. lib. 2. epi. 2
208.

I could not but feele a kind of compassion to see the poore and feely people abused with such follies. And now I perceive, that I was as much to be moaned my-selfe: Not that experience hath since made me to discern any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught-me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false, and impossible, is to assume vnto him-selfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature, tied to his fleue: And that there is no greater folly in the world, then to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie, and bounds of our sufficiencie. If wee terme those things monsters or miracles, to

which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves vnto our sight? Let-vs consider through what clowdes, and how blinde-folde wee are led to the knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shal finde, it is rather Custome, than Science that remooveth the strangenes of them from-vs:

Lucr.li. 2. 996.

—iam nemo fessus saturisque videndi,

Susplicere in cali dignatur lucida templa.

Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation

Deignes to have heav'ns bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented vnto-vs, we should doubtles deeme them, as much, or more vnlikely, and incredible, then any other.

997.

—si nunc primum mortalibus adsint

Ex improviso, cen sint obiecta repente,

Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,

Aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes.

If now first on a sodaine they were here

Mongst mortal men, object to eye or eare,

Nothing, than these things, would more wondrous bee,

Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

He who had never seene a river before, the first he saw, he thought it to be the Ocean: and things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge them to be the extreamest that nature worketh in that kinde.

Lib. 6. 674.

Scilicet & fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est

Qui non ante aliquem maiorem vidit, & ingens

Arbor homoque videtur, & omnia de genere omni

Maxima qua vidit quisque, hac ingentia fingit.

A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme

To him, that never sawe a greater streame.

Trees, men seeme huge, and all things of all sortes,

The greatest one hath seene, he huge reports.

Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident. Munde are acquainted by custome of their eyes, nor doe they admire, or enquire the reasons of those things, which they continually behold. The noveltie of things doth more incite-vs to search-out the causes, than their greatnes: we must judge of this infinit power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weakenes. How many things of small likelyhoode are there, witnessed by men, worthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be perswaded, we should at least leave them in suspense? For, to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and knowe how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well vnderstand, what difference there is betweene impossibilitie, and that which is vnwonted, and betweene that which is against the course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleieving rashly, and in not disbeleieving casily, the rule of *Nothing too-much*, commanded by *Chilon*, should be observed. When we find in *Froissard*, that the Earle of *Foix*, (being in *Bearne*) had knowledge of the defeature at *Iuberoth*, of king *Iohn* of *Castile*, the morrow-next it hapned, and the meanes he alleageth for it, a man may well laugh at-it: And of that which our *Annales* report, that Pope *Honorius*, the very same day, that King *Philip Augustus* died at *Mantes*, caused his publike funeralles to be solemnized, and commaunded them to be celebrated through-out all *Italie*. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine-vs. But what? if *Plutarke*, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, saith to have certainly knowne, that in *Domitian's* time, the newes of the battle lost by *Antonius* in *Germanie* many daies iourneies thence, was published at *Rome*, and divulged through the world, the very same day it succeeded: And if *Caesar* holdes, that it hath many times happened, that reporte hath fore-gon the accident: Shall we not say, that those simple people have suffered themselves to be coufoned and seduced by the vulgar sorte, because they were not as cleare-sighted as we? Is there any thing more dainty, more vnspotted, and more lively then *Plinies* judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shewe of it? Is there any farther from vanity? I omitte the excellency of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning

knowing in which of those two partes doe we exceed him? Yet is there no scholer so meanly learned, but will convince him of lying; & reade a lecture of contradiction against him upon the progresse of natures workes. When wee reade in *Boucher* the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint *Hillarie*, his credite is not sufficient to barre vs the libertie of contradicting him: yet at randon to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to mee a notable impudencie. That famous man Saint *Augustine*, witnesseth to have seene a blinde childe, to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint *Gervase* and *Protaise* at *Milane*: and a woman at *Carthage*, to have beene cured of a canker, by the signe of the holy Crosse, which a woman newly baptized made vpon hir: and *Elesperius* a familiar friend of his, to have expelled certaine spirits, that molested his house, with a litle of the earth of our Saviors sepulcher; which earth being afterward transported into a Church, a Paralytike man was immediately therewith cured: and a woman going in procession, having as shee pass't-by with a nose-gaie toucht the case wherein Saint *Stevens* bones were, and with the same afterwarde rubbed hir eies, shee recovered her sight, which long before she had vtterly lost: & divers other examples, where he affirmeth to have bin an assistant him-selfe. What shal we accuse him of, and two other holy Bishops, *Aurelius* and *Maximinus*, whom he calleth for his witnesses? Shall it be of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facilitie, or of imposture? Is any living man so impudent, that thinks he may be compared to them, whether it be in vertue or pietie, in knowledge or judgement, in wisdom or sufficiencie? *Quis ut rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa autoritate me frangerent: Who though they alleadged no reason, yet might subdue me with their verie authoritie.* It is a dangerous fond-hardines, and of consequence, besides the absurd temerity it draws with-it, to despise what we conceive not. For, after that according to your best vnderstanding, you have established the limites of truth, and boundes of falsehood, and that it is found, you must necessarily believe things, wherein is more strangenesse, then in those you deny; you have already bound your-selfe to abandon them. Now that which me thinkes brings as much disorder in our consciences, namely in these troubles of religion wherein we are, is, the dispensation Catholikes make of their beleife. They suppose to shewe themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they yeeld their adversaries any of those articles now in question. But besides that, they perceive not what an advantage it is for him that chargeth you, if you but once beginne to yeeld and give him ground; and how much that encorageth him to pursue his point: those articles which they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most important. Either a man must wholly submit himselfe to the authority of our Ecclesiasticall pollicy, or altogether dispence him-selfe from-it: It is not for vs to determine what part of obedience we owe vnto-it. And moreover, I may say-it, because I have made triall of-it, having sometimes vsed this liberty of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine pointes of the observance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face, either more vaine, or more strange; comming to communicate them with wise men, I have found that those things have a most solide and steady foundation, and that it is but foolishnes and ignorance, makes-vs receive them with lesse respect and reverence then the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feele even in our owne judgement? Howe many things served-vs but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day wee deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth vs to have an oare in every shippe, and the former forbids-vs to leave any thing vnresolved or vndecided.

The seaven and twentieth Chapter.

Of Friendship.

5

XP

Considering the proceeding of a Painters worke I have; a desire hath possessed me to imitate him: Hee maketh choise of the most convenient place and iniddle of every wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiencie; and all voyde places about-it, he filleth-vp with antike Boscage or Crotosko works; which are fantastical pictures, having no grace, but in the varietie and strangenes of them. And what are these my compositions

sitions in truth, other then antique workes, and monstrous bodies, patched and hudled-vp together of diuers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chaunce?

Hor. ars. poe. 4.

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.
A woman faire for parts superior,
Endes in a fish for parts inferior.

Touching this second point I go as farre as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am farre behinde: for my sufficiency reacheth not so farre, as that I dare vndertake, a rich, a polished, and according to true skill, and arte-like table. I have advised my selfe to borrow one of *Steven de la Boitie*, who with this kinde of worke shall honour all the worlde. It is a discourse he entituled, *Voluntary Seruitude*, but those who have not knowen him, have since very properly rebaptized the same, *The Against one*. In his first youth he writ, by way of Effaie, in honour of liberty against Tyrants. It hath long since beene dispersed amongst men of vnderstanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of witte, and containeth as much learning as may be yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew him in, he would have vnder-gone my desigine, to set his fantasies downe in writing, we should doubtlesse see many rare things, and which would very neerely approach the honour of antiquity: for especially touching that parte of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatize, came to mans viewe, and I believe he never sawe it since it first escaped his handes: with certaine other notes concerning the edict of Ianuarie, famous by reason of our intestine warres, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whome when death seized, he by his last will and testament, left with so kinde remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caused to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, for so much as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For, it was shewed me long time before I sawe him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressling, and thus nourishing that vnspotted friendship, which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained betweene vs, that truely a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is seene. So many partes are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder, if fortune once in three ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addressed vs than to societie. And *Aristotle* saith, *that perfect Law giuers have had more regardfull care of friendship then of iustice*. And the utmost drift of it's perfection is this. For generally, all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnes or profit, publike or private neede, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruite with friendship, then it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure ancient kindes of ~~naturall~~ friendships; *Naturall, sociall, hospitable, and vnerian*, either particularly or conjointly besee me the same. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourished by communication, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot be found in them, and would haply offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicated vnto children, lest it might engender an vnbeeseeming familiaritie betweene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chiefe offices of friendship) could be exercised from children to parents. There have nations beene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others, where parents slew their children, thereby to avoyde the hindrance of enter-bearing one another in after-times: for naturally one dependeth from the ruine of another. There have Philosophers beene found disdaining this naturall conjunction, witnesse *Aristippus*, who being vrged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loynes, began to speake and spit, saying, *That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendred wormes and lice*. And that other man, whom *Plutarke* would have perswaded to agree with his brother, answered, *I care not a strawe the more for him, though he came out of the same wombe I did*. Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and full of loving kindnes, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworne brother: but this commixture, diuidence, and sharing of goods, this joyning wealth to wealth, and that the riches of one shall be the povertie of another, doth exceedingly distemper and distract all brotherly aliance,

alliance, and lovely conjunction: If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrift in one same path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and crosse one another. Moreover, the correspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually-perfect amities, why shall it be found in these? The father and the sonne may very well be of a farre-differing complexion, and so may brothers: He is my sonne, he is my kinsman; but hee may be a foole, a bad, or a peevish-minded man. And then according as they are friendships, which the law and dutie of nature doth commande-vs, so much the lesse of our owne voluntarie choice and libertie is there required vnto it: And our genuine libertie hath no production more properly hir owne, then that of affection and amitie. Sure I am, that concerning the same I have assayed all that might be, having had the best and most indulgent father that ever was, even vnto his extreamest age, and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-seene vertue of brotherly concord very exemplare:

Hor. lib. 2. od. 2.
6.

— & ipse

Notus in fratres animi paterni,

To his brothers knowne so kinde,

As to beare a fathers minde.

To compare the affection toward women vnto-it, although it proceede from our owne free choise, a man cannot, nor may-it be placed in this ranke: Hir fire, I confesse it

(— *neque enim est dea nescia nostri*

Quae dulcem curis miscet amaritatem.)

(Nor is that Goddesse ignorant of me,

Whose bitter sweetes with my cares mixed be)

to be more active, more fervent, and more sharpe. But it is a rash and wavering fire, waving and diverse: the fire of an ague subject to fittes and stints, and that hath but slender hold-fast of vs. In true friendship, it is a generall & vniversall heate, and equally tempered, a constant and settled heate, all pleasure and smoothnes, that hath no pricking or stinging in it, which the more it is in lustfull love, the more is-it but a ranging and mad desire in following that which flies-vs,

Come segue la lepre il cacciatore

Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna, al lito,

Ne piu l'estima poi che presa vede,

E sol dietro a chi fugge affretta il piede.

Ev'n as the huntinan doth the hare pursue,

In cold, in heate, on mountaines, on the shore,

But cares no more, when he hir tan'e espies,

Speeding his pace, onely at that which flies.

As soone as it creepeth into the termes of friendship, that is to say, in the agreement of wills, it languisheth and vanisheth away: enjoying doth loose-it, as having a corporall end, and subject to satiety. On the other side, friendship is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither bredde, nor nourished, nor encreaseth but in ioyissance, as being spirituall, and the mind being refined by vse and custome. Vnder this chiefe amitie, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, lest I should speake of him, who in his verses speakes but too much of-it. So are these two passions entred into mee in knowledge one of another, but in comparison never: the first flying a high, and keeping a prowde pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe hir points farre vnder-it. Concerning marriage, besides that it is a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance, the continuance beeing forced and constrained, depending else-where then from our will, and a match ordinarily concluded to other ends: A thousand strange knotts are therein commonly to be vnknit, able to breake the web, & trouble the whole course of a lively affection; whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or busines depending on the same, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women, cannot answer this conference and communication, the nurse of this sacred bond: nor seeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, and durable. And truly, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not onely mindes had this entire ioyissance, but also bodies, a share of the alliance, and where man might wholly be engaged: It is certaine, that friendship would

n *Cic. Tusc. que. 4.*

gener:

*Cic. ibid.**Cic. Ann.**This friendship
with Glaucon
de la Boetie*

thereby be more compleate and full: But this sexe could never yet by any example attaine vnto it, and is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to vse it had so necessarie a disparitie of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently answer the perfect vnion, and agreement, which here we require: *Quis est enim iste amor amicitie? cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem?* For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man love either a deformed yong man, or a beautifull old man? For even the picture the *Academie* makes of it, will not, (as I suppose) disavowe me, to say thus in hir behalf: That this first furie, enspired by the sonne of *Venus* in the lovers hart, vpon the object of tender youths flower, to which they allow all insolent and passionate violences, an immoderate heate may produce, was simply grounded vpon an externall beauty; a false image of corporall imagination: for in the spirit it had no power, the sight whereof was yet concealed, which was but in his infancie, and before the age of budding. For, if this fury did seize vpon a base-minded courage, the meanes of it's pursuite, were riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and such-like vile marchandize, which they reprove. If it fell into a more generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous: Philosophicall instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his countrie: examples of valour, wisdom and justice. The lover endeavoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beautie of his mind (that of his bodie being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societie to establish a more firme and permanent bargaine. When this pursuite attained the effect in his due season, (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his enterprise, they require it exactly in the beloved; forasmuch as he was to judge of an internal beautie, of a difficile knowledge, & abstruse discoverie) then by the interposition of a spirituall beauty was the desire of a spirituall conception engendered in the beloved. The latter was here chieftly the corporall, accidentall and second: altogether contrary to the lover. And therefore doe they preferre the beloved, and verifie that the Gods likewise preferre the same: and greatly blame the Poet *Æschylus*, who in the love between *Achilles* and *Patroclus* ascribeth the lovers part vnto *Achilles*, who was in the first and beardlesse youth of his adolescencie, and the fairest of the *Græcians*. After this generall communitie, the mistris and worthiest part of it, predominant & exercising hir offices (they say the most availeful commoditie did thereby redound both to the private & publike.) That it was the force of countries received the vse of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie: witnesse the comfortable loves of *Hermodion* and *Aristogston*. Therefore name they it, sacred and divine; and it concerns not them whether the violence of tyrants, or the demisnesse of the people be against them: To conclude, all can be alleadged in favour of the *Academie*, is to say, that it was a love ending in friendship, a thing which hath no bad reference vnto the Stoicall definition of love: *Amorem conatum esse amicitie faciendæ ex pulchritudinis specie.* That love is an endeavor of making friendship by the shew of beautie. I returne to my description in a more equitable & equall maner. *Omnino amicitia corroboratis iam confirmatisq; ingenijs & ætatibus, iudicanda sunt.* Clearly friendships are to be iudged by wits, and ages already strengthened and confirmed. As for the rest, those wee ordinarily call friendes and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by meanes whereof our mindes are entertained. In the amitie I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with so vniverfall a commixture, that they weare-out, and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoynded them together. If a man vrge me to tell wherefore I loved him, I feele it can not be expressed, but by answering, Because it was he, because it was my selfe. There is beyond all my discourse, and besides what I can particularly reporte of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatall power, a meane and Mediatrix of this indissoluble vnion. Wee fought one another, before ever we had seene one another, and by the reportes we heard one of another; which wrought a greater violence in vs, then the reason of reportes may well beare: I thinke by some secret ordinance of the heavens, we embraced one another by our names. And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemne meeting of a whole towneship, we found ourselves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly-bound together, that from thence-forward, nothing was so neere vnto vs, as one vnto an other. He writ an excellent Latine Satyre; since published; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation of

of our acquaintance, so sodainely come to her perfection; Sithence it must continue so short a time, and begunne so late (for we were both growne men, and he some yeares older then my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to bee modelled or directed by the patterne of regular and remisse friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and preallable conversation, are required. This hath no other *Idea*, than of-it selfe, and can have no reference but to it selfe. It is not one especiall consideration, nor two, nor three, nor foure, nor a thousand: It is I wot not what kinde of quintessence of all this commixture, which having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and loose it selfe in his, which likewise having seized all his will, brought it to loose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutuall greedinesse, and with a seemblable concurrence. I may truly say, loose, reserving nothing vnto vs, that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his, or mine. When *Lelius* in the presence of the Romane Consuls, who after the condemnation of *Tiberius Gracchus*, pursued all those that had beene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of *Caius Blossius* (who was one of his chiefe friends) what he would have done for him, and that he answered: *All things. What? All things?* replied he: *And what if hee had willed thee to burne our Temples?* Blossius answered, *He would never have commanded such a thing. But what if hee had done it?* replied *Lelius*: The other answered, *I would have obeyed him*. If he were so perfect a friend to *Gracchus*, as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this last and bolde confession, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of *Gracchus* his minde. But yet those, who accuse this answer as seditious, vnderstand not well this mysterie: and doe not presuppose in what termes he stood, and that he held *Gracchus* his will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than citizens, rather friends than enemies of their country, or friends of ambition and trouble. Having absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the raines of one anothers inclination: and let this yoke be guided by vertue and conduct of reason (because without them it is altogether impossible to combine and proportion the same.) The answer of *Blossius* was such as it should be. If their actions miscarried, according to my meaning, they were neither friends one to another, nor friends to themselves. As for the rest, this answer soundes no more than mine would doe, to him that would in such sort enquire of me; if your will should commaund you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should consent vnto it: for, that beareth no witness of consent to do it: because I am not in doubt of my will, and as little of such a friends will. It is not in the power of the worldes discourse to remoove me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgements of mine: no one of it's actions might be presented vnto me, vnder what shape soever, but I would presently find the spring and motion of it. Our mindes have jumped so vnitedly together, they have with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and founded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, that I did, not onely know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him, concerning any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other common friendships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectest of their kind: yet will I not perswade any man to confound their rules, for so a man might be deceived. In these other strict friendships a man must march with the bridle of wisdom and precaution in his hand: the bond is not so strictly tied, but a man may in some sorte distrust the same. *Love him (saide Chilon) as if you shoulde one day hate him againe. Hate him, as if you should love him againe.* This precept, so abominable in this soveraigne and mistis Amitie, is necessary and wholsome in the vse of vulgar and customarie friendships: toward which a man must employ the saying *Aristotle* was wont so often to repeat, *Oh you my friends, there is no perfect friend.*

In this noble commerce, offices and benefits (nurses of other amities) deserve not so much as to be accompted-of: this confusion so full of our willes is cause of it: for, even as the friendship I beare vnto my selfe, admits no accrease, by any succour I give my selfe in any time of neede, whatsoever the Stoickes alleadge; and as I acknowledge no thanks vnto my selfe for any service I doe vnto my selfe, so the vnion of such friends, being truly perfect, makes them loose the feeling of such duties, and hate, and expell from one another these words of division, and difference, benefite, good deede, dutie, obligation, acknowledgement, prayer, thanks, and such their like. All things being by effect common betweene them;

them; wills, thoughts, judgements, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutuall agreement, being no other then one soule in two bodies, according to the fit definition of *Aristotle*, they can neither lend or give ought to each other. See here the reason why Law-makers, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine bond, inhibit donations betweene husband and wife; meaning thereby to inferre, that all things should peculiarly be proper to each of them, and that they have nothing to divide and share together. If in the friendship whereof I speake, one might give vnto another, the receiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking, more then any other thing, to doe each other good, he who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth most. When the Philosopher *Diogenes* wanted monie, he was wont to say, *That he demanded the same of his friends, and not that he demanded it*: And to shew how that is practised by effect, I will relate an ancient singular example. *Eudamidas* the Corinthian had two friends, *Charixenus* a Sycionian, and *Aretheus* a Corinthian; being vpon his death-bed, and very poore, and his two friends very rich, thus made his last will and testament. To *Aretheus*, I bequeath the keeping of my mother, and to maintaine hir when she shall be olde: To *Charixenus* the marrying of my daughter, and to give hir as great a dowrie as he may: and in case one of them shall chance to die before, I appoint the survivor to substitute his charge, and supply his place. Those that first sawe this testament, laughed and mocked at the same; but his heires being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And *Charixenus* one of them, dying five daies after *Eudamidas*, the substitution being declared in favor of *Aretheus*, he carefully and very kindly kept and maintained his mother, and of five talents that he was worth, he gave two & a halfe in mariage to one only daughter he had, and the other two & a halfe to the daughter of *Eudamidas*, whom he married both in one day. This example is very ample, if one thing were not, which is the multitude of friends: For, this perfect amity I speake of, is indivisible; each man doth so wholly give himselfe vnto his friend, that he hath nothing left him to divide else-where: moreover he is grieved that he is double, triple, or quadruple, and hath not many soules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all vpon this subject. Common friendships may bee divided; a man may love beauty in one, facilitie of ~~company~~ in another, liberality in one, and wisdom in another, paternitie in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: but this amitie which possesseth the soule, and swayes it in all soveraigntie, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require help, to which would you runne? Should they crave contrary offices of you, what order would you followe? Should one commit a matter to your silence, which if the other knew would greatly profite him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, and freeth all other obligations. The secret I have sworne not to reveale to another, I may without perjurie imparte it vnto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange wonder for a man to double himself; and those that talke of tripling, know not, nor cannot reach vnto the height of it. *Nothing is extreame, that hath his Like*. And he who shall presuppose, that of two I love the one as well as the other, and that they enter-love one another, and love me as much as I love them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and alonely one, and then which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this History agreeth very wel with what I said; for, *Eudamidas* giveth as a grace and favor to his friends to employ them in his neede: he leaveth them as his heires of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the meanes into their handes, to doe him good. And doubtlesse, the force of friendship is much more richly shewen in his deed, then in *Aretheus*. To conclude, they are unimaginable effects, to him that hath not tasted them: and which makes me wonderfullie to honor the answer of that yong Souldier to *Cyrus*, who enquiring of him, what he would take for a horse, with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether hee would change him for a Kingdome? *No surelie, my Liege* (saide he) *yet would I willingly forgoe him to gaine a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance*. He saide not ill, in saying, *could I but finde*. For, a man shall easily finde men fit for a superficiall acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their hearts, and make no spare of any thing, it is most requisite, all the wardes and springs be sincerely wrought, and perfectly true. In confederacies, which holde but by one end, men have nothing to provide-

vide-for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concerne that ende and respect. It is no great matter what religion my Physician and Lawyer is of: this consideration hath nothing common with the offices of that friendship they owe-mee. So doe I in the familiar acquaintances, that those who serve-mee contract with mee. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no, but whether hee be diligent: I feare not a gaming Muletier, so much as if he be weake; nor a hot swearing Cooke, as one that is ignorant and vnskilfull; I never meddle with saying what a man should do in the world; there are over many others that do-it; but what my selfe doe in the world.

Mihi sic usus est: Tibi, ut opus est facto, face.

So is it requisite for me;

Doe thou as needefull is for thee.

Ter. Heau. act.
I. scen. I. 28.

Concerning familiar table-talk, I rather acquaint my selfe with, and follow a merry conceited humour, then a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty, then goodnesse; and in society or conversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without *Preud' hommie*, and so of all things-else. Even as he that was found riding vpon an hobby-horse, playing with his children, befought him, who thus surprized him, not to speake of-it, vntil he were a father himself, supposing, the tender fondnesse, and fatherly passion, which then would possesse his minde, should make-him an impartiall judge of such an action. So would I wish to speake to such as had tried what I speake of: but knowing how farre such an amitie is from the common vse, & how seld-seene and rarely-found, I look not to find a competent judge. For, even the discourses, which sterne antiquitie hath left vs concerning this subject, seeme to me but faint and forcelesse in respect of the feeling I have of-it: And in that point the effects exceede the very precepts of Philosophie.

Ni ego contulerim incundo sanus amicus.

For mee, be I well in my wit,

Nought, as a merry friend, so fit.

Hor. li. I. Sat.
5. 44.

Auncient *Menander* accompted him happy, that had but mette the shadowe of a true friend: verilie he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: For truly, if I compare all the rest of my fore-passed life, which although I have by the meere mercie of God, past at rest and ease, and except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all grievous affliction, with an ever-quietnes of mind, as one that have taken my naturall and originall commodities in good payment, without searching any others: if, as I say, I compare-it all vnto the foure yeres, I so happily enjoyed the sweet company, and deare-deare society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yrkesome light. Since the time I lost him,

quem semper acerbum,

Semper honoratum (sic Diu voluistis) habebo,

Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,

Yet ever honor'd, (so my God t'obey)

Virg. Aen. 5. 49

I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present-mewith, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the griefe of his losse. Wee were copartners in all things. All things were with vs at halfe; mee thinkes I have stolne his parte from him.

—Nec fas esse vllam voluptate hic frui

Decreui, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,

As long as he my partner is away.

Ter. Heau. act.
I. scen. I. 97.

I was so accustomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never single, that mee thinkes I am but halfe my selfe.

Illam meæ si partem anima tulit,

Maturior vis, quid moror altera,

Nec charus aque nec superstes,

Integer? Ille dies utramque

Duxit ruinam.

Since that parte of my soule riper fate rest me.

Why stay I heere the other parte he left me?

Hor. li. 2. od. 17.
5.

Nor

Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest:
That day hath in one ruine both opprest.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination possesse me, but I heare him saying, as indeede he would have done to mee: for even as he did excell me by an infinite distance in all other sufficiencies and vertues, so did he in all offices and duties of friendship.

Lib. I. ed. 24. 1.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus,
Tam chari capitis?*

What modesty or measure may I beare,
In want and wish of him that was so deare?

Catul. eie. 4. 20.

92. 23. 95.

*O misero frater adempte mihi!
Omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
Que tunc in vita dulcis alebat amor.*

21.

94.

*Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda frater,
Tecum una tota est nostra sepulta anima,
Cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugani*

25.

Hec studia, atque omnes delicias animi.

El. I. 9.

Alloquar? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem?

Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior,

Aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo.

O brother rest from miserable me,

All our delight's are perished with thee,

Which thy sweet love did nourish in thy breath,

Thou all my good hast spoiled in thy death:

With thee my soule is all and whole enshrine,

At whose death I have cast out of minde

All my mindes sweete meates, studies of this kinde;

Never shall I heare thee speake, speake with thee?

Thee brother then life dearer never see?

Yet shalt thou ever be belou'd of mee.

but let vs a little heare this yong man speake, being but sixteene yeares of age.

Because I have found this worke to have since bin published (and to an ill end) by such as seek to trouble and subvert the state of our commonwealth, not caring whether they shal reforme it or no; which they have fondly inserted among other writings of their invention, I have revoked my intent which was to place it here. And lest the Authors memory should any way be interessed with those that could not thoroughly knowe his opinions and actions, they shall vnderstand, that this subject was by him treated of in his infancie, onely by way of exercise, as a subject, common, bare-worne, and wyer-drawne in a thousand bookes. I will never doubt but he believed what he writ, and writ as he thought: for hee was so conscientious, that no lie did ever passe his lippes; yea were-it but in matters of sport or play: and I know, that had it bin in his choyce, he would rather have bin borne at Venice, then at Sarlac; and good reason why: But he had an other Maxime deeply imprinted in his minde, which was, carefully to obey, and religiously to submit himselfe to the lawes, vnder which he was borne. There was never a better Cittizen, nor more affected to the wellfare and quietnesse of his countrie, nor a sharper enemy of the changes, innovations, newfangles, and hurly-burles of his time: He would more willingly have employed the utmost of his endeavours (to extinguish and suppress, then to favour or further them: His minde was modelled to the patterne of other best ages. But yet in exchange of his serious treatise, I will here set you downe another, more pithie, materiall, and of more consequence, by him likewise produced in that tender age.

The eight and twentieth Chapter.

Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la Boetie, to the Ladie
of Grammont, Countesse of Guissen.

MAdame, I present you with nothing that is mine, either because it is already yours, or because I find nothing therein worthy of you. But wheresoever these verses shall be seene, for the honor which thereby shall redound to them, by having this glorious *Corisanda of Andoins* for their guide, I thought it good to adorne them with your worthy name. I have deemed this present fit for your Ladyship, forsomuch as there are few Ladies in France, that either can better judge of Poesie, or fitter applie the vse of it, then your worthy selfe: and since in these her drooping dayes, none can give it more life, or vigorous spirit, then you, by those rich and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst a million of other rare beauties, nature hath richly graced you. Madame, these verses deserve to be cherished by you: and I am perswaded you will be of mine opinion, which is, that none have come out of *Gaskenie*, that either had more wit, or better invention, and that witnesse to have proceeded from a richer vaine. And let no jealousie possesse you, inasmuch as you have but the remainder of that, which whilome I caused to be printed vnder the name of my Lord of Foix, your worthy, noble and deare kinsman: For truly, these have a kinde of livenessse, and more piercing Emphasis then any other, and which I can not well expresse: as hee that made them in his Aprils youth, and when he was enflamed with a noble-glorious flame, as I will one day tell your Honour in your eare. The other were afterward made by him in favour of his wife, at what time hee wooed and solicited her for marriage, and beganne to feele I wot not what maritall-chilnesse, and husbands-coldnesse. And I am one of those, whose opinion is, that divine Poesie doth no where fadge so well, and so effectually applaudeth, as in a youthfull, wanton, and vnbridled subject. The above-mentioned nine and twentie Sonnets of *Boetie*, and that in the former impressions of this booke were heere set downe, have since beene printed with his other workes.

The nine and twentieth Chapter.

Of Moderation. 4

AS if our sense of feeling were infected, wee corrupt by our touching, things that in themselves are faire and good. We may so seize on vertue, that if we embrace it with an over-greedie and violent desire, it may become vitious. Those who say, *There is never excesse in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excesse be in it*, doe but jeast at words.

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, equus iniqui,
Vltra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.*

A wise man mad, just vnjust, may I name,
More then is meete, ev'n vertue if he claime.

Hor. lib. 1. ep. 6. 15.

xp

Philosophie is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demeane himselfe in a just action. Gods holy word doth apply it selfe to this byase. *Be not wiser then you should, and be soberly wise.* I have seene some great men, blemish the reputation of their religion, by shewing themselves religious beyond the example of men of their qualitie. I love temperate and indifferent natures. Immoderation towards good, if it offend me not, it amazeth, and troubleth me how I should call it. Neither *Pausanias* his mother, who gave the first instruction, and at her sonnes death threw the first stone: Nor *Posthumius* the Dictator, that brought his owne sonne to his end, whom the heate and forwardnesse

wardnesse of youth, had haply before his rancke, made to charge his enemies, seeme so just as strange vnto me. And I neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that over-shootes his marke, doth no otherwise then he that shooteth short. Mine eyes trouble me as much in climbing vp toward a great light, as to goe downe in the darke. *Calicles* in *Plato* saith, *The extremitie of Philosophie to be hurtfull: and perswades no man to wade further into-it, then the bounds of profit: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodious, but in the end it makes a man wilde and vicious, disdainfull of religion and of common lawes: an enemy of civill conversation: a foe to humane sensualitie, and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politike administration; and unfit to assist others or to helpe himselfe: apt to be scot-free, baffled, and baffled.* He saith true: for in her excesse, she enthrall-eth our naturall libertie, and by an importunate wile, diverts vs from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceth out for vs. The love we beare to women, is very lawfull; yet doth Divinitie bridle and restraints the same. I remember to have read in *Saint Thomas*, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kinsfolkes in forbidden degrees; this one reason amongst others: that the love a man beareth to such a woman may be immoderate; for, if the wedlocke, or husband-like affection be sound and perfect, as it ought to be, and also surcharged with that a man oweth to alliance and kindred, there is no doubt, but that surcrease may easily transport a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the manners of men, as Divinitie and Philosophie, meddle with all things. There is no action so private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and jurisdiction. Well do they learne that search and censure their libertie. It is women communicate their partes as much as a man list to wantonize with them: but to phisicke them bashfulnesse forbids them. I will then in their behalfe teach husbands this, if yet there be any too much fleshtypōn them: which is, that the very pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except moderately vsed; they are reprov'd: and not onely in that, but in any other vnlawfull subjects, a man may trespasse in licentiousnesse and offend in excesse. Those shamelesse endearings, which the first heate suggests vnto vs in that sportfull delight, are not onely vndecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at least learne impudencie from another hand. They are ever broad-waking when we neede them. I have vsed no meanes but naturall and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of it, should be a moderate, staied, and serious pleasure, and mixed with severitie: it ought to bee a voluptuousnesse somewhat circumspect and conscientious. And because it is the chiefest of generation, there are that make a question, whether it be lawfull to require them of copulation, as well when wee have no hope of children, as when they are over-aged, or bigge with childe. *It is an homicide*, according to *Plato*. Certaine nations (and amongst others, the *Mahometane*) abhorre Conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly discale. *Zenobia* received hir husband but for one charge; which done, all the time of hir conception, she let him goe at randon, and that past, shee gave him leave to beginne againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

Plato borroweth the narration (of some needy and hunger-starven Poet) of this sport. That *Jupiter* one daie gave his wife so hote a charge, impatient to staie till she came to bed, he laide hir along vpon the floore, and by the vehemence of hir pleasure forgot the vrgent and weighty resolutions lately concluded vpon with the other Gods of his caelestiall court; boasting he found it as sweete that time, as he had done, when first he spoiled hir of hir virginity, by stealth and vnkowne to their parents. The Kings of *Persia*, called for their wives, when they went to any solemne feast, but when much drinking and wine beganne to heate them in good earnest, they sent them to their chambers, seeing they could no longer refraine, but must needes yeeld to sensualitie, lest they should be partakers of their immoderate lust; and in their steade sent for other women, whome this duty of respect might not concerne.

" All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sortes of people. *Epaminondas* had caused a dissolute yong man to be imprisoned: *Pelopidas* entreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement, saying, it was a gratification due vnto a Courtizan, and not to a Captaine. *Sophocles* being partner with *Pericles* in the Pretorship, seeing by chance a faire boy to passe by: Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder! saide he to *Pericles*: That

speach

speech were more fitting another then a Pretor, answered Pericles, who ought not onely to have chaste handes, but also vnpolluted eyes. *Ælius Verus* the Emperor, his wife complaining that he followed the love of other women, answered he did it for conscience-sake, for somuch as marriage was a name of honor, and dignity, and not of foolish and lascivious lust. And our Ecclesiasticall History, hath with honor preserved the memory of that wife, which sued to be divorced from hir husband, because shee would not second and consent to his over-insolent and lewde embracements. To conclude, there is no voluptuousnesse so just, wherein excesse & intemperance is not reproachfull vnto-vs. But to speake in good sooth, is not man a miserable creature? He is scarce come to his owne strength by his naturall condition, to taste one onely compleate, entire and pure pleasure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched inough, except by arte and study he augment his miserie.

Fortuna miseris auximus arte, vias.

Fortunes vnhappy ill,

We amplifie by our skill.

Propert. li. 3. el.
6. 32.

Humane wisdomedoth foolishly seeke to be ingenious in exercising hir selfe to abate the number, and diminish the pleasure of sensualities, that pertaine to-vs: as it doth favourably and industriously in employing hir devises, to paint and set a luster on evils, before our eyes, and therewith to recreate our sense. Had I bin chiefe of a faction, I would have followed a more naturall course, which to say true, is both commodious and sacred, and shoulde peradventure have made my selfe strong enough to limite the same. Although our spirituall and corporall Physitians, as by covenant agreed vpon betweene them, finde no way of recovery, nor remedie for defeases of body and minde, but by torment, griefe and paine, watching, fasting, haire-shirtes, farre and solitary exile, perpetuall prison, rodde and other afflictions, have therefore beene invented: But so, that they be truly afflictions, and that there bee some stinging-sharpenesse in them: And that the successe be not as *Gallios* was, who having beene confined to the ile of *Lesbos*, newes came to *Rome*, that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laide vpon him for a punishment, redounded to his commodity: wherevpon they agreed to revoke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enioyning him to keepe the same, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his sense and feeling. For he to whom fasting should procure health and a merry heart, or he to whom poison shoulde be more healthie then meate, it would be no longer a wholsome receipt, no more then drugs in other medicines, are of no effect to him that takes them with appetite and pleasure. Bitternesse and difficulty are circumstances fitting their operation. That nature which should take Reubarb as familiar, shoulde no doubt corrupt the vse of it; it must bee a thing that hurts the stomacke, if it shall cure it: and heere the common rule failes, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill cureth another. This impression hath some reference to this other so ancient, where some thinke they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and massacring themselves, which was vniverally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age, *Amurath* at the taking of *Isthmus* sacrificed six hundred yong Græcians to his fathers soule: to the end their blood might serve as a propitiation to expiate the finnes of the deceased. And in the newe countries discovered in our dayes yet vncorrupted, and virgins, in regard of ours, it is a custome well nigh received every where. All their idolles are sprinkled with humane blood, not without divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawne from the fire, that so they may pull out their hart and entrailes; other some, yea women, are sleade quicke, and with their yet-bleeding skins, they invest and cover others. And no lesse of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched sacrificable people, olde men, women and children, some dayes before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their sacrifice, and all ful of glee, singing, and dancing with the rest, they present themselves to the slaughter. The Ambassadours of the kings of *Mexico*, in declaring and magnifying the greatnesse of their Maister to *Fernando Cortez*, after they had tolde him, that he had thirty vassals, whereof each one was able to levy a hundred thousand combatants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Cittie vnder heaven, added moreover, that he had fifty thousand to sacrifice for every yeere: verily some affirme that they maintaine continuall warres with certaine mighty neighbouring Nations, not so much for the exercise and training of their youth, as that they may have store of prisoners taken in warre to supplie their sacrifices. In another province, to welcome the saide *Cortez*, they

The first Booke.

they sacrificed fiftie men at one clappe. I will tell this one storie more : Some of those people having beene beaten by him, sent to knowe him, and to intreate him of friendship. The messengers presented him with three kinds of presents, in this manner : *Lord, if thou bee a fierce God, that lovest to feede on flesh and bloud, here are five slaves, eat them, and we will bring thee more: if thou bee a gentlie-milde God, beere is incense and feathers; but if thou bee a man, take these birdes and frutes, that heere wee present and offer unto thee.*

The thirtieth Chapter.

Of the Caniballes. 8

AT what time King *Pirrhus* came into *Italie*, after he had survaide the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romaines sent against him : I wot not, said he, what barbarous men these are (for so were the Gracians wont to call all strange nations) but the disposition of this Armie, which I see, is nothing barbarous. So said the Gracians of that which *Flaminius* sent into their countrie : And *Phillip* viewing from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romaine campe, in his kingdome vnder *Publius Sulpitius Galba*. Loe how a man ought to take heede, lest he over-weeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason, and not by the common report. I have had long time dwelling with mee a man, who for the space of tenne or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those partes where *Villegaignon* first landed, and surnamed *Antartike France*. This discoverie of so infinite and vast a countrie, seemeth worthie great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discovered hereafter, sithence so many worthie men, and better learned then we are, have so many ages beene deceived in this. I feare me our eyes be greater then our bellies, and that we have more curiositie then capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but winde. *Plato* maketh *Solon* to reporte, that he had learn't of the Priests of the Cittie of *Says* in *Egypt*, that whilom, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called *Atlantides*, situated at the mouth of the straite of *Gibraltarre*, which contained more firme land then *Affrike* and *Asia* together. And that the Kings of that countrie, who did not onely possesse that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine-land, that of the breadth of *Affrike*, they held as farre as *Egypt*; and of *Europes* length, as farre as *Tuscanie*: and that they undertooke to invade *Asia*, and to subdue all the nations that compassed the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulfes of *Mare-Magior*, and to that end they traversed all *Spaine*, *France* and *Italie*, so farre as *Greece*, where the Athenians made head against them; but that a while after, both the Athenians themselves, and that great Iland, were swallowed vp by the Deluge. It is very likely this exte came ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth: as some holde that the Sea hath divided *Sicilie* from *Italie*,

The Atlantick
Island

Virg. Aen. lib. 3
414. 416.

*Hac loca vi quondam, & vasta convulsa ruina
Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Vna foret.*

Men say, sometimes this land by that forsaken,
And that by this, were split, and ruine-shaken,
Whereas till then both lands as one were taken.

Cypres from *Soria*, the Iland of *Negroponte* from the maine land of *Beotia*, and in other places joynd landes that were sundred by the Sea, filling with mudde and sand the chanelles betweene them.

Hor. art. Poet.
65.

*—sterilisque diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas vrbes alit, & grave sentit aratrum.*
The fenne long barren, to be row'd in, nowe
Both feedes the neighbour townes, and feedes the plowe.

But there is no great apparance, the said Iland should be the new world; we have lately discovered; for, it well-nigh touched *Spaine*, and it were an incredible effect of inundation,
to

to have removed the same more then twelve hundred leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East *Indias* on one side, and the countries lying vnder the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrowe a straite, and interualle, that it no way deserveth to be named an Iland: For, it seemeth there are certaine motions in these vast bodies, some naturall, and other some febricitant, as well as in ours. When I consider the impression my river of *Dordaigne* worketh in my time, toward the right shoare of hir descent, and how much it hath gained in twentie yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently carried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinarie agitation: for, should it alwaies keepe one course, or had it ever kept the same, the figure of the world had ere this beene overthrowne: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they over-flowe and spreade themselves on one side, sometimes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their naturall beds or chanelles. I speake not of sodaine inundations, whereof we now treate the causes. In *Medoc* alongst the Sea-coast, my brother the Lord of *Arsacke*, may see a towne of his buried vnder the sands, which the Sea casteth vp before it: The toppes of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Demaines have bin changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirme, that some yeares since, the Sea encroacheth so much vpon them, that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These sandes are hir fore-runners. And we see great hillockes of gravell moving, which march halfe a league before it, and vsurpe on the firme land. The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in *Aristotle* (if at least that little booke of vnheard-of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the *Atlantike* Sea, without the straite of *Gibraiterre*, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland; all replenished with goodly woods, and watered with great and deepe rivers, farre-distant from all land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertilitie of the soyle, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to habituate and settle themselves. The Lords of *Carthage* seeing their countrie by little and little to be dispeopled, made a lawe, and expresse inhibition, that vpon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thether to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply, as they might one day supplant them, and ouerthrowe their owne estate. This narration of *Aristotle*, hath no reference vnto our new-found countries. This servant I had, was a simple and rough-hewen fellow: a condition fit to yeelde a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indeede marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make their interpretations of more validitie, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truely, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and drawe you on to beleeeve them, they commonly, adorne, enlarge, yea, and Hyperbolise the matter. Wherein is required either a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to builde vpon, and to give a true likelyhoode vnto false devises, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man; who besides his owne reporte, hath many times shewed me divers Mariners, and Marchants, whom he had knowne in that voyage. So am I pleased with his information, that I never enquire what Cosmographers say of it. We had neede of Topographers to make vs particular narrations of the places they have beene in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of vs, that they have seene *Palesfine*, will challenge a priviledge, to tell vs newes of all the world besides. I would have every man write what he knowes, and no more: not onely in that, but in all other subjects. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the qualitie of one fountaine, that in other things knowes no more then another man: who neverthelesse to publish this little scantling, wil vndertake to write of all the Phisickes. From which vice proceede divers great inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have beene informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, vnlesse men call that barbarisme, which is not common to them. As indeede, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, then the example and Idea of the opinions and customes of the countrie we live in. There is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleate vse of all things. They are even savage, as we call those

fruites wilde, which nature of hir selfe, and of hir ordinarie progresse hath produced : whereas indeede, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devises, and diverted from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall proprieties most livelie and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fruites of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate vnto our taste; there is no reason, arte should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions, surcharged the beauties and riches of hir workes, that we have altogether over-choaked hir : yet where-ever hir puritie shineth, she makes our vaine, and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed.

*Et veniunt hedera sponte sua melius,
Surgit & in solis formosior arbutus antris,
Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.*
Ivies spring better of their owne accord,
Vn-hanted plots much fairer trees afford,
Birdes by no arte much sweeter notes record.

Al our endeavours or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the neast of the least bird-let, it's contexture, beavtie, profit and vse, no nor the webbe of a scellie spider. *All things (saith Plato) are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by arte. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last.* Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous vnto mee, because they have received very-little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature do yet commaund them, which are but little bastardized by ours. And that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time ther were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, *Licurgus* and *Plato* had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations wee see by experience, doth not onelie excede all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, & al hir quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception & desire of Philosophie. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we see it by experience; nor ever beleeeve our societie might be maintained with so little arte and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer *Plato*, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no vse of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividences, no occupation but idles; no respect of kinned, but common, no apparrell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no vse of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulation, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginary common-wealth from this perfection?

Hos natura modos primum dedit.

Nature at first vprife,
These manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is very rare to see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eyes dropping, or crooked and stooping through age. They are seated alongst the sea-coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepie mountaines, having betweene both, a hundred leagues or thereabouts of open and champaine ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eate them without any sawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broyled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they slew him with arrowes. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred soules, covered with barks of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, enterlaced and joyned close together by the toppes, after the manner of some of our Granges; the covering whereof hangs downe to the ground, and steadeth them as a flanker. They have a kinde of wood so hard, that rying and cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-yrons, to broile
their

their meate with. Their beddes are of a kind of cotten cloth, fastened to the house-roofe, as our shippe-cabbanes: every one hath his severall cowch; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feede for all day, as soone as they are vp: and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meate, as *Suidas* reporteth of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales, but drinke manie times a day, and are much given to pledge carowfes. Their drinke is made of a certaine roote, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three dayes; they drinke it warme: It hath somewhat a sharp taste, wholsome for the stomake, nothing headie, but laxative for such as are not vsed vnto it, yet verie pleasing to such as are accustomed vnto it. Instead of bread, they vse a certain white composition, like vnto Corianders confected. I have eaten some, the taste whereof is somewhat sweete and wallowish. They spend the whole day in dancing. Their yong men goe a hunting after wilde beastes with bowes and arrowes. Their women busie themselves therwhilst with warming of their drinke, which is their chiefe office. Some of their old men, in the morning before they goe to eating, preach in common to all the housholde, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turne (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) hee commends but two things vnto his auditors; *First, valour against their enemies, then lovingnesse vnto their wives*. They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this duetie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke luke-warme, and well-seasoned. The forme of their beddes, cordes, swordes, blades, and woodden bracelets, wherewith they cover their hand-wrists when they fight, and great Canes open at one end, by the found of which they keepe time and cadence in their dauncing, are in many places to be seene, and namely in mine own house. They are shaven all-over, much more close and cleaner than wee are, with no other Razers than of wood or stone. They beleve their soules to be eternall, and those that have deserved well of their Gods, to be placed in that part of heaven where the Sunne riseth; and the cursed toward the West in opposition. They have certaine Prophets and Priests, which commonly abide in the mountaines, & very seldome shew themselves vnto the people; but when they come downe, there is a great feast prepared, and a solemne assembly of manie towneships together (each Grange as I haue described, maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from an other.) The Prophet speakes to the people in publike, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their duetie. All their morall discipline containeth but these two articles; first an vndismayed resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wives. Hee dooth also prognosticate of things to come, and what successe they shall hope-for in their enterprises: hee either perswadeth or dissuadeth them from warre; but if hee chance to misse of his divination, and that it succede other-wise than he fore-tolde them, if hee be taken, hee is hewen in a thousand peeces, and condemned for a false prophet. And therefore he that hath once mis-reckoned him selfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of God; the abusing wherof should be a punishable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scythians had foretolde an vntruth, they were couched along vpon hurdles full of heath or brush-wood, and so manied hand and foote, burned to death. *draune by oxen,* Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of mans sufficiencie, are excusable, although they shew the vtmost of their skill. But those that gull and coniecatch vs with the assurance of an extraordinarie facultie, and which is beyond our knowledge, ought to be double punished; first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the rashnes of their imposture and vnadvisednes of their fraude. They warre against the nations, that lye beyond their mountaines, to which they goe naked, having no other weapons, then bowes, or woodden swords, sharpe at one ende, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant resolution of their combates, which never ende but by effusion of bloud & murder: for they know not what feare or rowts are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enimie he hath slaine as a Trophey of his victorie, and fastneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling-place. After they have long time vsed and entreated their prisoners well, and with all commodities they can devise, hee that is the Maister of them, summoning a great assembly of his acquaintances; tieth a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof hee holdes him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might offend him, and giveth the other arme, bound in like maner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assemblie kill him with swordes: which doone, they roste, and then eate

him in common, and send some slices of him to such of their friends as are absent. It is not as some imagine, to nourish themselves with it, (as anciently the Scythians wont to do,) but to represent an extreame, and inexpressible revenge. Which we prove thus; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, to use another kinde of death, when they tooke them prisoners; which was, to burie them vp to the middle, and against the vpper part of the body to shoote arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hang them vp; they supposed, that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kindes of evilles and mischiefe then they) vnder-tooke not this maner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull, and cruell then theirs, and thereupon began to leave their olde fashion to followe this. I am not sory we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults, we are so blinded in ours. I think there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, then to feede vpon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces, to make dogges and swine to gnawe and teare him in mammoakes (as we have not onely read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is worse, vnder pretence of piety and religion) then to roast and teare him after he is dead. *Chrysippus* and *Zeno*, Arch-pillers of the Stoicke sect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all, in time of neede, and to what end soever, to make use of our carrion bodies, and to feede vpon them, as did our forefathers, *Caesar* who being besieged by *Caesar* in the Cittie of *Alexia*, resolved to sustaine the famine of the siege, with the bodies of old men, women, and other persons vnserviceable & vnfit to fight. 17

1496. sat. 15. 93

Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus usi

Produxere animas.

Gascoynes (as fame reportes)

Liv'd with meates of such sortes.

note

And Philistians feare not, in all kindes of compositions availefull to our health, to make use of it, be it for outward or inward applications: But there was never any opinion found so vnnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treachery, disloyalty, tyrannie, cruelty, and such like, which are our ordinary faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regarde of reasons rules, but not in respect of vs that exceede them in all kinde of barbarisme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmitie may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the meere jealousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new landes; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall vbertie and fruitfulnessse, which without labouring-toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they neede not enlarge their limites. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, then what their naturall necessities direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-call one another brethren, and such as are yonger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without ~~indivision~~ *indivision* to their heires, without other claime or title, but that which nature doth plainly impart to all creatures, even as she brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountaines to assaile or invade them, and that they get the victory over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and, remaine superiour in valour and vertue: else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished, and so returne into their countrie, where they neither want any necessary thing, nor lacke this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affordeth them. So doe these when their turne commeth. They require no other ransom of their prisoners, but an acknowledgement and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man shall not finde one, that doth not rather embrace death, then either by word or countenance remissely to yeeld one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seene that would not rather be slaine and devoured, then sue for life, or shew any feare: They use their prisoners with all libertie, that they may so much the more holde their lives deare and precious, and commonly entertaine them with threatnes of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations intended for that

that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remisse, and exact some faint-yeelding speech of submission from them, or to possesse them with a desire to escape or runne away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraide, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victory consisteth in that onely point.

— *Victoria nulla est*

Quam quæ confessos animo quoque subingat hostes.

No conquest such, as to suppress
Foes hearts, the conquest to confesse.

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome woont to pursue their pray no longer then they had forced their enemy to yeeld vnto their mercie. For, having wrested this confession from him, they set him at libertie without offence or rancome, except it were to make him sweare, never after to beare armes against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of a portedly-rascall, and not of vertue, to have stronger armes, and sturdier legs: Disposition is a dead and corporall qualitie. It is a trick of fortune to make our enemy stoope, and to bleare his eyes with the Sunnes-light: It is a pranke of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the arte of fencing, and which may happen vnto a base and worthlesse man. The reputation and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consisteth true honour: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage: it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our armes, but in ours. Hee that obstinately faileth in his courage, *Si succiderit, de genu pugnabit, If he slip or fall, he fights upon his knee.* He that in danger of imminent death, is no whit danted in his assurednesse; he that in yeelding vp his ghost beholdeth his enemy with a scornfull and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by vs, but by fortune: he is slaine, but not conquered. The most valiant, are often the most vnfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envie of victories. Not those foure sister-victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eye, of *Salamine*, of *Platea*, of *Mycale*, and of *Sicilia*, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together, to the glory of the King *Leonidas* his discomfiture and of his men, at the passage of *Thermopyles*: what man did ever runne with so glorious an envie, or more ambitious desire to the goale of a combat, then Captaine *Ipholus* to an evident losse and overthrow? who so ingeniously or more politickely did ever assure him-selfe of his wel-fare, then he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passage of *Peloponensius* against the *Arcadians*, which finding himselfe altogether vnable to performe, seeing the nature of the place, and inequality of the forces, and resolving, that whatsoever should present-it selfe vnto his enemy, must necessarily be viterly defeated: On the other side, deeming-it vnworthy both his vertue and magnanimitie, and the Lacedemonian name, to faile or faint in his charge, betweene these two extremities he resolved vpon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The yongest and best disposed of his troupe, he reserved for the service and defence of their cuntry, to which hee sent them backe; and with those whose losse was least, and who might best be spared, hee determined to maintaine that passage, and by their death to force the enemy, to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possibly he could; as in deede it followed. For being sodainely environed round by the *Arcadians*: After a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophie assigned for conquerours, that is not more duly due vnto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an vndanted resolution, and honourable end, then a faire escape, and the honour of vertue doth more consist in combating then in beating. But to returne to our History, these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withall, are so farre from yeelding, that contrariwise during two or three moneths that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerefull countenance, and vrge their keepers to hasten their triall, they outragiously desie, and injure them. They vpbraid them with their cowardlinesse, and with the numbers of battels, they have lost against theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause, Let them boldly come altogether, and flocke in multitudes, to feede on him; for, with him they shall feede vpon their fathers, and grand-fathers, that heretofore have served his body for foode and nourishment: These muscles, (saith he) this flesh, and these veines, are your owne; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbes is yet tied vnto ours? Taste them well, for in them

them shall you finde the rellish of your owne flesh: An invention, that hath no shew of barbarisme. Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners faces, and making mowes at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their bodie, they never cease to brave and defie them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of vs these are very savage men: for either they must be so in good sooth, or we must bee so indeede: There is a wondrous distance betweene their forme and ours. Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The maner and beautie in their marriages is woondrous strange and remarkable: For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe vs from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content, then of any thing else: They endeavour and apply all their industry, to have as many rivalls as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count it a wonder, but it is not so: It is a vertue properly Matrimoniall; but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, *Lea*, *Rachel*, *Sara*, and *Iacobs* wives, brought their fairest maiden-servants vnto their husbands beds. And *Livia* seconded the lustfull appetites of *Augustus* to her great prejudice. And *Stratonica* the wife of King *Deiotarus* did not onely bring a most beauteous chamber-maide, that served her to her husbands bed, but very carefully brought vp the children he begot on her, and by all possible meanes ayded and furthered them to succede in their fathers royaltie. And least a man should thinke, that all this is done by a simple, and servile, or awefull dutie vnto their custome, and by the impressiō of their ancient customes authoritie, without discourse or judgement, and because they are so blockish, and dull-spirited, that they can take no other resolution, it is not amisse, wee alleadge some evidence of their sufficiencie. Besides what I have saide of one of their warlike songs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this sence: *Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy parrie-coloured coate drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give vnto my loves; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before al other serpents* This first couplet is the burthen of the song. I am so conversant with Poesie, that I may judge, this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike. Their language is a kinde of pleasant speech, and hath a pleasing sound, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation ignoring how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceede from this comerce, which I imagine is already well advanced, (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosoned by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmenesse of their climate, to come and see ours) were at *Rome* in the time of our late King *Charles* the ninth, who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire Cittie; afterward some demanded their advise, and would needes knowe of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst vs: they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very sorie for it, the other two I yet remember. They saide, *First, they found it very strange, that so many tall men with long beards, strong and well armed, as were about the Kings person (it is very likely they meant the swizzers of his garde) would submit themselves to obey a beardlesse childe, and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to commaund the rest.* Secondly (they have a maner of phrase whereby they call men but a moytie of men from others.) *They had perceived, there were men amongst vs full gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which, hunger-starven, and bare with neede and pover-tie, begged at their gates: and found it strange, these moyties so needie could endure such an iniustice, and that they tooke not the others by the throte, or set fire on their houses.* I talked a good while with one of them, but I had so bad an interpreter: and who did so ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foolishnesse was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could drawe no great matter from him. Touching that point, wherein I demaunded of him, what good he received by the superioritie hee had amongst his countriemen (for he was a Captaine and our Marriners called him King) he told me, it was to march formost in any charge of warre: further, I asked him, how many men did follow him: he shewed me a distance of place, to signifie, they were as many as might be contained in so much ground, which I guessed to be about 4. or 5. thousand men: moreover I demanded,

if when warres were ended, all his authoritie expired? he answered, that hee had onely this left him, which was, that when he went on progresse, and visited the villages depending of him, the inhabitants prepared paths and high-ways athwart the hedges of their woodes, for him to passe through at ease. All that is not very ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breeches or hosen.

The one and thirtieth Chapter.

*That a man ought soberly to meddle with iudging
of diuine lawes.*

Things vnknowne are the true scope of imposture, and subject of Legerdemaine: forasmuch as strangenes it selfe doth first give credite vnto matters, and not being subject to our ordinarie discourses, they deprive-vs of meanes to withstand them. To this purpose, said Plato, it is an easier matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods, then of mens: For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large carriere, and free libertie, to the handling of secret-hidden matters. Whence it followeth, that nothing is so firmly beleewed, as that which a man knoweth least; nor are their people more assured in their reportes, then such as tell-vs fables, as Alchumists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmesters, Phisitions, *id genus omne, and such like.* To which, if I durst, I would joyne a rable of men, that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods diuine will, the incomprehensible motives of his workes. And howbeit, the continuall varietie and discordance of events drive them from one corner to another, and from East to West, they will not leave to follow their bowle, and with one small pensill drawe both white and blacke. There is this commendable obseruance in a certaine Indian nation, who if they chance to bee discomfited in any skirmish or battle, they publickly beg pardon of the Sunne, who is their God, as for an vnjust action, referring their good or ill fortune to diuine reason, submitting their iudgement and discourses vnto it. It suffiseth a Christian to beleewe, that all things come from God, to receive them from his diuine, and inscrutable wisdom with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good parte. But I vterly disalow a common custome amongst-vs, which is to ground and establish our religion vpon the prosperitie of our enterprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, and agreeing with his taste, when events fort contrarie and dis-advantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the ciuill warres, wherein we are now for religions-sake, those which got the advantage, at the conflict of *Rochelabeille*, making great joy and bone-fires for that accident, and vjing that fortune, as an assured approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to excuse their disaster of *Mont-contour* and *Iarnac*, which are scourges and fatherly chastizements: if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they wil easily make him perceiue, what it is to take two kinds of corne out of one sacke: and from one & the same mouth to blow both hote and cold. It were better to entertaine-it with the true foundations of veritie. It was a notable Seabattle, which was lately gained against the Turkes, vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn of Austria*. But it hath pleased God to make-vs at other times both see and feele other such, to our no small losse and dreriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce diuine things vnto our ballance, so they suffer no empeachment: And he that would yelde a reason, why *Arrius* and *Leo* his Pope, chiefe Principalles, and maine supporters of this heresie, dyed both at severall times, of so semblable and so strange deaths (for beeing forced through a violent bellie-ache to go from their disputations to their cloase-stoole, both sodainely yellected vp their ghosts on them) & exaggerate that diuine vengeance by the circumstance of the place, might also adde the death of *Heliogabalus* vnto-it, who likewise was slaine vpon a priue. But what? *Irenus* is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach vs, that the good have some thing else to hope-for, and the wicked somewhat else to feare, then the good
or

or bad fortune of this world : He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition : and depriveth-vs of the meanes, thereby foolishly to make our profit. And those, that according to humane reason will thereby prevaile, doe but mocke them-selves. They never give one touch of-it, that they receive not two for-it. *S. Augustine* giveth a notable triall of it vpon his adversaries. It is a conflict, no more decided by the armes, of memory, then by the weapons of reason. A man should be satisfied with the light, which it pleaseth the Sunne to communicate vnto vs by vertue of his beames; and he that shall lift vp his eyes to take a greater within his bodie, let him not thinke-it strange, if for a reward of his over-weening and arrogancie he loose his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit dominus? Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke what God will doe?*

The two and thirtieth Chapter.

To avoide voluptuousnesse in regarde of life. 3

I Have noted the greatest parte of ancient opinions to agree in this: That when our life affords more evill then good, it is then time to die: and to preserve our life to our torment and incommoditie, is to spurre and shooke the verie rules of nature: as say these olde rules.

ἢ ζῆν ἀλύτως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως.

Or live without distresse,

Or die with happinesse.

Καλὸν θνήσκειν οἷς ὕβρις τὸ ζῆν φέρεται.

Tis good for them to die,

Whom life bring's infamie.

Κρεῖττον τὸ μὴ ζῆν εἶναι, ἢ ζῆν ἀθλίως.

Tis better not to live,

Than wretchedly not to thrive.

Debilam facito manu

Debilam pede coxa

Tuber ad hunc gibborum

Vita dum super est bene est

Hanc mihi vel acutam

Si das, sustineo crucem

Maenas apud Scenias

But to drive-off the contempt of death to such a degree, as to imploy-it to distract, and remove himselfe from honours, riches, greatnes, and other goodes and favours, which we call the goodes of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe, to perswade-vs to forgoe and leave them, without adding this new surcharge vnto-it, I had neither seene the same commanded nor practised vntill such time as one place of *Seneca* came to my hands, wherein counselling *Lucilius* (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompous life, and to withdraw himselfe from this ambition of the world, to some solitarie, quiet and philosophicall life: about which *Lucilius* alleaged some difficulties: *My advise-is* (saith-he) *that either thou leave and quit that course, or thy life altogether: But I perswade thee to followe the gentler way, and rather to untie then breake what thou hast so ill knit: alwaies provided thou breake it, if thou canst not otherwise untie the same.* There is no man so base-minded, that loveth not rather to fall once, then ever to remaine in feare of falling. I should have deemed this counsel agreeing with the Stoickes rudenes: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of *Epicurus*, who to that purpose writeth this consonant vnto *Idomeneus*. Yet thinke I to have noted some such like thing amongst our owne people, but with christian moderation. Saint *Hilarie* Bishop of *Poitiers*, a famous enemy of *Arrians* heresie, being in *Syria*, was advertised that *Abra* his onely daughter whom he had left at home with hir mother, was by the greatest Lordes of the countie solicited and sued-vnto for marriage, as a damosell very well brought-up, faire, rich, and in the prime of hir age: he writ vnto hir (as we see) that she should remove hir affections, from all the pleasures and advantages might be presented hir: for, in his voyage hee had found a greater and worthier match or husband of farre higher power and magnificence, who should present and endowe hir with robes and jewels of vnvaluable price. His purpose was to make hir loose the appetite and vse of worldly pleasures, and wholie to wed hir vnto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vowes, prayers, and

and orisons, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this worlde, and to call her to his mercie, as it came to passe; for shee deceased soone after his returne: whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladnesse. This man seemeth to endeere himselfe above others, in that at first sight he addresseth himselfe to this meane, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and sithence it is towards his onely daughter. But I will omit the successe of this storie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint *Hilaries* wife, having vnderstood by him, how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happy it was for her to be dislodged from out this world, then still to abide therein, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessednesse, that with importunate instancie she solicited her husband, to doe as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie, and joynt-common prayers, having soone after taken her vnto himselfe: it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

The three and thirtieth Chapter.

That fortune is often times met withall in pursuite of reason. *

THE inconstancie of Fortunes diuerse wavering, is the cause she should present-vs with all sortes of visages. Is there any action of iustice more manifest then this? *Cesar Borgia* Duke of *Valentino*, having resolved to poison *Adrian* cardinall of *Cornetto*, with whom *Pope Alexander* the sixt, his father and he were to sup that night in *Vaticane*, sent certaine bottles of empoysoned wine before, and gave his Butler great charge to have especiall care of-it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinke; the butler supposing the wine had beene so carefully commended vnto him for the goodnesse of-it, immediately presented some vnto the Pope, who whilst he was drinking, his sonne came in, and never imagining his bottles had beene toucht, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the son, after he had long time bin tormented with sickness, recovered to another worse fortune. It sometimes seemeth, that when we least thinke on her, she is pleased to sporte with-vs. The Lord of *Esfree*, then guidon to the Lord of *Vandosme*, and the Lord of *Liques*, Lievtenant to the Duke of *Ascor*; both servants to the Lord of *Foungueselles* sister, albeit of contrary factions (as it hapneth among neighboring bordurers) the Lord of *Liques* got her to wife: But even vpon his wedding day, and which is worse, before his going to bed, the bridegroome desiring to breake a staffe in favour of his new Bride and Mistris, went out to skirmish neere to *saint Omer*, where the Lord of *Esfree* being the stronger, tooke him prisoner, and to endear his advantage, the Lady herselfe was faine,

*Coniugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,
Quam veniens vna atque altera rursus hyems
Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem,
Her new feeser necke forst was she to forgoe,
Ere winters one and two returning floe,
In long nights had ful-fil'd
Her love so eager wil'd.*

Catul. eleg. 4. 81.

in courtesie, to sue vnto him for the delivery of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindenesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? *Constantine* the sonne of *Helen* founded the Empire of *Constantinople*, and so, many ages after, *Constantine* the sonne of *Helen* ended the same. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that *Clovis* besieging *Angoulesme*, the walles by a divine favour fell of themselves. And *Bouchet* borroweth of some author, that King *Robert* beleagring a Cittie, and having secretly stolne away from the siege to *Orleans*, there to solemnize the feasts of *Saint Aignan*, as he was in his earnest devotion, vpon a certaine passage of the Masse, the walles of the towne besieged, without any battery, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrary in our warres of *Millane*: For, Captaine *Rense*, beleagring the Cittie of

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Eranna for-vs, and having caused a forcible mine to be wrought vnder a great curtine of the walles, by force whereof, it being violently flowne-vp from out the ground, did notwithstanding, whole and vnbroken, fall so right into his foundation againe, that the besieged found no inconvenience at all by it. She sometimes playeth the Phisitian. *Iason Phercus* being vtterly forsaken of all Physitians, by reason of an impostume he had in his breast, and desirous to be rid of-it, though it were by death, as one of the forlorne hope, rusht into a battel amongst the thickest throng of his enemies, where he was so rightly wounded acrosse the bodie, that his impostume brake, and he was cured. Did she not exceede the painter *Protogenes* in the skill of his trade? who having perfected the image of a wearie and panting dog, and in all parts over-tired, to his content, but being vnable, as he desired, lively to represent the driuel or slaver of his mouth, vexed against his owne worke, took his sponge, and moyst as it was with diuerse colours, threw-it at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all he had done: fortune did so fitly and rightly carry the same toward the dogges chaps, that there it perfectly finished, what his arte could never attaine vnto. Doth she not sometimes addresse and correct our counsellors? *Isabell* Queene of *England*, being to repasse from *Zeland* into her kingdome with an armie, in fayour of her sonne against her husband, had vtterly beene cast away, had shee come vnto the Port intended, being there expected by her enemies: But fortune, against her will, brought her to another place, where she safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who hurling a stone at a dog, mist him, and there-withall hit and slew his slepdame, had he not reason to pronounce this verse,

Ταὐτοματον ἡμῶν καλῶ βελεύεται.

Fate of it selfe, than wee,

Dooth better say and see?

Fortune hath better advise then wee. *Scetes* had practised and suborned two souldiers to kill *Timoleon*, then residing at *Adrane* in *Sicily*. They appointed a time to doe-it, as he should be assisting at some sacrifice; and scattering themselves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one vpon another, to shewe how they had a verie fit opportunitie to doe the deede: Loe heere a third man, that with a huge blow of a sword, striketh one of them over the head and fells him dead to the ground, and so runnes away. His fellow supposing himselfe discovered, and vndone, runs to the altare, suing for sanctuarie, with promise to confesse the truth; Even as he was declaring the conspiracie, behold the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whome as a murderer the people tugged and haled through the throng toward *Timoleon* and the chieftest of the assemblie, where he humbly calleth for mercie, alleadging that hee had iustlie murdered the murderer of his father, whom his good chaunce was to find there, averring by good witnessses, before them all, that in the Cittie of the *Leontines*, his father had bin proditoriously slaine by him, on whome hee had now revenged him-selfe. In meede whereof, because he had bin so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers vntimely death) to save the common-father of the *Sicilians* from so imminent a danger, hee had terme Attike mines awarded him. This fortune in hir directions exceedeth all the rules of humane wisdom. But to conclude, is not an expresse application of hir favour, goodnesse, and singular pietie manifestly discovered in this action? *Ignatius* the Father and the Sonne, both bannished by proscription by the *Triumvirs* of *Rome*, resolved on this generous act, to yeeld their lives one into anothers hands, and thereby disannull the Tyrants cruelty. They furiously with their keene Rapiers drawne, ranne one against another: Fortune so directed their points, that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honour of so seld-seen an amity, that they had just so much strength left them, to drawe their armed and bloody hands from-out their goared woundes, in that plight, so fast to embrace, and so hard to claspe one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke, & together, to cut-off both their heads; leaving their bodies for ever tied in so honourable a knot, and their woundes so joyned, that they lovingly drew and suckt each others blood, breath, and life.

The foure and thirtieth Chapter.

Of a Defect in our policies.

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MY whilome-father, a man who had no helpe but from experience, and his owne nature, yet of an vnspotted judgement, hath heer-tofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certaine appointed place, to which, whosoever shoulde have neede of any thing, might come and cause his busines to be registred by some officer appointed for that purpose: As for example, if one have pearles to sell, he should say, I seek to sell some pearles: and another, I seek to buy some pearles: Such a man would faine have companie to travell to *Paris*; Such a one enquireth for a servant of this, or that qualitie: Such a one seeketh for a Maister; another a workeman; Some this, some that, every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this meanes of enter-warning, one another; would bring no small commoditie vnto common commerce and societie: For there are ever conditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they vnderstand not one another, they leave men in great necessitie. I vnderstand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight, two most excellent men in knowledge, have miserablie perished for want of food and other necessities: *Lilins Gregorius Giraldu* in *Italie*, and *Sebastianus Castalio* in *Germanie*: And I verily believe there are many thousands, who had they knowne or vnderstood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have conuaide them succour, where-ever they had beene. The world is not so generally corrupted, but I know some, that would earnestly wish, and with hartie affection desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please fortune they may enjoy them, be employed for the reliefe of rare, and supply of excellent mens necessitie, & such as for any kinde of worth & vertue are remarkable; many of which are dayly seene to be pursued by ill fortune even to the vtmost extremitie, and that would take such order for them, as had they not their ease and content, it might onelie be imputed to their want of reason or lack of discretion. In this Oeconomick or housholde order my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day-booke of housholde affaires, wherein are registred al least expences, payments, gifts, bargains & sales, that require not a Notaries hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping-of: he appointed another journall-booke to one of his servants, who was his clarke, wherein he should insert & orderly set downe all accidents worthy the noting, & day by day register the memories of the history of his house: A thing very pleasant to reade, when time began to weare out the remembrance of them, and fit for vs to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begunne, when ended, what way or course was taken, what accidents hapned, how long it continued; all our voyages; where, and how long wee were from home; our marriages, who died, and when; the receiving of good or badde tidings, who came, who went, changing or remooving of housholde officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such-like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men vse and bring into fashion againe in their severall homes: and I repent my selfe, I have so foolishly neglected the same.

The five and thirtieth Chapter.

Of the vse of Apparrell.

6

W^Hatsoever I ayme-at, I must needes force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was diuising in this chil-cold season, whether

ther the fashion of these late discovered Nations to goe naked, be a custome forced by the hote temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moores, or whether it be an originall manner of mankind. Men of vnderstanding, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained vnder heaven (as saith the holy Writ) is subject to the same lawes, are wont in such-like considerations, where naturall laws are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the generall policie of the worlde, where nothing that is counterfet can be admitted. Now all things being exactly furnished else-whence with all necessities to maintaine this being, it is not to bee imagined that wee alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one, as cannot be maintained without foraine help. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seene furnished with sufficient furniture to defend it selfe from the injurie of all weathers:

Lucr. lib. 4. 232

*Propterea quæ ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt,
Aut seta, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice recta.*

Therefore all things almost we cover'd make,
With hide, or haire, or shelles, or brawne, or barke.

Even so were wee: But as those who by an artificiall light extinguish the brightness of the day, we have quenched our proper meanes, by such as wee have borrowed. And wee may easily discern, that onely custome makes that seeme impossible vnto vs, which is not so: For, of those Nations that have no knowledge of clothes, some are found situated vnder the same heaven, and climate, or paralell, that we are in, and more colde and sharper then ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of vs are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our countrie-swaines (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had wee beene borne needing petti-coats and breeches, there is no doubt, but nature would have armed that which shee hath left to the batterie of seasons and fury of wethers with some thicker skinn or hide, as shee hath done our fingers endes, and the soales of our feete. Why seemes this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of apparel, & that of one of my countrie-clowns, I find much more difference between him and mee, then betweene his fashion, and that of a man who is clothed but with his bare skinn. How many men (especially in *Turkie*), go ever naked for devotions sake? A certaine man demanded of one of our loytring rogues, whome in the deepe of frosty Winter, hee sawe wandering vp and downe with nothing but his shirt about him, and yet as blithe and lusty as another that keepes himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furies vp to the eares; how he could have patience to goe so. *And have not you, good sir, (answered he) your face all bare? Imagine I am all face.* The Italians reporte (as farre as I remember) of the Duke of *Florence* his foole, who when his Lord asked him, how beeing so ill cladde, he could endure the colde, which hee hardly was able to doe himselfe; To whome the foole replied; *Maister, use but my receipt, and put all the cloathes you have upon you, as I doe all mine; you shall feele no more cold then I doe.* King *Massinissa*, even in his oldest dayes, were it never so colde, so frosty, so stormy, or sharpe wether, could never bee induced, to put something on his head, but went alwayes bare-headed. The like is reported of the Emperor *Severus*. In the battels that passit betweene the *Ægyptians* and the *Persians*, *Herodotus* saith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke speciall notice, that of such as lay slaine on the ground, the *Ægyptians* sculs were without comparison much harder then the *Persians*; by reason that these goe ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancie ever shaven and bare-headed. And King *Agessilaus*, even in his decrepite age, was ever wont to weare his clothes both winter and summer alike. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Cæsar* did ever march formost before his troupes, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foote, whether the sunne shone, or it rained. The like is reported of *Hanniball*,

Syl. Ital. M. 250

— *tum vertice nudo,*

Excipere insanos imbres, calique ruinam.

Bare-headed then he did endure,

Heav'ns ruine and madde-raging showre.

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writeth, that in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, both men and women, having all other partes clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-back also. And *Plato* for the better health and pre-

ter-

seruation of the body doth earnestly perswade, that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover, then Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chose for their king next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest Princes of our age, doth never weare gloves, nor what wether soever it bee, winter or summer, other bonnet abroad than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to goe vnbuttoned or vntrussed, so the husband-men neighbouring about me, would be, & feele themselves as fettered or hand-bound, with going so. Varro is of opinion, that when we were appointed to stand bare-headed before the Gods, or in presence of the Magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to enure and arme-vs against the injuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since wee are speaking of colde, and are French-men, accustomed so strangely to array our selves in party-coloured sutes (not I, because I seldome weare any other then blacke or white, in imitation of my father) let-vs adde this one thing more, which Captaine *Martyn du Bellay* relateth in the voyage of *Luxemburg*, where hee sayeth to have seene so hard frosts, that their munition-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared vnto the Souldiers by weight, which they carried away in baskets; and *Ouid*.

Nudaque consistunt formam seruanti a teste

Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frustra bibunt.

Bare wines, still keeping forme of caske, stand fast,
Not gulpes, but gobbets of their wine they taste.

*Ouid. Trist. li. 3
el. 10. 23.*

The frosts are so hard and sharpe in the emboguing of the Meotis fennes, that in the very place where *Mithridates* his Lieutenant had delivered a battle to his enemies, on hard ground, and drie-footed, and there defeated them; the next summer, he there obtained another sea-battle against them. The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the Carthaginians neere vnto *Placentia*, forsomuch as they went to their charge with their blood congealed, and limbes benumbed, through extreme colde: whereas *Hanniball*, had caused many fires to be made through-out his campe, to warme his souldiers by, and a quantity of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therewith anointing themselves, they might make their sinewes more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of the colde winde, which then blew, and nipping piercing of the ayre. The Gracians retreate from *Babylon* into their countrie, is renowned, by reason of the many difficulties and encombrances they encountred withall, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountaines of *Armenia*, being surprised and encircled with so horrible, and great quantitie of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the country, and the wayes: wherewith they were so straitly beset, that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattell died: of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whitenesse of the snow, were stricken blinde: diuerse through the extremitie were lamed, and their limbes shrunken-vo, many starke stiff, and frozen with colde, although their senses were yet whole. *Alexander* saw a nation, where in winter they bury their fruite-bearing trees vnder the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also vsed amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparrell: the King of *Mexico* was wont to change and shift his clothes foure times a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and cast-sutes for his continual liberalities and rewardes; as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchin or table were twice brought before him.

The six and thirtieth Chapter.

Of Cato the younger. A

I Am not possessed with this common errour, to judge of others according to what I am my selfe. I am easie to beleeve things differing from my selfe. Though I be engaged to one forme, I do not tie the world vnto-it, as every man doth: And I beleeve and conceive a thousand manners of life, contrary to the common sorte: I more easily admit and receive dif-

ference, then resemblance in vs. I discharge as much as a man wil, another being of my conditions and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe, without relation, framing it vpon it's owne modell. Though my selfe be not continēt, yet doe I sincerely commend and allow the continencie of the Capuchines, and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe, by imagination, insinuate my selfe into their place : and by how much more they be other then my selfe, so much the more doe I love and honour them. I would gladly have every man judged aparte, and not be drawne my selfe in consequence by others examples. My weakenesse doth no way alter the opinions I should have of the force and vigor of those that deserve it. *Sunt, qui nihil suadent, quàm quod se imitari posse credunt. There bee such as advise to nothing, but what they trust themselves can imitate.* Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to marke, even into the clowdes, the inimitable height of some heroicke mindes. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript judgement, if the effectes be not so, and at least to maintaine this chiefe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces faile me. The age we live in (at least our climate) is so dull and leaden, that not onely the execution, but the very imagination of vertue is farre to seeke, and seemes to be no other thing than a Colledge-supposition, and a gibbish-woorde.

—*virtutem verba putant, ut*

Lucum ligna :

Vertue seemes nought to these,

As trees are wood, or woods are trees.

Quam vereri deberent, etiam si percipere non possent. Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach unto. It is an eare-ring or pendent to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an eare for an ornament. There are no more vertuous actions knowne ; those that beare a shew of vertue, have no essence of it : for, profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange causes direct vs to produce them. Iustice, valour, integritie, which we then exercise, may by others consideration, and by the countenance they publicly beare, be termed so : but with the true worke-man, it is no vertue at all. There is another end proposed ; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing, but what is done by hir, and for hir alone. In that great battell which the Græcians vnder *Pausanias* gained of *Mardonius* and the Persians, the victors following their custome, comming to share the glorie and prise of the victory betweene them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valors in that conflict to the *Spartane* nation. The Spartanes imparciall judges of vertue, when they came to decide, to what particular man of their countrie, the honour to have done best in that daie, should of right belong ; they found that *Aristodemus* had most couragiously engaged and hazarded himselfe : Yet gave him not the prise or honour of it, because his vertue had beene thereunto incited, by an earnest desire to purge himselfe from the reproach and infamie, wherein he had incurred in the action ~~of the~~^{at} *Thermopiles*, and from an all-daring ambition to die courageously, thereby to warrant his former imputation. Our judgements are yet sicke, and follow the depravation of our customes. I see the greatest parte of our spirites to affect wit, and to shew themselves ingenious, by obscuring and detracting from the glorie of famous and generall ancient actions, giving them some base and malicious interpretation, fondly and enviously charging them with vaine causes, and frivolous occasions. A subtile invention no doubt. Let any man present me, with the most excellent and blame-lesse action, and I will oppose it with fiftie vicious and bad intentions, all which shall carrie a face of likely-hoode. God knowes (to him that will extend them) what diversitie of images our internall will doth suffer : They doe not so maliciously as grosely and rudely endeavour to be ingenious with all their railing and detraction. The same paine a man taketh to detract from these noble and famous names, and the very same libertie, would I as willingly take to lend them my shoulders to extoll and magnifie them. I would endeavour to charge these rare and choise-figures, selected by the consent of wise men, for the worldes example, as much, and as high, as my invention would give me leave with honour, in a plausible interpretation, and favourable circumstance. And a man must thinke, that the diligent labours of our invention, are farre beyond their merit. It is the parte of honest-minded men to pourtray vertue, as faire as possible faire may be. A thing which would no whit be mis-seeming or vndecent, if passion should transporte vs to the favour and pursuite of so sacred formes, what these doe contrarie, they either doe it through malice or knaverie, with purpose to reduce and sute their beliefe to their

A monstrous
assertion.

their capacitie, whereof I lately spake: or rather as I thinke, because their sight is not of sufficient power or clearenes, nor addressed to conceive or apprehend the farre-shining brightness of vertue in hir naturall and genuine puritie: As *Plutarke* saith, that in his time, some imputed the cause of *Cato* the yongers death to the feare he had conceived of *Cesar*: whereat he hath some reason to be moved: by which a man may judge, how much more he would have beene offended with those that have ascribed the same vnto ambition. Oh foolish people! He would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generous and so just, rather with ignominie, then for glorie. This man was truly a patterne, whom nature chiose to shew how farre humane vertue may reach, and mans constancie attaine-vnto. But my purpose is not here to treat this rich argument: I will onely confront together the sayings of five Latin Poets vpon *Catoes* commendations, and for the interest of *Cato*, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ought a gentleman well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing. The third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagancie of force. He will judge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach vnto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration ioyne handes. For the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will sweare, can by no humane spirit be filled-vp) he wil be much amazed, he wil be much amated. Loe here are wonders, we have more Poets than judges and interpreters of Poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it, then to knowe-it: Being base and humble, it may be judged by the precepts and art of it: But the good and loffie, the supreme & divine, is beyond rules, and aboue reason. Who-soever discerneth hir beauty, with a constant, quicke-seeing, and settled looke, he can no more see and comprehend the same then the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no communitie with our judgement; but rantacketh and ravisheth the same. The furie which pricketh and moves him that can penetrate hir, doth also strike and wound a third man, if he heare-it either handled or recited. As the Adamant stone drawes, not onely a needle, but infuseth some of hir facultie in the same to drawe others: And it is more apparantly scene in theaters, that the sacred inspiration of the Muses, having first stirred vp the Poet with a kinde of agitation vnto choler, vnto grieve, vnto hatred, yea and beyond himselfe, whether and howsoever they please, doth also by the Poet strike and enter into the Actor, and consecutively by the Actor, a whole auditorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our senses depending one of another. Even from my infancie, Poesie hath had the vertue to transpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-moving that is naturally in me, hath diversly beene handled, by the diversitie of formes, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithe and ingenious fluiditie, then a quaint-wittie, and loffie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. *Ovid*, *Lucane*, and *Virgill*, will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full carriere.

Sit Cato dum vivit sanè vel Cesare maior.

Let *Cato Junior*, while he doth live, greater then *Cesar* be.

Mart. lib. epig.
32.5.

Saith one.

— *Et invictum devicta morte Catonem,*

Cato vnconquered, death being vanquished.

Manil. astr. lib.
4.87.

Saith another: And the third speaking of the civill warres betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*,

Victrix causa dijs placuit, sed victa Catoni.

The cause that overcame with Gods was greater;

But the cause overcome pleased *Cato* better.

Lucan. bel. civ.
lib. 1. 127.

And the fourth vpon *Cesars* commendations:

Et cuncta terrarum subacta,

Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Of all the earth all partes inthralld,

Catoes mind onely vnappalled.

Hor. lib. 2. od.
1.23.

And the *Martes*-maister, after he hath enstalled the names of the greatest Romanes in his picture, endeth thus:

— *his dantem iura Catonem.*

Chiefe justice *Cato* doe decree

Lawes that for righteous soules should be.

Vir. Aen. lib.
8.670.

The seven and thirtieth Chapter.

How we weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing. 2

WHen we reade in Histories, that *Antigonus* was highly displeased with his sonne, at what time he presented the head of King *Pirrhus* his enimie vnto him, whom he at that instant had slaine in single combate; which he no sooner saw, but he burst forth a weeping. And that *Renate* Duke of *Lorraine*, wept for the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, whom he had eftsones discomfited, and was as an assistant mourner at his funeralles: And that in the battel of *Auroy* (which the Earle of *Montfort* had gained against the faction of *Charles de Blois*, for the Dutchie of *Brianie*) the victorious conqueror met with the bodie of his enimie deceased, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not sodainly exclaime.

*E così auvien', ch'è l'animo ciascuna
Sua passion sotto contrario manto
Ricupre, con la vista hor chiara, hor bruna.
So happens it, the minde covers each passion
Vnder a cloak e of colours opposite,
To fight now cleare, now darke, in diuers fashion.*

When *Cesar* was presented with *Pompeis* head, Histories report that he turn'd his looks a side, as from a ghastly and vnpleasing spectacle. There had beene so long a correspondencie and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betweene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocall offices and bondes of alliance, that a man cannot thinke his countenance to have beene forced, false, and wiely, as this other supposeth.

*Lucan. lib. 9.
1040.*

*— tutumque putauit
Iam bonus esse socer, lacrymas non sponte cadentes
Effudit gemitusque expressit pectore leto.
Now to be kinde indeede he did not doubt
Father in lawe, teares, which came hardly out
He shed, and grones exprest
From inward-pleased brest.*

For certainly, howbeit the greatest number of our actions be but masked and painted over with dissimulation, and that it may sometimes be true,

*Aul. Gell. noct.
Att. li. 17. c. 14.*

Heredis fletus sub persona risus est.

The weeping of an heire, is laughing vnder a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider, by judging of his accidents, how our mindes are often agitated by diuers passions; For (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of diuers humors in our bodie, whereof she is soveraigne mistris, who most ordinarily, according to our complexions doth commaund vs: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the same, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and supplenes of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtaine the place againe, and when their turne commeth, make a new change, whence we see, not onely children, who simply and naturally follow nature, often to weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing; but none of vs all can vaunt himselfe, what wished-for, or pleasant voyage soever he vndertake, but that taking leave of his familie and friends, he shall feele a chilling and panning of the heart: and if he shed not teares, at least he put his foote in the stirrop with a sad and heaue cheere. And what gentle flame soever doth warme the heart of yong virgines, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgoe their mothers, to betake them to their husbands: what soever this good fellow say;

Catull. eleg. 2. 15

*Est ne nouis nuptis odio Venus, anne parentum
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrymalis,
Vbertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?
Non, ita me diui, vera gemunt, inuervint.*

Doe yong Brides hate indeede fresh *Venus* toyes,
Or with false teares delude their parents joyes,
Which in their chambers they powre out amaine?
So helpe me God, they do not true complaine.

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man would by no meanes have a live againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the best heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecations: but that fit passe over, let him have neede of me, I wil gladly doe him all the good I can; and by and by I turne-over another lease. If I chance to call one knave or asse, my purpose is not, for ever to enfeoffe him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, tongue thou liest, if immediatly after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace vs purely and vniversally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone, or to himselfe, there would scarce be day, or houre, wherein some-body should not heare me mutter and grumble to my selfe, and against my selfe. A () in the fooles teeth, yet do not I thinke it to be my definition. He that seeth me sometimes to cast a frowning looke vpon my wife, or sometimes a loving countenance, and thinkes, that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. *Nero* taking leave of his mother, whom he sent to bee drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion of that motherly farewell, and at one instant was stricken with horror and pittie. It is said, that the Sunnes-light, is not of one continued piece, but that it so vncessantly, and without intermission doth cast so thicke new raies, one in the necke of another vpon-vs, that we cannot perceiue the space betweene them.

*Largus enim liquidi fons luminis aetherius sol
Inrigat assidue calum candore recenti,
Suppediatque novo confestim lumine lumen.*

Lucr. li. 5. 285

Heav'ns funne the plenteous spring of liquid light
Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and bright,
Still light supplies with light of fresher sight.

So doth our minde cast hir points diversly and imperceptibly. *Artabannus* surprised *Xerxes* his nephew, and chid him for the sodaine changing of his countenance. He was to consider the vnmeasurable greatnes of his forces at the passage of *Helle/pont*, for the enterprise of *Greece*. First he was sodainly assailed by an excessive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the same by the alacritie and cheerefulnes of his countenance: And immediatly at that very moment, his thoughts suggesting, how so many lives were to be consumed, and should come to nothing (at the furthest, within one age) he gan to frowne his browes, and grew so pensive, that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable mind pursued the revenge of an injurie, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet vpon better advice doe we weepe: it is not that we weepe-for: the thing is as it was, there is nothing changed: But that our minde beholdes the thing with another eye, and vnder an other shape it presents it-selfe vnto vs. For every thing hath divers faces, sundrie byases, and severall lustres. Alliance, kinred, olde acquaintances, and long friendship seize on our imagination, and at that instant, passionate the same according to their qualitie; but the turne or change of it, is so violent, that it escapes-vs

*Nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur,
Quam si mens fieri proponit & inchoat ipsa.
Ocius ergo animus quam res se percipiet vlla,
Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur.*
Nothing in so quicke sort seemes to be done,
As mind set on a thing, and once begun,
The mind then swifter stirres before our eies,
Then any thing, whose forme we soone comprize.

L. 3. 181.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this pursue, we deceive our selves. When *Timoleon* weepeth the murder he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepeth not the liberty restored to his countrie, nor the Tyrant, but hee weepeth for his brother. One part of his duetie is acted, let-vs permit him to play the other.

The eight and thirtieth Chapter.

N

Of Solitarinesse.

Let-vs leave aparte this out-worne comparifon, betweene a folitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly faying, vnder which ambition and avarice throwd themselves; that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let-vs boldly refferre our selves to those that are engaged; and let them beate their conscience, if on the contrary, the states, the charges, and this trash of the world, are not rather sought and sued-for to draw a private commoditie from the publike. The bad and indirect meanes where-through in our age men canvase and toyle to attaine the same, doe manifestly declare the end thereof to be of no great consequence. Let-vs answer ambition, that her selfe gives-vs the taste of solitarinesse. For, what doth she shunne so much as company? What seeketh shee more then elbow-roume? There is no place, but there are meanes and wayes to doe well or ill: Neverthelesse if the faying of *Bias* be true; *That the worst parte is the greatest*: Or that which *Ecclesiastes* saith, *That of a thousand there is not one good.*

Iuv. sat. 13. 26

*Rari quippe boni numero vix sunt totidem, quot
Thebarum porta, vel divitis ostia Nilii:*

Good men are rare, so many scarce (I feare)

As gates of *Thebes*, mouths of rich *Nilus* were.

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious, or hate them: Both are dangerous; for to resemble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazardous, because they are dissemblable. And Marchants that travell by sea, have reason to take heede, that those which goe in the same ship, be not dissolute, blasphemers, and wicked; judging such companie vnfortunate. Therefore *Bias* said pleasantly to those, that together with him passd the danger of a great storme, & called to the Gods for helpe: *Peace my maisters, lest they should heare, that you are here with me.* And of a more militarie example, *Albuquerque* Viceroy in India for *Emanuel* King of Portugall, in an extreame danger of a sea-tempest, tooke a yong boy vpon his shoulders, for this onely end, that in the common perill his innocencie might be his warrant, and recommending to Gods favour, to set him on shore. Yet may a wise man live every where contented, yea and alone, in the throng of a Pallace: but if he may chuse, he will (saith he) *Avoid the sight of it.* If neede require, hee will endure the first: but if he may have his choise, he will chuse the latter. He thinkes hee hath not sufficiently rid himselfe from vices, if he must also contest with other mens fautes. *Charondas* punished those for wicked, that were convicted to have frequented lewd companies. There is nothing so dis-sociable, and sociable as man: the one for his vice, the other for his nature. And I thinke *Antisthenes* did not satisfie him, that vpbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, *That Physitians live amongst the sicke.* Who if they steede sicke-mens healths; they empaire their owne, by the infection, continuall visiting, touching and frequenting of diseases. Now (as I suppose) the end is both one, thereby to live more at leasure, and better at ease. But man doth not alwayes seeke the best way to come vnto it, who often supposeth to have quit affaires, when he hath but changed them. There is not much lesse vexation in the government of a private familie, then in the managing of an entire state: wheresoever the minde is busied, there it is al. And though domestical occupations be lesse important, they are as importunate. Moreover, though we have freed our selves from the court, and from the market, we are not free from the principall torments of our life.

Ror. li. i. epist.
11. 25.

—— ratio & prudentia curas,

Non locus effusitate maris arbiter aufert.

Reason and wisdom may set cares aside,

Not place the Arbitrer of seas so wide.

Shift we, or change we places never so often, ambition, avarice, irresolution, feare, and concupiscences never leave-vs.

Et

Et post equitem sedet atra cura.

Hor. l. 3. od. 1. 39

Care looking grim and blacke, doth sit
Behinde his backe that rides from it.

They often follow vs, even into immured cloisters, and into schooles of Philosophie; nor doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-shirts, nor continuall fastings rid vs from them.

heret lateri, lethalis arundo.

Vir. Æn. l. 4. 73

The shaft that death implide
Sticks by the flying side.

It was told *Socrates*, that one was no whit amended by his travell : *I beleeve it well* (saide he) *for he carried himselfe with him.*

Quid terras alio calentes

Hor. l. 2. od. 16
18.

Sole mutamus? patria quis exul

Se quoque fugit?

Why change we soyles warm'd with another Sunne,

Who from home baniſht hath him selfe out-runne?

If a man doe not first discharge both himselfe and his minde from the burthen that presseth her, removing from place to place will stirre and presse her the more; as in a ship, wares well stowed, and closely piled, take vp least roome, you doe a sicke-man more hurt then good, to make him change place, you settle an evill in removing the same; as stakes or poles, the more they are flurred and shaken, the faster they sticke, and sinke deeper into the ground. Therefore is it not enough, for a man to have sequestred himselfe from the course of people : it is not sufficient to shift place, a man must also sever him selfe from the popular conditions, that are in vs. A man must sequester and recover himselfe from himselfe.

—— *rupi iam vincula, dicas,*

Perf. sat. 5. 158.

Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen illa

Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catena.

You will say haply I my bonds have quit,

Why so the striving dog the knot hath bit;

Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it.

We carry our fetters with vs : it is not an absolute libertie; we still cast backe our lookes towards that we have left behinde : our minde doth still runne on-it; our fanſie is full of-it.

—— *nisi purgatum est pectus, quæ prælia nobis*

Lucr. lib. 5. 44

Atque pericula tunc ingratis insinuandum?

Quanta conscindunt hominem cupidinis acres

Sollicitum cura, quantique perinde timores?

Quidve superbia, spurcitia, ac petulantia, quantas

Efficiunt clades, quid luxus desidæque?

Vnlesse our breast be purg'd, what warres must wee,

What perills then, though much displeased, see?

How great feares, how great cares of sharpe desire

Doe carefull man distract, torment, enſire?

Vncleanenesse, wantonnesse, slouth, riot, pride,

How great calamities have these implide?

Our evill is rooted in our minde : and it cannot scape from-it-selfe.

In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam,

The minde in greateſt fault must lie,

Which from it selfe can never flie,

Therefore must it be reduced and brought into it selfe : It is the true solitarinesse, and which may be enjoyed even in the frequency of peopled Citties, and Kings courtes : but it is more commodiously enjoyed aparte. Now ſithence wee vndertake to live solitarie, and without companie, let vs cause our contentment to depend from our selves: Let vs shake off all bondes that tie vs vnto others : Gaine we that victorie over vs, that in good earnest we may live solitarie, and therein live at our ease. *Stilpon* having escaped the combustion of his Citie, wherein he had lost both wife, and children, and all his goods; *Demetrius Poliorcetes* seeing him in so great a ruine of his Countrey, with an vn-affrighted countenance, de-

maun-

maunded of him, whether he had received anie losse; He answered, No: and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his own. It is that, which *Antisthenes* the Philosopher said very pleasantly; That man ought to provide himselfe with munitions, that might floate vpon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwracke with him. Verily, a man of vnderstanding hath lost nothing, if he yet haue himselfe. When the Cittie of *Nola* was over-run by the Barbarians, *Paulinus* Bishop thereof, having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus vnto God: *Oh Lord deliuer me from feeling of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they haue toucht nothing that is mine.* The riches that made him rich, and the goods which made him good, were yet absolutely whole. Beholde what it is to chuse treasures well, that may bee freed from iniurie; and to hide them in a place, where no man may enter, and which cannot bee betraied but by our selves. A man that is able, may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe vnto them, that his felicitie depend on them. Wee should reserve a store-house for our selves, what neede soever chaunce; altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein wee may hoarde-vp, and establish our true libertie, and principal retireite and solitarines, wherein wee must alone to our selves, take our ordinarie entertainment, and so privatelie, that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein find place: there to discourse, to meditate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without traine, or servants; that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme not strange to vs to passe it over; we have a mind moving and turning in it selfe; it may keepe it selfe companie; it hath wherewith to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, and wherewith to give. Let vs not feare that we shal faint and droop through tedious and mind-tyring idlenes in this solitarinesse.

In solis sis tibi turba locis.

Be thou, when with thee is not any,

As good vnto thy selfe as manie.

Virtue is contented with it selfe, without discipline, without words, & without effects. In our accustomed actions, of a thousand ther is not one found that regards vs: he whom thou seeest so furiously, & as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawle vp the citie walls, or breach, as a point-blank to a whole volie of shot, & another all wounded & skarred, crazed and faint, & wel-nie hungar-starven, resolved rather to die, then to open his enemy the gate, and give him entrance; doost thou thinke hee is there for himselfe? No verilie, It is peradventure for such a one, whome neither hee, nor so many of his fellowes ever saw, and who haply takes no care at all for them; but is there-whilst wallowing vp to the eares in sensualitie, sloth, and al manner of carnall delights. This man, whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seeest come out of his studie meagre-looking, with eyes-trilling, fleugmatike, squalide, and spauling, doost thou thinke, that plodding on his bookes he doth seek how he shal become an honeste man; or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. Hee will either die in his pursute, or teach posterity the measure of *Plautus* verses, and the true Orthography of a Latine worde. Who doth not willinglie choppe and counterchange his health, his ease, yea, and his life for glory, and for reputation? The most vnprofitable, vaine, and counterfet coine, that is in vse with vs. Our death is not sufficient to make vs afraide, let vs also charge our selves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends, and people. Our owne affaires doe not sufficiently trouble and vex vs; Let vs also drudge, toile, vex, and torment our selves with our neighbours and friends matters.

*Ter. Adel. act. I
scen. I. 13.*

Vah quemquamne hominem in animum instituere, aut

Parare, quod sit charius, quam ipse est sibi?

Fie, that a man should cast, that aught, then hee,

Himselfe of himselfe more belov'd should bee.

Solitarinesse mee seemeth hath more apparance and reason in those which have given their most active and flourishing age vnto the world, in imitation of *Thales*. We have lived long inough for others, live we the remainder of our life vnto our selves: let vs bring home our cogitations and intentions vnto our selves, and vnto our ease. It is no easie matter to make a safe retireite: it dooth over-much trouble vs with joyning other enterprises vnto it. Since God gives vs leasure to dispose of our dislodging. Let vs prepare our selves vnto it, packe wee vp our baggage. Let vs betimes bid our companie farewell. Shake wee off these violent hold-fasts, which else-where engage vs, and estrange vs from our selves. These so strong bonds must be vntied, and a man may est-soones love this or that, but wedde nothing but

but himselfe, That is to say, let the rest be our owne: yet not so combined and glued together, that it may not be sundred, without fleaing vs, and therewithall, pull away some piece of our owne. The greatest thing of the world, is for a man to know how to be his owne. It is high time to shake off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that can not lend, let him take heede of borrowing. Our forces faile vs: retire we them, and shut them vp into our selves. He that can suppress and confound in himselfe the offices of so many amities, and of the company, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes vs, inutile, irksome, and importunate to others; let him take heede he be not importunate, irksome, and vnprofitable to himselfe. Let him flatter, court and cherish himselfe, and above all, let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason, and fearing his conscience, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. *Rarum est enim, ut satis se quisq; vereatur.* For it is a rare matter, that every man sufficiently should stand in awe & reverence of himselfe. Socrates saith, that young men ought to be instructed, and men exercised in wel-doing; and old men withdraw themselves from all civill and militarie negotiations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office. There are some complexions, more proper for these precepts of retraite than others. Those which have a tender and demisse apprehension, a squeamish affection, a delicate will, and which can not easily subject or employ it selfe (of which both by naturall condition and propense discourse, I am one) will better apply themselves vnto this counsell, then active minds, and busie spirits; which embrace all, every where engage, and in all things passionate themselves; that offer, that present, and yeeld themselves to all occasions. A man must make vse of all these accidentall commodities, and which are without vs, so long as they be pleasing to vs; but not make them our principall foundation: It is not so, nor reason, nor nature permit it. Why should we against their lawes subject our contentment to the power of others? Moreover, to anticipate the accidents of fortune; for a man to deprive himselfe of the commodities he hath in possession, as many have done for devotion, and some Philosophers by discourse; to serve themselves, to lie vpon the hard ground, to pull out their owne eyes, to cast their riches into the sea, to seeke for paine and smart (some by tormenting this life, for the happinesse of another; other some placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant themselves from a new fall) is the action of an excessive vertue. Let sterner and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and exemplar.

— tuta & parvula laudo,
Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
Verum ubi quid melius contingit & vntius, idem
Hos sapere, & solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.
When riches faile, I praise the safe estate,
Though small; base things doe not high thoughts abate.
But when 'tis better, finer with me, I,
They onele live wel, and are wise, doe cry,
Whose coine in faire farmes doth well-grounded lie.

Hor. lib. I. epist.
15. 42.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going so farre. It sufficeth me vnder fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour; and being at ease, as farre as imagination may attaine vnto, to represent the evill to come vnto my selfe: Even as wee enure our selves to tilts and tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace. I esteeme not *Arcefilaus* the Philosopher lesse reformed, because I know him to have vsed household implements of gold and silver, according as the condition of his fortune gave him leave, I rather value him the more, then if he had not done it, for so much as hee both moderately and liberally made vse of them. I know vnto what limites naturall necessitie goeth; and I consider the poore almes-man begging at my dore, to be often more plumb-checkt, in better health and liking then I am: Then doe I enter into his estate, and assay to frame and sute my mind vnto his byase. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povertie, contempt, and sicknesse to bee at my heeles, I easily resolve my selfe, not to apprehend any feare of that, which one of lesse worth then my selfe doth tolerate and vndergoe with such patience: And I cannot beleieve, that the basenesse or shallownesse of vnderstanding, can doe more then vigor and farre-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion, can not reach to the effects of custome and vse. And knowing what slender hold-fast these acce-

forie commodities have, I omit not in full ioyfullance of them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a soveraigne request) to make me contented with my selfe, and with the goods proceeding from me. I see some gallantly-disposed yong men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming shew, have many boxes full of pills in their coffers at home, to take when the rheume shall assaile them; which so much the lesse they feare, when they thinke the remedy to be at hand. So must a man doe: as also if he feele himselfe subject to some greater infirmity, to store himselfe with medicaments that may asswage, supple, and stupifie the parte grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life, must neither be painefull nor tedious, otherwise, in vaine should we accompt to have sought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate it selfe to husbandry. Those that love it, must with moderation apply themselves vnto it.

Epist. I. 19.

Conentur sibi res, non se submittere rebus.

Endevour they things to them to submit,

Not them to things (if they have *Horace* wit)

Husbandry is otherwise a servile office, as *Salust* termeth it: It hath more excusable parts, as the care of gardening, which *Xenophon* ascribeth to *Cyrus*: A meane or mediocritie may be found, betweene this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholly plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreame retchlesnesse to let all things goe at six and seaven, which is seene in others.

Epist. 12. 12.

*Democriti pecus edit agellos**Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox.*Cattle destroyde *Democritus*-his fets,

While his minde bodilesse vagaries fets.

But let vs heare the counsell, which *Plinie* the yonger giveth to his friend *Cornelius Rufus*, touching this point of Solitarinesse: *I perswade thee in this full-gorged and fat retraite, wherein thou art, to remit this base and abiect care of husbandrie vnto thy servants, and give thy selfe to the studie of letters, whence thou maist gather something, that may altogether be thine owne. He meaneth reputation: like vnto Ciceroes humor, who saith, That he will employ his solitarinesse and residence from publike affaires, to purchase vnto himselfe by his writings an immortall life.*

Pers. Sat. I. 27.

*usque adeone**Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?*

Is it then nothing-worth that thou doost know,

Vnlesse what thou doost know, thou others show?

It seemeth to be reason, when a man speaketh to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. These doe-it but by halves. Indeepe they set their match against the time they shall be no more: but pretend to reape the fruit of their designs, when they shall be absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those, who through devotion seeke solitarinesse, filling their mindes with the certaintie of heavenly promises, in the other life, is much more soundly comforted. They propose God as an object infinite in goodnesse, and incomprehensible in power, vnto themselves. The soule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her-selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes, redound to their profite, being employed for the purchase and attaining of health and eternall gladnesse. Death, according to ones wish, is a passage to so perfect an estate. The sharpnesse of their rules, is presently made smoothe and easie by custome; and carnall concupiscences, rejected, abated, and lulled asleepe by refusing them; for nothing entertaineth them but vse and exercise. *This onely end of another life, blessedly immortall, doth rightly merite we should abandon the pleasures and commodities of this our life. And he that can enlighten his soule with the flame of a lively faith and hope, really and constantly, in his solitarinesse, doth build vnto himselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, farre surmounting all other lives.* Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are ever falling into a relaps, from an ague to a burning fever. This plodding occupation of bookes, is as painefull as any other, and as great an enemy vnto health, which ought principally to be considered. And a man should not suffer himselfe to be enveagled by the pleasure he takes in them: It is the same pleasure, that looseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy-covetous, the sinning-voluptuous, and the puffed-up-ambitious. The wisest men teach vs sufficiently to beware and shield-vs from the treasons of our appetites, and to discern true and perfect pleasures, from delights

judly thought

delights blended and entermingled with more paine. For, most pleasures, (say they) tickle, fawne vpon, and embrace vs, with purpose to strangle vs, as did the theeves whom the Egyptians termed *Philistias*: And if the head-ach would seize vpon vs before drunkenesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but sensualitie the better to entrap vs, marcheth before, and hideth her tracke from vs. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continuall frequenting them, we in the end loose both health and cheerefullnesse (our best partes). let vs leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruite can no way countervail this losse. As men that have long time felt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the mercie of physicke, and by arte have certaine rules of life prescribed them, which they will not transgresse: So he that withdrawes himselfe, as distasted and over-tired with the common life, ought likewise to frame and prescribe this vnto the rules of reason; direct and range the same by premeditation, and discourse. He must bid all manner of travell farewell, what shew soever it beare; and in generall shunne all passions that any way empeach the tranquillitie of minde and body, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

Vnusquisque sua noverit ire via.

His owne way every man

Treade-out directly can.

A man must give to thriving-husbandrie, to laborious studie, to toyle some hunting, and to every other exercise, the utmost boundes of pleasure; and beware he engage himselfe no further, if one paine begin to entermiddle it selfe with it; we should reserve busines and negotiations, onely for so much as is behoofefull to keepe vs in breath, and to warrant vs from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a base, faint-hearted idlenes draws after it. There are certaine barren and thornie sciences, which for the most part are forged for the multitude: they should be left for those, who are for the service of the world. As for my selfe, I love no bookes, but such as are pleasant, and easie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death.

— *tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres*

Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est.

Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood

With care what's for a wise-man and a good.

Hor. l. i. epi. 4. 7

The wiser sorte of men, having a strong and vigorous minde may frame vnto themselves an altogether spirituall life. But mine being but common, I must helpe to vpholde my selfe by corporall commodities: And age having eftsoones dispoiled me of those that were most futable to my fantasie. I instruct and sharpen my appetite to those remaining, most sortable this other season. We must tooth-and-naile retaine the vse of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from vs, one after another:

Carpamus dulcia, nostrum est,

Quod vivis, cimis & manes & fabula fies.

Plucke we sweete pleasures: we thy life give thee.

Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Pers. sat. 5. 155

Now concerning the end of glorie, which *Plinie*, and *Cicero* propose vnto vs, it is farre from my discourse: The most opposit humor to solitarie retiring, is ambition. Glorie and rest are things, that cannot squat in one same forme: as farre as I see, these have nought but their armes and legges out of the throng, their minde and intent is further and more engaged in them then ever it was.

Im' vetule auriculis alienis colligis escas?

* Gatherst thou dotard at these yeares,

Fresh baits, fine foode, for others eares?

xp

They have gone-backe that they might leape the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimbler offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shoot-short by a cornes breadth? let vs but counterpoise the advise of two Philosophers, and of two most different sects: The one writing to *Idomenius*, the other to *Lucilius* their friends; to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatnes, vnto a solitarie kinde of life. You have (say they) lived hitherto swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven; you have given the past of your life vnto light, give the remainder vnto darkenes. It is impossible to give-over occupations, if you doe

not also give-over the fruites of them: Therefore cleare your selfe from all care and glorie: There is great danger, lest the glittering of your fore-passed actions should over-much dazle you, yea and follow you even to your denne. *Together with other concupiscences, shake off that which commeth from the approbation of others.* And touching your knowledge and sufficiencie, take you no care of them, they will loose no whit of their effect; if your selfe be anything the better for them. Remember but him, who being demanded, to what purpose he toyed so much about an Art, which could by no meanes come to the knowledge of many: Few are enow for mee; one will suffice, yea lesse than one will content me, answered he. He said true: you and another are a sufficient theatre one for another; or you to your selfe alone. Let the people be one vnto you, and one be all the people to you: It is a base ambition to goe about to draw glorie from ones idlenes, and from ones lurking-hole. A man must doe as some wilde beasts, which at the entrance of their caves, will have no manner of footing scene. You must no longer seeke what the world saith of you; but how you must speake vnto your selfe: withdraw your selfe into your selfe; but first prepare your selfe to receive your selfe: it were folly to trust to your selfe, if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitarines, as in companie, there are waies for it, vntill such time as you have framed your selfe such, that you dare not halte before your selfe, & that you shal be ashamed-of, and beare a kind of respect vnto your selfe. *Observetur species honeste animo: Let honest Ideaes still represent themselves before your minde:* Ever present Cato, Phocion, and Aristides vnto your imagination, in whose presence even fooles would hide their faults, and establish them as controulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and vntuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will containe you in a way, to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but from your selfe, to settle and stay your minde in assured and limited cogitations, wherein it may best please it selfe, and having gotten knowledge of true felicities, which according to the measure a man vnderstands them, he shall accordingly enjoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance, either of life or name. Loe here the counsell of trulie-pure and purely-true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boasting, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.

Senec. epist.

The nine and thirtieth Chapter.

A consideration vpon Cicero. 5

ONE word more in comparison of these two. There are gathered out of *Ciceroes* writings and from *Plinies* (in mine opinion little agreeing with his vnkle) infinit testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious. Amongst others, that they openly solcite the historians of their times, not to forget them in their writings; and fortune, as it were in spight, hath made the vanitie of their request to continue even to our daies, and long since the histories were lost. But this exceedeth all hearts-basenes in persons of that stampe, to have gone about to draw some principall glorie from prating and speaking, even to employ their private epistles written to their friends; in such sort, as some missing the opportunitie to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthie excuse, that they would not loose their travell and lugubrations. Is it not a seemely thing in two *Romane Consuls*, chiefe magistrates of the common-wealth, Empreffe of the world, to spend their time in wittily devising, and closely hudling-vp of a quaint missive or wittie epistle, thereby to attaine the reputation, that they perfectly vnderstand their mother-tongue? What could a seely schoole-maister, who gets his living by such trash, doe worse? If the acts of *Xenophon* or of *Cæsar* had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I cannot beleewe, they would ever have written them. They have endeavored to recommend vnto posteritie, not their sayings, but their doings: And if the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie futable vnto a great personage, *Scipio* and *Lelius* would never have resigned the honor of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceites of the Latin tongue, vnto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labor to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, and excellent invention thereof doth

doth sufficiently declare it: and *Terence* himselfe doth avouch-it: and I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kinde of mockerie and injurie, to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and vnfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthie; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object. As he that would commend a King to be a cunning painter, or a skilfull architect, or an excellent harpibuffer, or a never missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not presented altogether with those that are proper and convenient vnto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to governe, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace & warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honor *Cyrus*, and Eloquence *Charlemaine*, together with his knowledge in good letters. I have in my time seene some, who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disavow their apprenticeship, marre their pen, & affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie; and which our people holdes, to be seldome found amongst wise-men, endeavoring to be commended for better qualities. *Demostenes* his companions in their ambassage to *Philip*, praised their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good quaffer. *Demostenes* said, they were commendations rather fitting a woman, an advocate, and a sponge, then a King.

Imperet bellante prior, iacentem

— *Lenis in hostem.*

Hor. car. secul.
51.

Better he rule, who mercifull will rve
His foe subdued, then he that can subdue.

It is not his profession to knowe, either how to hunt cunningly, or to dance nimbly.

*Orabunt causas alij, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, & fulgentia sidera dicent;
Hic regere imperio populos sciat.*

Virg. Æn. lib. 6
890.

Others shall causes pleade, describe the skies
Motion by instrument, say how starres rise:
But let him knowe to rule (just, valiant, wise.)

Plutarke saith moreover, that to appeare so absolutely excellent in these lesse-necessary parts, is to produce a witnes against himselfe, to have ill spent his houres, and fondly bestowed his studie, which might better have beene employed to more behoofefull and profitable vse. So that *Philip* King of *Macedon*, having heard great *Alexander* his sonne sing at a feast, in view of the best Musicians: Art thou not ashamed (said he vnto him) to sing so well? And to the same *Philip*, said a Musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, God forbid, my Sovereigne, that ever so much hurt should befall you, that you should understand these things better than my selfe. A King ought to be able to answer, as did *Iphicrates* the Orator, who in his invective vrged him in this manner. And what arte thou thou shouldst so braue-it? Art thou a man at Armes? Art thou an Archer? Art thou a Pike-man? I am none of all those, but I am he who commaund all those. And *Antisthenes* made-it as an argument of little valor in *Ismenias*, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutist. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselves to imitate the phrase of my Essayes, I would rather have them holde their peace: They doe not so much raise the wordes, as de Presse the senses; so much the more sharply, by how much more obliquely. Yet am I deceived if some others take not more holde on the matter; and how well or ill soever, if any writer hath scattered the same, either more materiall, or at least thicker on his paper: That I may collect the more, I doe but huddle vp the arguments or chiefe heades. Let me but addewhat followes them, I shall daily encrease this volume. And how many stories have I glanced-at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shall vnfolde, may from them draw infinit Essayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever serve simply for examples, authoritie, or ornament. I doe not onely respect them for the vse I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the seede of a richer subject, and bolder matter, and often collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will expresse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit vpon my tune.

But returning to vertue, I find no great choice, betweene him that can speake nothing but evil, and one that can talke nothing but well. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas. Finenesse is no great grace for a man. Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophie, and in regard of effects, but Vertue; which is generally fit for al degrees, and for al orders. Something there is alike in these two other Philosophers; for they also promise eternitie to the E-

Epistles, they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanities; For they send them word, that if care to make themselves knowne vnto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yet retaine them in the managing of affaires, and makes them feare solitarinesse, and a retired life, to which they would call them, that they take no more paines for it: forasmuch as they have sufficient credite with posteritie, by answering them; and were it but by the Epistles they write vnto them, they will make their name as famous, and as farre-knowne, as all their publike actions might do. Besides this difference, they are not frivolous, idle, and triviall Epistles, and onelie compact and held together with exquisit-choise words, huddled vp and ranged to a just-smoothe cadence, but stufft and full of notable sayings, and wise sentences; by which a man doth not onely become more eloquent, but more wise, and that teach-vs, not to say well, but to doe well. Fie on that eloquence, which leaves-vs with a desyre of-it, and not of things: vnlesse a man will say, that *Ciceroes* being so exceedingly perfect, doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I wil further alleage a story, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make vs palpably feeble his naturall condition. He was to make an Oration in publike, and being vrged betimes to prepare himselfe for it; *Eros* one of his seruantes came to tell him, the Auditorie was deferred till the morrow next; he was so glad of-it, that for so good newes he gave him his liberty. Touching this subject of Epistles, thus much I wil say; It is a worke wherin my friends are of opinion I can doe some-thing: And should more willingly have vndertaken to publish my gifts, had I had who to speake vnto. It had bin requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine commerce to draw me on, to encorage me, and to vphold me. For, to go about to catch the winde in a net, as others doe, I cannot; and it is but a dreame. I am a sworne enemy to all falsifications. I should have bin more attentive, and more assured, having a friendly and strong direction, then to beholde the diuers images of a whole multitude: and I am deceived, if it had not better succeeded with me. I have naturally a comicall and familiar stile: But after a maner peculiar vnto my selfe, inept to all publike Negotiations, answering my speach, which is altogether, close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters which have no other substance, but a faire contexture of complementall phrases and courteous wordes. I have no taste nor faculty of these tedious offers, of service and affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleased to say more then I believe. It is farre from that which is vsed now-a-dayes: For, there was never so abject and servile a prostitution of presentations; life, soule, devotion, adoration, servant, slave; all these words are so generally vsed; that when they would expresse a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no meanes left them to expresse-it. I deadly hate to heare a flatterer: which is the cause I naturally affect a pithy, sinnowie, dry, round, and harsh kinde of speach; which, of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to encline to disdain. I honor them most, whome I seeme to regarde least: And where my mind marcheth most cheerefully, I often forget the steppes of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but faintly and rudely to those whose I am indeede, and present my selfe least, to such as I have most given my selfe. Me thinks they should reade it in my heart, and that the expression of my wordes, wrongeth my conception. To welcome, to take leave, to bid farewell, to give thanks, to salute, to present my service, and such verball complements of the ceremoniall lawes of our civilitie, I knowe no man so sottishly-barren of speach, as my selfe. And I was never employed to indite Letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whome they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, whereof I thinke I have a hundred severall Volumes. I deeme those of *Hanniball Caro* to be the best. If all the paper I have heeretofore scribled for Ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man should haply finde some page worthy to be communicated vnto idle and fond-doting youth, embabuinized with this furie. I ever write my letters in post-haste, and so rashly-head-long, that howbeit I write intolerably ill, I had rather write with mine owne hand, than employ another: for I finde none that can followe me, and I never copie them over againe. I have accustomed those great persons that know mee, to endure blotts, blurres, dashes, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Those that cost me, either most labour or study, are they that are least worth. When I once beginne to traile them, it is a signe my minde is not vpon them. I commonlie begin without project: the first word begets the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders,

The Authors
qualifications
in writing

Ap n

ders, and prefaces, than with matter, as I had rather write two, then fold and make vp one, which charge I commonly resigne to others: So likewise when the matter is ended, I would willingly give another the charge, to adde these long orations offers, praiers, and imprecations, which we place at the end of them, and wish hartily, some new fashion would discharge vs of them. As also to superscribe them with a legend of qualities, titles, and callings, wherein, lest I might have tripped, I have often times omitted writing, especially to men of Iustice, Lawyers, and Financiers. So many innovations of offices, so difficult a dispensation and ordinance of diuers names and titles of honour, which being so dearly bought, can neither be exchanged or forgotten without offence. I likewise find it gracelesse and idly-fond, to charge the front and inscription of the many bookes and pamphlets, which we daily cause to be imprinted with them.

The fortieth Chapter.

That the taste of goods or euilles doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them.

6

MEN (saith an ancient Greeke sentence) are tormented by the opinions they haue of things, and not by things themselves. It were a great conquest for the ease of our miserable humane condition, if any man could establish every where this true proposition. For if euilles have no entrance into-vs, but by our judgement, it seemeth that it lieth in our power, either to contemne or turne them to our good. If things yeelde themselves vnto our mercie, why should we not haue the fruition of them, or apply them to our advantage? If that which we call euill and torment, be neither torment, nor euil, but that our fancie only gives it that quality, it is in vs to change-it: and having the choice of it, if none compell-vs, wee are very fooles, to bandie for that partie, which is irkesome vnto vs: and to give infirmities, indigence and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simply affoord-vs the matter, it lieth in vs to give-it the forme. Now that that which wee terme euill, is not so of it selfe, or at least, such as it is, that it depends of vs to give-it another taste, and another countenance (for all comes to one) let vs see whether it can be maintained. If the originall-being of those things we feare, had the credite of it's owne authoritie to lodge it selfe in vs, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kinde, and except the most or least, they are furnished with like meanes to judge, and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions, which we haue of those things, doth evidently shew, that but by composition they never enter into-vs. Some one peradventure doth lodge them in himselfe, as they are in essence, but a thousand others give them a new being, and a contrarie. Wee accompt of death, of povertie, and of sorrowe, as of our chiefeft partes. Now death, which some of all horrible things call the most horrible, who knowes not, how others call-it, the onely haven of this lives-torments? the soveraigne good of nature? the onely staie of our libertie? and the ready and common receipt of our euills? And as some doe, fearefully-trembling, and senselessly-affrighted, expect her comming, others endure it more easily then life: And one complaineth of her facilitie;

*Mors utinam pavidos vita subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret!*

Lucan. li. 4. 580

O death! I would thou would'st let coward's live,
That resolv'd valour might thee only give!

But let vs leave these glorious minds: *Theodorus* answered *Lyfimachus*, who threatned to kill him: *Thou shalt doe a great exploite to come to the strength of a Cantharides.* The greatest number of Philosophers are found to haue either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their deaths. How many popular persons are scene brought vnto death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame, & sometimes with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an vndaunted assurance; some through stubborne wilfulnesse, other-some through a naturall simplicitie, in whome is nothing scene changed from their ordinarie condition; set-

ling their domesticall affaires, recommending themselves vnto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people: yea and sometimes vttering wordes of jesting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as wel as *Socrates*? One who was ledde to the gallowes, desired it might not be through such a streete, for feare a Marchant should set a Serjant on his backe, for an old debt. Another wished the hang-man not to touch his throate, lest hee should make him sworne with laughing, because he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should suppe that night with our Saviour in heaven, Goe thither your selfe to supper, for I vse to fast a nights: Another vpon the Gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said, he would not drinke after him, for feare hee should take the poxe of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being vpon the ladder ready to be throwne downe, there was a wench presented vnto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if he would marry hir, his life should be saved, who after he had awhile beheld hir, & perceiving that she halted, said hastily. *Away, away, good hang-man, make an end of thy busines, she limps.* The like is reported of a man in *Denmarke*, who being adjudged to have his head cut-off, and being vpon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jawe-falne, long cheekt, and sharpe-nosed. A yoong ladde at *Tholous*, beeing accused of heresie, in all points touching his beliefe, referred himselfe wholly to his Maisters faith, (a yoong scholler that was in prison with him) and rather chose to die, then he would be perswaded his Maister could erre. We reade of those of the Towne of *Arras*, at what time king *Lewis* the eleventh tooke it, that amongst the common people manie were found, who rather then they would say, *God save the King*, suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jesters or buffons, some have bin seene, that even at the point of death, would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the headf-man threw-off from the Gallowes, cried out, *Rowe the Gally*, which was his ordinary by-word. Another, who being at his last gaspe, his friendes had laide him vpon a pallet alongest the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Phisitian demanding where his griefe pained him? Answered, betweene the bench and the fire: And the Priest to give him the last vnction, seeking for his feete, which by reason of his sicknesse were shruncken-vp, he told him, My good friend you shall find them at my legges endes, if you look well: To another that exhorted him to recommend himselfe to God, he asked, Who is going to him? And the fellowe answering, your selfe shortly: If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night, replied he: Recommend but your selfe to him, said the other, and you shall quickly be there: It is best then, answered he, that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him. In the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, even at this day their Priestes wives, are buried alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only constantly, but cheerefully. When their king dieth, his wives, his concubines, his minions, together with al his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves so merrily vnto the fire, wherein his body is burned, that they manifestly seeme to esteeme-it as a great honour, to accompanie their deceased maister to his ashes. During our last warres of *Millane*, and so many takings, losses, miseries and calamities of that Cittie, the people impacient of so manie changes of fortune, tooke such a resolution vnto death, that I have heard my father say, hee kept accoumpt of five and twentie chiefe housholders, that in one week made them-selves away: An accident which hath some affinitie with that of the *Xanthians*, who being besieged by *Brutus*, did pell-mell-headlong, men, women, and children precipitate them-selves into so furious a desire of death, that nothing can be performed to avoid death, which these did not accomplish to avoid life: So that *Brutus* had much adoe, to save a very small number of them. Every opinion is of sufficient power to take holde of a man in respect of life. The first Article of that couragious oathe, which the Countrey of *Greece* did sweare, and keepe, in the Medoisan warre, was, that everie particular man should rather change his life vnto death, than the Persian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are dayly seene in the Turkish warres and the *Græcians*, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death then to be vncircumcized and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of *Castile* having banished the *Iewes* out of their Countrey, king *Iohn* of *Portugall* for eight crownes a man sold them a re-treite in his dominion, for a certaine time, vpon condition (the time expired) they should avoid, and he finde them shippes to transport them into *Affrike*. The day of their departure come,

come, which past, it was expressed, that such as had not obeyed, should for-ever remaine bond-slaves; shippes were provided them, but very scarce and sparingly : And those which were embarked, were so rudely, churlishly, and villainously vsed, by the passengers and mariners; who besides infinit other indignities, loitred so long on the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end, they had consumed all their victualls, and were forced, if they would keepe themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate, and so long, that they were never set a shore, til they had brought them so bare, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. The newes of this barbarous inhumanity being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bond-slaves : whereof some made a semblance to change their religion. *Emanuel* that immediately succeeded *Iohn*, being come to the Crowne, first set them at liberty, then changing his minde, commaunded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their passages assigned them three ports. He hoped, as *Bishop Olorius* reporteth, (a Latine Historian of our ages, not to be despised) that the favour of the liberty, to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them vnto Christianity, the difficultie to commit themselves vnto marriners and pyrates robberies, to leave a Country where they were settled with great riches, for to go seeke vnknownen and strange regions, would bring them into *Portugall* againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, & that they purposed to passe away, he cutte-off two of the three portes he had promised them, that so the tedious distance and incommoditie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that hee might have the meane to assemble them all together in one place, for a fitter opportunity of the execution hee intended, which was this. Hee appointed that all their children vnder foureteene yeeres of age, should be taken from out the handes of their parents, and remooved from their sight and conversation, to some place where they might be brought-vp, and instructed in our religion. He saith that this effect caused an horrible spectacle: The naturall affection betweene the fathers and the children; moreover the zeale vnto their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordinance. Diverse fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselves, and with a more cruell example through compassion and love, to throw their yong children into pittes and welles, thereby to shunne the lawe. The terme which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes, they yeelded vnto thraldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is a hundred yeares since) few *Portugalles* assure themselves; although custome, and length of time be much more forcible counsellors vnto such mutations, than any other compulsion. In the Towne of *Castelnaw Darry*, more than fiftie *Albigois*, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined corage, suffred themselves to be burned alive, all in one same fire, before they would recant and disavow their opinions. *Quoties non modo ductores nostri, sed universa etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt?* How often have, not only our Leaders (saith *Tully*) but also our whole armies runne roundly together to an vndoubted death? I have seene one of my familiar friendes runne furiously on death, with such, and so deeply in his heart rooted affection, by diverse visages of discourse, which I could never suppress in him, and to the first that offered it selfe masked with a lustre of honour, without apprehending any sharpe or violent end, therein to precipitate himselfe. We have many examples in our dayes: yea in very children of such as for feare of some slight incommoditie have yeelded vnto death. And to this purpose saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that, which cowardise it selfe hath chosen for her retireite? Here to huddle-vp a long bead-rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, and sects, in most happy ages, which either have expected death most constantly, or sought for it voluntarily, and not onely sought it to avoyd the evils of this life, but some, onely to shunne the facietie of living any longer: and some, for the hope of a better condition else-where, I should never have done. The number is so infinit, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon vp those that have feared the same. Onely this more. *Pirra* the philosopher, finding himselfe vpon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through feare, and encouraged them by the example of an hog, that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at-all for the storme: Shall wee then dare to say, that the advantage of reason, whereat we seeme so much to rejoyce, and for whose respect we accompt our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into-vs for our torment? *What availeth the knowledge of things, if through them we become more demisse?* If thereby we loose the rest and tranquillitie where-
in

in we should be without them? and if it makes vs of worse condition then was *Pirrhos* hog? Shall we employ the intelligence, heaven hath bestowed vpon vs for our greatest good, to our ruine? repugning natures desleigne and the vniuersall order and vicissitude of things, which implieth that every man should vse his instruments and meanes for his owne commoditie? Wel (wil some tel me) let your rule sit you against death; but what wil you say of indigence and necessitie? what will you also say of minde-griewing sorrow, which *Aristippus*, *Hieronimus*, and most of the wisest have judged the last euill? and those which denied the same in words, confessed the same in effect? *Possidonius* being extreemely tormented with a sharpe and painefull sicknesse, *Pompey* came to see him, and excused himselfe hee had chosen so vnfit an houre to heare him discourse of Philosophie: *God forbid* (answered *Possidonius*) *that ever paine should so farre vsurpe vpon me, as to hinder me from discoursing of so worthy a subiect*. And thereupon beganne to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilst she plaied her parte, and vncessantlly pinched and vrged him; against whom he exclaimed: *Paine, do what thou list, I shall never be drawne to say, that thou art an euill*. That saying, which they would make of such consequence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine? it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof move him not there-whilst, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinkes hee to worke a great exploit; not to call it an euill? All doth not consist in imagination. Here we judge of the rest. It is assured learning that heere doth play her part, our owne senses are iudges of it:

Lucr. li. 4. 487

Qui nisi sunt veri, ratio quoque falsa sit omnis.

Which senses if they be not true,

All reason's false, it must ensue.

Shall we make our skin beleeeve, the stripes of a whip doe tickle it? and perswade our taste, that Aloes be wine of Graves? *Pirrhos* hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beate him, he will grunt, crie, and torment himselfe. Shall we force the generall law of nature, which in all living creatures vnder heaven is seene to tremble at paine? The very trees seeme to groane at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an instant.

*Ouid. epis. Ari-
ad. 82.*

Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est presentis in illa.

Death hath come, or it wil not misse;

But in it nothing present is.

Morsque minus poena, quam mora mortis habes.

Deaths paines lesse roundly acted,

Then when death is protracted.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead then threatned. Besides, what we principally call feare in death, it is paine her customary fore-runner. Nevertheless if we must give credit vnto an ancient father, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem*. *No-
thing, but what follows death, makes death to be euill*. And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before, nor that which commeth after, is no appurtenance of death; we falsely excuse our selves. And I find by experience, that it is rather the impatience of the imagination of death, that makes vs impatient of the paine, & that we feele it two-fold grievous, forasmuch as it threats vs to die. But reason accusing our weakenesse, to feare so sodaine a thing, so vnauoydable, so insensible; we take this other more excusable pretence. All euills that have no other danger, but of the euill, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth-ach, the paine of the gowt, how grievous soever, because they kill not, who reckoneth them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death we especially regard the paine: As also, povertie hath nothing to be feared-for, but what she casteth vpon vs through famine, thirst, colde, heate, and other miseries, it makes vs feele and endure. So have we nothing to doe but with paine. I will willingly grant them, that it is the worst accident of our being. For, I am the man that hate and shunne-it as much as possible may be; because hitherto (thanks be vnto God) I have no commerce or dealing with her: But it is in our power, if not to dissanull, at least to diminish the same, through patience: And though the body should be moved thereat, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not so, who then hath brought vertue, valor, force, magnanimitie, and resolution into credite, Where shall they play their parte, if there be no more paine defied? *Auida est periculi virtus*, *Vertue is desirous of danger*. If a man must not lie on the hard ground, armed at all assayes, to endure

endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feede hungerly vpon a horse or an asse, to see himselfe mangled and cut in peeces, to have a bullet pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be sticht-vp, cauterized, and searched, all incident vnto a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preheminence, which we so greedily seeke-after, over the vulgar sort? It is far from avoiding the evill and paines of it, as wise men say, that of actions equally good, one should most be wished to be done, wherein is most paine and griefe. *Non enim hilaritate nec lascivia nec risu aut ioco comite levitatis, sed saepe etiam tristis firmitate et constantia sunt beati.* For men are not happy by mirthfulnessse, or wantonnesse, or laughing, or iesting, which is the companion of lightnesse; but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heart and constancie. And therefore was it impossible to perswade our fathers, that conquests atchieved by maine force, in the hazard of warre were not more availeable and advantageous, then those obtained in all securitie by practises and stratagems.

Cic. de fin. lib. 2.

* *Letius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum.*

Luca. li. 9. 40.

Honestie makes chiefeft cheare,

When it doth cost it selfe most deare.

Moreover, this ought to comfort vs, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is also short; if long, it is easie: *Si gravis, brevis; si longus, levis.* If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light. Thou shalt not feele-it over long; if thou feele-it over much, it will either end it selfe, or end thee: All comes to one: If thou beare not it, it will beare thee away. *Memineris maximos morte finiri, parvos multa habere intervalla requietis; mediocrium nos esse dominos: ut si tolerabilis sint feramus: sin minus, è vita, quum ea non placeat, tanquam è theatro exeamus.* Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pauses of rest; we are maisters of the meane-ones: so as if they be tolerable, we may beare them; if not, we may make an Exit from our life which doth not please, as from a stage. That which makes vs endure paine with such impatience, is, that we are not accustomed to take our chiefe contentment in the soule, and that we do not sufficiently relie on her; who is the onely, and soveraigne mistris of our condition. The body hath (except the least or most) but one course, and one byase. The soule is variable in all maner of formes, and rangeth to herselfe, and to her state, whatsoever it be, the senses of the body, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired, and sought-after: and her powerfull springs and wardes should be rowzed vp. There is neither reason, nor prescription, nor force can availe against her inclination and choise. Of so infinite byases, that shee hath in her disposition, let vs allow hir one sutable and fit to our rest and preservation: Then shall we not onely be sheltered from all offence, but if it please her, also gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all; even errors and dreames, doe profitably bestead her, as a loyall matter, to bring-vs vnto safetie and contentment. It may easily be seene, that the point of our spirite, is that which sharpeneth both paine and pleasure in vs. Beastes wanting the same, leave their free and naturall senses vnto their bodies: and by consequence, single well-nigh in every kinde, as they shew by the semblable application of their moovings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurisdiction, which in that belongs vnto them; it may be thought, we should be the better for-it, and that nature hath given them a just and moderate temperature toward pleasure and toward paine. And it can not choose but be good and just, being equall and common. But since we have freed and alienated our selves from her rules, to abandon our selves vnto the vagabond libertie of our fantasies: let vs at least help to bend them to the most agreeing side. *Plato* feareth our sharp engaging vnto paine and voluptuousnes, forsomuch as he over-strictly tieth and bindeth the soule vnto the body: I am rather opposite vnto him, because it is sundred and loosed from it. Even as an enemy becommeth more furious when we flie from him, so doth paine grow more proud if it see-vs tremble vnder it. It will stoope and yeeld vpon better compositions to him that shall make head against-it. A man must oppose and bandy against it. In recoyling and giving ground, we call and draw on, the ruine threatning-vs. Even as the body is more steady and strong to a charge, if it stand stiffely to-it, so is the soule. But lette vs come to examples properly belonging vnto weake-backt men, as I am, where we shal find, that it is with paine, as with stones, which take either a higher or deeper colour, according to the foyle that is laide vnder them, and holdeth no other place in vs then we give-it. *Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inferuerunt.* So much they grieved, as they interessed themselves in griefes. We feele a dash of a chirurgions

Cic. de fin. lib. 2. Epic.

August.

razor

razor more then ten blows with a sword in the heate of fight. The painful throwes of child-bearing, deemed both by Phisitians, and by the word of God to be very great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies.

There are whole nations that make no reckoning of them. I omitte to speake of the *Lacedemonian* women; but come we to the *Swizzers* of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the childe about their necke, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfet roging Giptians, whereof so many are daily seene amongst vs, doe they not wash their children so soone as they are borne? And in the next river that comes to hand? Besides so many harlots, which dailey steale their children in the ~~generation~~ as in the conception. That beauteous and noble Ladie of *Sabinus* a Roman Patritian, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies helpe or assistance, and without noyse or groning endure the bearing, and deliverie of two twinnes. A simple lad of *Lacedemon*, having stolne a Foxe (for they more feared the shame of their foolishnes in stealing, then we feare the paine or punishment of mis-deedes) and hiding the same vnder his cloake, endured rather to have his guts gnawne out by hir, then to discover himselfe. An other who offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone, by a coale false into his sleeve, rather then he would trouble that sacred mysterie. And a great number have beene seene, for the onely essay of vertue, following their institution, that at the age of seaven yeares, without so much as changing their countenance, have indured to be whipped to death. And *Cicero* hath seene whole troupes, to beate one another so long, with their fists, with their feete, and with their teeth, till they have fainted and fall downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. *Nunquam naturam mos vinceret, est enim ea semper invicta, sed nos umbris, delictis, otio, languore, desidia, animum infecimus: opinionibus maloque more delinitum molliuimus.* Customes should never overcome nature, for she is still invincible: but wee have infected our minde with shadowes, daintines, idlenes, faint-heartednes, slouthfulnes, and have effeminated it, inveagled with opinions and evill custome. Every man knowes the storie of *Scervola*, who being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftaine, and having missed of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his countrie, confessed vnto *Por-senna*, (who was the King he intended to kill) not onely his desigine, but added more-over, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had vndertaken and sworne the very same enterprise, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dread-lesse magnanimitie, having caused a panne of burning coales to be brought, hee sawe and suffered his right arme (in penance that it had not effected his project) to be parched and wel-nigh roasted-off: vntill such time as his enemy himselfe, feeling a kinde of remorse-ful horror, commaunded the fire to be caried away. What shall we say of him, that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whilst he had an incision made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffe and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures, which were inflicted vpon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen, that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled vpon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What? of one of *Casars* gladiators, who with a cheerefull and smiling countenance endured his woundes to be slitte and sounded? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? Quis vultum mutavit unquam? Quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis cum decubisset, ferrum recipere iussus, collum contraxit? What meane fencer hath once groned? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not onely hath stooode up, but even false with shame? Which of them when he was downe, and was willed to take his death, did once shrinke in his necke?* But let vs joynesome women vnto them. Who hath not heard of hir at *Paris*, which onely to get a fresher hew of a new skinne, endured to have hir face flead all over? There are some, who being found, and in perfect health, have had some teeth puld-out, thereby to frame a daintier and more pleasing voyce, or to set them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or smart have we of that kinde and sex? What can they not doe? What will they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie?

Cic. Tusc. quest. lib. 5.

Cic. Tusc. quest. lib. 2.

*Vellere quis cura est albos à stirpe capillos,
Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam.*

Who

Who take great care to roote out their gray haire,
And skinne fleade-off a new face to repaire.

I have seene some swallow gravel, ashes, coles, dust, tallow, candles, and for-the-nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomake, onely to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in the waste, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what guirding, what cingling will they not indure? Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones, and other such trash, that their very skinne, and quicke flesh is eaten-in and consumed to the bones? Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurt and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credit to their words. And our King reporteth sundrie examples, of what himselfe sawe in *Polonia*, and towards himselfe. But besides what I know to have by some beene imitated in *France*; when I came from the famous Parliament of *Blois*; I had a little before seene a wench in *Picardie*, to witnes the vehemencie of hir promises, and also hir constancie, with the bodkin she wore in hir haire, to give hir-selfe foure or five thrusts in hir arme, which made hir skinne to cracke and gush out blood. The *Turkes* are wont to wound and scarre themselves for their Ladies fakes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they will presently lay fire vpon the cuttes; and to stanch the blood, and better to forme the cicatrice, they will keepe-it on, an incredible while. Honest men that have seene-it, have written the same, and sworne it vnto me. And for ten Aspers you shall dailey finde some amongst them, that will give themselves a deepe gash with a Scinitarie, either in their armes or thighes. I am very glad witnessers are so readie at hand; where we have most neede of them: For, Christendome affordeth many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have beene divers, who for devotion would needes beare the crosse. We learne by a worthie testimonie of religion, that Saint *Lewes* the King wore a haire-shirt, vntill such time as he was so aged, that his confessor gave him a dispensation for-it; and that every friday he caused his priests to beate his shoul-
ders with five little yron chaines, which to that purpose were ever caried with his night-
geare. *William* our last Duke of *Guienne*, father to that *Eleonore*, who transferred that Dutchie vnto the houses of *France* and *England*, the last ten or twelve yeares of his life, for penance-
sake wore continually a corselet, vnder a religious habit. *Fouikes* Earle of *Anion* went to *Ie-
rusalem*, there with a rope about his necke, to be whipped by two of his servants, before our
Saviours sepulchre. Doe we not vpon every good-friday, in sundrie places, see a great num-
ber of men and women, scourge and beate themselves so long till they bruse and teare their
flesh, even to the bones? I have often seene it my selfe, and that without enchantment. And
some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would vn-
dertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of smart-full paine, so much
the greater, by how much the stings of devotions are of more force, then those of covetous-
nes. *Q. Maximus* buried his sonne, *being* Consull: *Marcus Cato* his, beeing elected Pretor: *who had bin*
and *L. Paulus* both his, within few daies, with so cheereful and settled a countenance, and with-
out any shew of sorrowe. I have sometimes by way of jesting tolde one, that he had con-
fronted divine justice: For, the violent death of three tall children of his, comming vnto his
eares all vpon one day, and sent him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: He was so
farre from mourning, that he rather tooke-it as a favour and singular gratification at Gods
hand. I doe not follow these monstrous humours. Yet have I lost two or three my selfe,
whilst they were yong and at nurse, if not without apprehension of sorrow, yet without con-
tinuance of griefe. And there is no accident woundeth men deeper, or goeth so neere the heart, as
the losse of children. I see divers other common occasions of affliction, which, were I assailed
by them, I should scarcely feele. And I have contemned and neglected some, when it hath
pleased God to visite me with them, on which the world setteth so vglie and baleful a coun-
tenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, Cic. ib. l. 3.*
sed in opinione esse aegritudinem. Whereby it is understood, that griefe consisteth not in nature, but
opinion. Opinion is a power-full, bold, and vnmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily
search after rest-full ease and quietnes, as *Alexander* and *Cesar* have done after difficulties &
vquietnesse? *Terez*, the father of *Sitalceez*, was wont to say, that when hee had no warres, he
thought there was no difference betweene him and his horse-keeper. *Cato* the Consull, to assure
himselfe of certaine townes in *Spaine*, having onely interdicted some of their inhabitants to
weare armes, many of them killed themselves: *Ferox gens nullam vitam rati sine armis esse. A*
N fierce

s^t William

St Charles

ferce kinde of people, that thought there was no life without armes. How many knowe wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an ease-full and quiet life in their houses, and to live with their friends & acquaintance; to follow the toying-horror of vnfrequented deserts, and that yeilded and cast themselves vnto the abjectnesse, contempt and vilifying of the world, wherwith they have so pleased themselves, as nothing more? Cardinall Borromeus, who dyed lately at *Milane*, in the midst of the pleasures and debawches to which his Nobilitie, and the great riches he possessed, enticed him, and the ayre of *Italie* afforded him, and his youth allured him, did ever keep himself in so an austere forme of life, that the same gowne which served him in Summer he wore in Winter. He never lay but vpon strawe; the houres which he might conveniently spare from his charge, hee bestowed in continuall studie, ever kneeling, and having a smal quantitie of bread and water by his bookes side, which was al the provision for his repast, and time he employed in study. I know some who wittingly have drawn both profit and preferment from cuckoldrie, the only name wherof is so yrkesome & bail-full to so many men. If fight be not the most necessary of our senses, at least is it the most pleasing: the most plauisble and profitable of our members, seeme those that serve to beget vs: notwithstanding diuers have mortally hated them, only because they were over-much amiable, and for their worths-sake have rejected them. So thought he of his eies, that voluntarily put them out. The most common and soundest part of men, holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So doe I, and many others, the want of them. And when *Thales* was demaunded *Wherfore he did not marie*, he answered, *because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behind him*. That our opinion endeareth and encreaseth the price of things, it is seene in a great number of them, which we doe not regard to esteeme them; but for our vse. And we neither consider their qualities nor vtilities, but only our cost to recover and attaine them: as if it were a part of their substance; and wee call that worth in them, not what they bring-vs, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth, and is of consequence, so it serveth. Whervpon I perceive, we are thriftie husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never suffers-it to runne a false gallop. *The price giveth a Diamond his title, and difficultie to vertue, paine vnto devotion, and sharpenesse vnto Physicke*. Such a one to come vnto povertie, cast those few crownes he had into the same sea, wherein so many others, with such carke, danger, and care, on all parts seeke to fish for riches. *Epicurus* saith, *that to be rich is no ease, but a charge of affaires*. Verily, it is not want, but rather plenty that causeth avarice. I will speake of mine owne experience, concerning this subject. I have lived in three Kindes of condition, since I came out of my infancy. The first time, which continued well-nigh twenty yeeres, I have pass't-it over, as one who had no other meanes but casual, and depending from the direction and help of others; without any certaine maintenance, or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelessly layed-out, and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholly depended on fortunes rashnesse and exhibition. I never lived so well at ease: my fortune was never to finde my friendes purse shutte: besides which I was to frame my selfe to all necessities: the care I tooke to pay every man at his prefixed day, which a thousand times they have prolonged, seeing the care I tooke to satisfie them. So that I had gotten vnto my selfe the credite of a thriftie kinde of good husbandry, though it were something shifting and deceitful. I do naturally feele a kind of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as if I ridde my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yoke of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me-thinks I feele a kind of delight, that tickleth me to the quick, in performing a lawfully-just action, & contenting of others. I except payments that require delayes, covenants, & after-reckonings: for, if I find any body that will vndertake them, I blushingly and injuriously deferre them as long as I can, for feare of that altercation or wrangling, to which my humor and manner of speech is altogether incompatible. There is nothing I hate more then driving of bargains: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impudencie. After an houres debating and paltring, both parties will goe from their wordes and oathes for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrowe with great disadvantage. For, having no hart to borrow before others, or by worde of mouth, I would adventure it vpon a piece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perswade, and which greatly helps to refuse. I was wont to commit the successe of my wants more freely and more carelessly vnto fortune, then I have done since vnto my wit and providence. Most good-husbands think-it strange and horrible to live on such vncertainties,

His waies of living

ainties, but they remember not, that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-borne men have heretofore, and are dayly seene to neglect and leave at six and seaven, their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court-holy water, and waving-favours of Princes and of fortune? *Cesar* engaged and ended himsele above a million of gold, more then he was worth, to become *Cesar*. And how many marchants and poore beginners, set-up and beginne their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages, which they venter to the *Indias*?

Tot per impotentia freta?

In so great scarcitie of devotion, we have thousands of Colledges, which passe the time very conveniently, dayly gaping and expecting from the liberalitie of the heavens, what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly, they consider not, that this certaintie on which they ground themselves, is not much lesse vncertaine and hazardous, then hazard-it-himselfe. I see miserie as neere beyond two thousand crownes rent, as if it were hard at hand. For, besides that fortune hath many-many meanes to open a hundred gaps for poverty to enter-at, even through the thickest of our riches, and that often there is no meane betwene the highest and lowest fortune.

Fortuna vitrea est: tam, quam splendet, frangitur.

Fortune is glasse-like, brittle as 'tis bright:

Light-gon, light-broken, when it lends best light.

Prov. Senec. f.

2

And to turne all our defences, and raisings of high walles topsie-turvie: I find that want and necessitie is by diverse or different causes, as ordinarily seene to accompany and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: & that peradventure it is somewhat lesse incommodious, when it is alone, then when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order, then from receite: *Faber est sua quisque fortuna*. Every man is the forger of his owne fortune. And me thinkes that a rich man, who is needie, full of businesse, carke and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more miserable, then he that is simply poore. *In divitiis inopes, quod genus egestatis gravissimum est*. In their aboundance indigent, which is the most grievous kinde of indigence. The richest and greatest Princes are ordinarily vrged by povertie and neede vnto extreame necessities. For, can any be more extreame, then thereby to become Tyrants, and vnjust vsurers of their subjects goods? My second manner of life hath beene to have money; which when I had once fingred, according to my condition I sought to hoord vp some against a raigie day; esteeming that it was no having, vnlesse a man had ever somewhat besides his ordinary expences in possession: & that a man should not trust that good, which he must live in hope to receive; and that be his hope never so likely, hee may many wayes be prevented. For, I would say vnto my selfe; what if I should be surpris'd by this chance, or that accident? What should I doe then? And in pursuite of these vaine and vicious imaginations, I endeavoured by hooke or crooke, and by wile or wit to provide by this superfluous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen: And I could answere him, that would alleadge the number of inconveniences to be over-infinite; which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and happily the greatest number. An apprehension which I did not passe without some painefull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare say so much of my selfe) would never speake of my money but falsely; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or beeing poore would appeare rich: and dispence with their conscience, never to witnesse sincerelie what they are worth. Oh ridiculous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where? me thought I was never sufficiently provided; and the more I had laden my selfe with coine, the more I had also burthened my selfe with feare: sometimes of my wayes-safetie, other times of their trust that had the charge of my sumpters and baggage, whereof, as some others that I know, me thought I was never throughly assured, except it were still in my sight. Left I my keyes or my purse behinde-me? how many suspitions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incommunicable, did vincessantly haunt-me? My minde was ever on my halfe penny; my thoughts ever that way. *The summe being rightly cast, there is ever more paine in keeping, then in getting of money*. If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at least endeavoured to doe-it. Of commoditie I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have encrease of sorrow. For (as said *Bion*) *The hairy man doth grieve as much as the bald, if he have his haire pulled*

pull'd out. And after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts vpon a heape of money, it is no longer at your service; you dare not diminish-it; it is a building, which if you touch or take any parte from-it, you will thinke it will all fall. Necessitie must first pinch you by the throate, and touch you neere, before you will lay handes on it. And I should sooner pawne my clothes, or sell my horse, with lesse care and compulsion, then make a breach into that beloved purse, which I kept in store. But the danger was, that a man can hardly prefix any certaine limites vnto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deemeth good) and continue at one stay in sparing: A man shall ever encrease this heape, and augment-it from one number to another; yea so long, til he basely and niggardly deprive himselfe of the enjoying of his owne goods, and wholly fix-it on the safe-keeping of them, and never vse them. According to this kind of vsage, those are the richest people of the world, that have the charge of keeping the gates and walles of a rich Cittie. Every monied man is covetous, according to mine opinion. *Plato* marshalleth thus humane or corporall goods; *health, beantie, strength, riches*: And *riches*, saith he, *are not blinde, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisdom.* *Dionisius* the yonger, plaide a notable parte; who being advertised, that one of his *Siracusans*, had hidden a certaine treasure vnder the ground, commanded him to bring it vnto him, which he did, reserving secretly one parte of it vnto himselfe, with which he removed his dwelling vnto another Cittie, where having lost the humour of hoarding-vp of treasure, beganne to live a spending and riotous kinde of life: which *Dionisius* hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored vnto him; saying, *That sithence hee had learned howe to make use of-it, hee did most willingly redeliver the same vnto him.* I was some yeares of the same humour: I wot not what good *Demon* did most profitably remove me from-it, like to the *Siracusan*, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a farre and chargeable journey, having overthrowne this foolish imagination in me; From which I am falne into a third kinde of life (I speake what I thinke of-it) assuredly much more pleasing and formall: which is, that I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expences goe together with my comming-in; some-times the one, other-whilst the other exceeds: But they are never farre-asunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day; and have I but to supply my present and ordinary needes, I am satisfied: As for extraordinary wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently arme vs against herselfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combat-her. Casuall armes will betray-vs, when we shall have most neede of them. If I lay vp any thing, it is for the hope of some employment at hand, and not to purchase landes, whereof I have no neede, but pleasure and delight. *Non esse cupidum, pecunia est: non esse emacem, vectigal est.* It is currant coine, not to be covetous: it is a thristie in-come, not to be stil buying. I am neither possessed with feare, that my goods shall faile me, nor with desire they should encrease and multiplie. *Divitiarum fructus est in copia: copiam declarat satietas.* The fruite of riches is in plentie: *sacietie content with enough approoves that plentie.* And singularly gratifie my selfe this correction came vpon me in an age naturally enclined to covetousnesse, and that I am free from that folly so common and peculiar to old men, and the most ridiculous of all humane follies. *Feraulez* who had passed through both fortunes, and found, that encrease of goods, was no accrease of appetite, to drinke, to eate, to sleepe, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders, the importunitie of ordering and directing his Oeconomicall affaires, as it doth on mine, determined with himselfe to content a poore yong man, his faithfull friend, greedily gaping after riches, and frankly made him a present donation of all his great and excessive riches; as also of those, he was likely every day to get by the liberalitie and bountie of his good maister *Cyrus*, and by warre: alwayes provided, hee should vndertake to entertaine and finde-him honestly, and in good sorte, as his guest and friend. In which estate they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Loe here a part, I could willingly find in my heart to imitate. And I much commend the fortune of an olde prelate, whom I see, to have so clearly given-over his purse, his receites, and his expences, now to one of his chosen servants, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his housholde affaires, as any stranger. The confidence in others honestie, is no light testimonie of ones owne integritie: therefore doth God willingly favour-it.

xp* N
Cic. Parad. ult.

Ibid.

* N

it. And for his regarde, I see no house should order, neither more worthily directed, nor more constantly managed then his. Happie is that man, that hath so proportionably directed his estate, as his riches may discharge and supply the same, without care or encombrance to himselfe; and that neither their consultations or meetings may in any sorte interrupt other affaires or disturbe other occupations; which he followeth, more convenient, more quiet, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth ease and indigencie depend from every mans owne opinion; and wealth and riches no more then glorie or health, have either more preheminance or pleasure, then he who possesseth them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom an other thinkes content, but he is content indeede, that thinkes he is so himselfe: And onely in that, opinion giveth it selfe essence and veritie. Fortune doth vs neither good nor ill: She onely offereth vs the seede and matter of it, which our minde more powrefull then she, turneth and applieth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistress of condition, whether happie or unhappie. External accessions take both favor and color from the internal constitution: As garments do not warme vs by their heate, but by ours, which they are fit to cover, and nourish: he that with clothes should cover a cold body, should draw the very same service from them by cold. So is snow and yce kept in summer. Verely as vnto an idle and lazie body, studie is but a torment; abstinence from wine to a drunkard, is a vexation; frugalitie is a hearts sorrowe to the luxurious; and exercise molesteth an effeminate body: so is it of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irksome, nor so hard, but our basenes, and weakenesse maketh them such. To judge of high and great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice vnto them, which indeed is ours. A straight oare being vnder water, seemeth to be crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man dooth see the same. Well, of so many discourses, which diversly perswade men to contemne death, and patiently to endure paine, why shall we not finde some one to make for our purpose? And of so severall and many kindes of imaginations, that have perswaded the same vnto others, why doth not every man apply one vnto himselfe, that is most agreeing with his humor? If he cannot digest a strong and absterfiv drugge, for to remove his evill, let him at least take a lenitive pill to ease the same. *Opinio est quedam effeminata ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam eadem in voluptate: qua, quum liquefcimus fluimusque molitia, apud aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus. Totum in eo est, vt tibi imperes.* There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow, then it is in pleasure, whereby when we melt and runne over in daintie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stung of a Bee, but must rore and crie out. This is the totall summe of all, that you be maister of your selfe. Moreover, a man doth not escape from Philosophie, by making the sharpnes of paines, and humane weakenesse to prevaile so far beyond measure: For, she is compelled to cast hir selfe over againe vnto these invincible replications. If it be bad to live in necessitie, at least there is no necessitie, to live in necessitie. No man is long time ill, but by his owne fault. He that hath not the heart to endure neither life nor death, and that will neither resist nor runne away, what shall a man doe to him?

Cic. Tusc. quest. lib. 2.

The one and fortieth Chapter.

That a man should not communicate his glorie. 6

OF all the follies of the world, the most vniverfall, and of most men received, is the care of reputation, and studie of glorie, to which we are so wedded, that we neglect, and cast off riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuell and substantiall) to follow that vaine image, and idlie-simple voice, which hath neither body, nor hould-fast.

*La fama, ch' innaghisce à vn dolce suono
Gli superbi mortali, & par si bella,
E vn echo, vn sogno, anzi d'vn sogno vn'ombra,
Ch' ad ogni vento si dilegua & sgombra.*

Fame that enveagl's high aspiring men
 With hir harmonious sound, and seemes so faire,
 An Echo is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather
 Which flies and fleetes as any winde doth gather.

And of mens vnreasonable humors, it seemeth, that the best philosophers doe most slowly, and more vnwillingly cleare themselves of this, then of any other: it is the most peevishe, the most froward, and the most opiniative. *Quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat. Because it ceaseth not to tempt even those Mindes that profie best.* There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemne vanitie, but it is so deeply rooted in vs, as I wot not whether any man could ever clearly discharge himselfe of it. When you have alleaged all the reasons you can, and believed all to disavowe and reject her, she produceth contrary to your discourse, so intestine an inclination, that you have small hold against hir. For (as Cicero saith,) *Even those that oppugne hir, will nevertheless have the bookes they write against hir, to beare their names upon their fronts, endeavoring to make themselves glorious by despising of glory.* All other things fall within the compasse of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lives, if our friends stand in need of vs: But seldome shall wee see a man communicate his honour, share his reputation, and imparte his glory vnto others. *Catulus Lucretius* in the warres against the Cymbres, having done the utmost of his endeoures to stay his souldiers that fled before their enemies, put himselfe amongst the runne-awayes, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine, then flie from the enemy: This was a neglecting and leaving off his reputation, to conceale the shame and reproach of others. When *Charles* the fift passed into *Provence*, the yeare a thousand five hundred thirty seaven, some are of opinion, that *Anthony de Leva*, seeing the emperor his master resolutely obstinate to vndertake that voyage, & deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained nevertheless the contrary, and discourcelled him from it, to the end all the honour and glory of this counsell might be attributed vnto his Maister; and that it might be said, his good aduise and fore-sight to have beene such, that contrary to all mens opinions, he had atchieved so glorious an enterprize: Which was, to honor and magnifie him at his owne charges. The Thracian Ambassadors comforting *Archileonida* the Mother of *Brasidas*, for the death of hir son, and highly extolling and commending him, said, he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation, and particular praise, to assigne it to the publike state. *Do not tell me that* (quoth she,) *For I knowe the City of Sparta hath many greater, and more valiant Cittizens then he was.* At the battaile of *Crecy*, *Edward* the blacke Prince of *Wales*, being yet very yoong, had the leading of the vant-gard: The greatest and chiefe violence of the fight, was in his quarter: The Lordes and Captaines that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, sent vnto King *Edward* the Princes father, to come and help them: which when he heard, he enquired what plight his sonne was in, and how he did, and hearing that he was living, and on horse-backe; *I should* (quoth he) *offer him great wrong to goe now, and deprive him of the honor of this combates victory, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger soever there be in it, it shall wholly be his: and would neither goe nor send vnto him: knowing, that if he had gone, or sent, it would have beene faide, that without his ayde all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exploite would have beene ascribed vnto him.* *Semper enim quod postremum adiectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.* For, evermore that which was last added, seemes to have drawne on the whole matter. In *Rome* many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chiefe glorious deedes of *Scipio*, were partely due vnto *Lalius*, who notwithstanding did ever aduance the greatnesse, further the glorie, and second the renowne of *Scipio*, without any respect of his owne. And *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, to one who tolde him, that the common-wealth should subsist and continue still, forsomuch as he could commaund so well: *No*, said he, *it is rather, because the people know so well how to obey.* As the women that succeeded in the Peere-domes of *France*, had (notwithstanding their sexe) right to assist, and priuledge to pleade in cases appertaining to the iurisdiction of Peeres: So the Ecclesiasticall Peeres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warres, not onely with their friends, servants, and tenants, but in their owne person. The Bishop of *Beauvais*, being with *Philip Augustus* in the battell of *Bovines*, did very couragiously take part with him in the effect; but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruite and glorie of that bloody and violent exercise. He overcame, and forced

ced that day many of the enemies to yeelde, whom he delivered vnto the first gentleman he met withall, to rife; to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did; with William Earle of Salisbury, whom he delivered vnto the Lord Iohn of Nefle. With a semblable futtle of conscience, vnto this other. He desired to fell and strike downe a man; but not to hurt or wound him: and therefore never fought but with a great dubbe. A man in my time being accused to the King, to have laide violent handes vpon a Priest, denied it very stowly; forso much as hee had onely thumped and trampled him with his feete.

The two and fortieth Chapter.

Of the inequalitye that is betweene vs. 5

Plutarke saith in some place, *That he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diuersitie betweene man and man.* He speaketh of the sufficiencye of the minde, and of internall qualities. Verily I finde Epaminondas so farre (taking him as I suppose him) from some that I know (I meane capable of common sense) as I coulde finde in my heart to endear vpon Plutarke; and say there is more difference betweene such and such a man, than there is diuersitie betweene such a man, and such a beast.

Hem vir viro quid prestat!

Ter. Phor. act. 5
sc. 3.

O Sir, how much hath one,
An other man out-gone?

And that there be so many degrees of spirits, as there are steps betweene heaven and earth, and as innumerable. But concerning the estimation of men, it is marvell, that except our selves, no one thing is esteemed but for it's proper qualities. We commend a horse, because he is strong and nimble,

Iuven. sat. 8. 37.

—volucrum.

Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma

Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo,

We praise the horse, that beares most belles with flying,

And triumphs most in races, hoarse with crying,

and not for his furniture: a graie-hound for his swiftnesse, not for his choller: a hawke for hir wing, not for hir cranes or belles. Why doe we not likewise esteeme a man for that which is his owne? He hath a goodly traine of men following him, a stately pallace to dwell-in, so great credit amongst men; and so much rent comming-in: Alas, all that is about him, and not in him. No man will buy a pig in a poke. If you cheapen a horse, you will take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and a broade: or if he be covered, as in olde times they wont to present them vnto Princes to be solde, it is onely his least necessarie parts, least you should amuse your selfe to consider his colour, or breadth of his crupper; but chiefly to view his legges, his head, his eyes, and his foote, which are the most remarkable partes, and above all to be considered and required in him,

Hol. 1. sat. 2. 86

Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, opertos

Inspiciunt, ne si facies, ut saepe, decora

Molli sulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,

Quod pulchra clunes, breue quod caput, ardua cervix.

This is Kings manner, when they horses buy,

They see them bare, lest if, as oft we try,

Faire face have soft hooves, gull'd the buyer be,

They buttocks rounde, short head, high crest may see

When you will esteeme a man, why should you survey him all wrapt, and envellopped? He then but sheweth vs those partes, that are no whit his owne: and hideth those from vs, by which alone his worth is to be judged. It is the goodnes of the sworde you seeke-after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing,

if it want his lynning. A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an ancient saith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him talle? You account the height of his pattins: The Base is no part of his stature: Measure him without his stiltes. Let him lay aside his riches and externall honours, and shew himselfe in his shirt. Hath he a body proper to his functions, sound and cheerefull? What minde hath he? Is it faire, capable and vnpolluted, and happily provided with all his necessarie partes? Is she ritch of hir owne, or of others goodes? Hath fortune nothing of hers to suruay therein? If brode-waking she will looke vpon a naked sworde: If she care not which way hir life goeth from hir, whether by the mouth or by the throte; whether it be settled, equable, and contented: It is that a man must see and consider, and thereby judge the extreame differences that are betweene vs: Is he

Li. 2. sat. 7. 83

— *sapiens, sibi que imperiosus,*
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per laue morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna?
 A wise man, of himselfe commaunder high,
 Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,
 Resolu'd to affront desires, honors to skorne,
 All in himselfe, close, round, and neatly-borne,
 As nothing outward on his smooth can stay,
 Gainst whom still fortune makes a lame assay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond kingdomes and principalities: Himselfe is a kingdome vnto himselfe.

Plau. Trin. act.
2. scen. 2

Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi.
 Trust me, who beares a wise-mans name,
 His fortune to himselfe may frame.

What is there else for him to wish-for?

Lucr. li. 2. 16

— *nonne videmus*
Nul aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut quod
Corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur,
Incundo sensu cura semotus metuque?
 See we not nature nothing else doth barke
 Vnto hir selfe, but he, whose bodies barke
 Is free from paines-touch, should his minde enjoy,
 Remou'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

Compare the vulgar troupes of our men vnto him, stupide, base, servile, wavering, and continually floting on the tempestuous Ocean of diuers passions, which tosse and retosse the same, wholly depending of others: There is more difference, then is betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is the blindnes of our custome, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a Cottager & a King, a noble and a handie-crafts-man, a magistrate and a private man, a ritch man and a poore; an extreame disparitie doth immediatly present it selfe vnto our eyes, which, as a man may say, differ in nothing, but in their clothes. In *Thrace*, the King was after a pleasant manner distinguished from his people, and which was much endeared: He had a religion apart: a God severall vnto himselfe, whom his subjects might no waies adore: It was *Mercurie*: And he disdained their Gods, which were *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*; yet are they but pictures, which make no essentiall dissemblance. For, as enterlude-plaiers, you shall now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperour, or a Duke, but they are no sooner of the stage, but they are base raskals, vagabond abjects, and porterly-hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition: even so the Emperour, whose glorious pomp doth so dazle you in publike:

Lucr. li. 4. 1137

Scilicet & grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
Auro includuntur, teriturque Thalassina vestis
Affidue, & Veneris sudorem exercita potat,
 Great emerald's with their graspe-greene-light in gold

Are

Are clos'd, nor long can marriage-linnen holde,
But worne with vse and heate
of venery drink's the beate. *In par*

View him behinde the curtaine, and you see but an ordinarie man, and peradventure more vile, and more feelie, then the least of his subjects. *Ille beatus in trorsum est; istius bracteata felicitas est. One is inwardly happy: an others felicitie is placed and guilt-over.* Cowardise, irresolution, ambition, spight, anger, and envie, move and worke in him as in another :

Sen. epist. 115

*Non enim gaze, neque consularis
Summovet licet, miseros tumultus
Mentis & curas laqueata circum*

Ho. l. 2. ed. 18. 9

— *Tecta volantes :*

Nor treasures, nor Maires officers remove
The miserable tumult's of the mind.
Or cares that lie about, or flie above
Their high-roof't houses with huge beams combinde.

And feare, and care, and suspect, haunt and follow him, even in the midst of his armed troupes.

*Reveraque metus hominum, curaque sequaces,
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audacterque inter reges, verumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.
Indeeds mens still-attending cares and feare,
Nor armor's clashing, nor fierce weapons feare,
With Kings converse they boldly, and kings peeres,
Fearing no lightning that from golde appeeres.*

Lucr. l. 2. 46.

Doth the ague, the megrim, or the gowt spare him more then vs ? When age shall once seize on his shoulders, can then the tall yeomen of his garde discharge him of-it ? When the terror of ruthles-balefull death shall assaile him, can he be comforted by the assistance of the gentlemen of his chamber ? If he chance to be jealous or capricious, will our lowting-curtzies, or putting-off of hattes, bring him in tune againe ? His bedstead enchased all with gold and pearles hath no vertue to allay the pinching pangues of the cholike.

*Nec calide citius decedunt corpore febres,
Textilibus si in picturis ostraque rubenti
Iacteris, quam si plebeia in veste cubandum est.
Feavers no sooner from thy body flie
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie
Tossing, then if thou rest
On coverlets home-drest.*

Id. 16. 34.

The flatterers of *Alexander* the great, made him beleeve, that he was the sonne of *Jupiter*, but being one day sore-hurt, and seeing the blood gush out of his woundes : And what thinke you of this ? (Said he vnto them) *Is not this blood of a lively-red hew, and meere humane ?* Me thinks, it is not of that temper, which *Homer* faineth to trill from the gods woundes. *Hermodorus* the Poet had made certaine verses in honor of *Antigonus*, in which he called him the sonne of *Phæbus*; to whom he replyed ; *My friend, He that emptieth my close-stoole knoweth well, there is no such matter.* He is but a man at all assaies : And if of himselfe he be a man ill borne, the Empire of the whole world cannot restore him.

— *puelle*
*Hunc raptant, quidquid calcaverit, hic rosa fiat.
Wenches must ravish him, what ever he
Shall treade vpon, eftsfoones a rose must be.*

Pers. sat. 2. 37.

What of that ? If he be of a grosse, stupide, and senseles mind; voluptuousnes and good fortune it selfe, are not perceived without vigor, wit, and livelines.

*Hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus qui ea possidet,
Qui uti sit, ei bona, illi qui non vitur recte, mala.
These things are such, as the possessors minde,
Good, if well vs'd ; if ill, them ill we finde.*

*Ter. Heaut. act.
I. scen. 2. 21.*

Whatsoever

Whatsoever the goods of fortune are, a man must have a proper sense to favour them: It is the enjoying, and not the possessing of them, that makes vs happie.

Hor. l. i. epi. 2. 47

*Non domus & fundus, non aris aceruus & auri,
Agroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas, valeat possessor oportet,
Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit, aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus aut res,
Vt lippum picta tabula, fomenta podagram.
Not house and land, and heapes of coine and gold
Rid agues, which their sicke Lordes body hold,
Or cares from minde : th'owner must be in health,
That well doth thinke to vse his hoarded wealth.
Him that desires or feares, house, goods, delight,
As fomentes doe the gout, pictures fore-sight.
Be not caske cleane, all that you powre
Into the caske, will straight be sowre.*

He is a foole, his taste is wallowish and distracted, he enjoyeth it no more, then one that hath a great colde, dooth the sweetenesse of Greeke wine, or a horse the riches of a costly-faire furniture, wherewith he is trapped. Even as Plato saith, *That health, beautie, strength, riches, and all things else he calleth good, are equally as ill to the vniust, as good to the iust; and the euill contrariwise.* And then, where the body and the soule are in ill plight, what neede these externall commodities? Seeing the least pricke of a needle, and passion of the minde is able to deprive vs of the pleasure of the worlds Monarchie. The first fit of an ague, or the first giurd that the gowt gives him, what auails his goodly titles of Majestie?

Tibull. l. i. El. 2
71.

*Totus & argento constatus, totus & auro.
All made of silver fine,
All gold pure from the mine.*

doth he not forthwith loose the remembrance of his pallaces and states? If he be angry or vexed, can his principallitie keepe him from blushing, from growing pale, from fretting, or from gnashing his teeth? Now if he be a man of worth, and well-borne, his royaltie, and his glorious titles wil adde but little vnto his good fortune.

Hor. lib. i. epi. 7.
12. 5.

*Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
Diuitie poterunt regales addere maius.
If it be well with belly, feete, and sides,
A Kings estate no greater good provides.*

He seeth they are but illusions, and vaine deceits. Hee may happily be of King *Seleucus* his advise : *That he who fore-knew the weight of a Scepter, should he finde it lying on the ground, he would not daigne to take it up.* This he said, by reason of the weightie, irksome and painefull charges, that are incident vnto a good King. Truly, it is no small matter to governe others, since so many crosses and difficulties offer themselves, if we will governe our selves well. Touching commaunding of others, which in shew seemeth to be so sweete, considering the imbecillitie of mans judgement, and the difficultie of choise in new and doubtfull things. I am confidently of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plaufible to follow, then to guide : and that it is a great settling of the minde, to be tied but to one beaten-path, and to answere but for himselfe.

Lucr. li. 5. 1131

*Vt satius multo iam sit, parere quietum,
Quam regere imperio res velle.
Much better t'is, in quiet to obey,
Then to desire with Kings-power all to sway.*

Seeing *Cirius* saide, *That it belongs not to a man to command, that is not of more worth, then those whom he commandeth.* But King *Hieron* in *Xenophon* addeth moreover, *That in truely-enioying of carnall sensualities, they are of much worse condition, then private men, forasmuch as ease and facilitie, depriveth them of that sowre-sweete tickling, which we finde in them.*

Ovid. am. l. 2
el. 19. 25.

*Pinguis amor nimiumque potens, in tœdia nobis
Vertitur, & stomacho dulcis ut escæ nocet.*

Fat over powerfull love doth loathsome grow,
As fullsome sweete-meates stomakes overthrow.

Thinke-we, that high-minded men take great pleasure in musicke? The satietie thereof makes it rather tedious vnto them. Feasts, banquets, revells, dancings, maskes and turneys, rejoyce them that but seldome see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of which becommeth cloyesome and vnpleasing to those that dayly see, and ordinarily have them: Nor doe Ladies tickle those, that at pleasure and without suspect may be glutted with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirstie, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enterludes and commedies rejoyce and make-vs merry, but to players they are tedious and tastelesse. Which to prove, we see, it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take vpon them a base and popular kinde of life.

*Plerumque grata principibus vices,
Mundaque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cæna sine aulais & ostro,
Solicitam explicuere frontem.*

Hor. l. 3. od. 29
13.

Princes doe commonly like enterchange,
And cleanly meales where poore-men poorly house,
Without all tapistry or carpets strange,
Vnwrinkled have their care-knit, thought-bent browes.

Nothing doth sooner breede a distaste or satietie, then plentie. What longing-lust would not be alaide, to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand Turke in his Seraille? And what a desire and shew of hawking had he reserved to himselfe from his ancestors, that never went abroad without seaven thousand falkners at least? Besides which, I thinke, the luster of greatnesse, brings no small incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures: They lie too open, and are too much in sight. And I wot not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault: For, what in vs is indiscretion, the people judgeth to be tyranny, contempt, and disdain of the lawes in them: And besides the readie inclination vnto vice, it seemeth they also adde vnto-it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostrate publike observances vnder their feete. Verily Plato in his Gorgias, defineth him to be a tyrant, that in a Cittie hath leave and power to doe what ever hee list. And therefore often, the shew and publication of their vice hurteth more then the sinne it selfe. Every man feareth to be spied and controlled; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: All the people esteeming to have right and interest to judge of them. And we see that blemishes grow either lesser or bigger, according to the eminence, and light of the place, where they are set, and that a mole or a wart in ones forehead is more apparently perceived, then a scarre in another place. And that is the reason why Poets faune Iupiters loves to have beene effected vnder other countenances, then his owne; And of so many amorous-shifts, and love-practises, they impute to him, there is but one (as farre as I remember) where he is to be seene in his greatnesse and majestie. But returne we to Hieron: he also relateth, how many incommodities he findeth in his royaltie, being so barred, that hee cannot at his libertie travell or goe whither he pleaseth, being as it were a prisoner within the limites of his country; and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemd-in with an importunate and tedious multitude. Truly, to see our Princes all-alone, sitting at their meate, beleagred-round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing-beholders, vnknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied then envied them. King Alphonfus was wont to say, that burthen-bearing asses were in that, in farre better condition then Kings; for, their masters suffer them to feede at their ease, whereas Kings can not obtaine that priviledge of their servants. And it could never fall into my minde, that it might be any speciall commoditie to the life of a man of vnderstanding, to have a score of finde-faults, pickethanks, and controlers about his close-stoole; nor that the service of a man, that hath a thousand pound rent a yeare, or that hath taken Cales, or defended Sienna, is more commodious or acceptable to him, then that of a sufficient, and well-experienced groome. Prince-like advantages, are in a manner but imaginary preheminences. Every degree of fortune, hath some image of Principalitie. Cesar termeth all the Lordes, which in his time had justice in France, to be Kinglets, or petite-kings. And truly, except the name of Sire, we goe very farre with our Kings. Lookē but in the Provinces remote and farre from the court:

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court : As for example, in *Brittanie*, the attending traine, the flocking subjects, the number of officers, the many affaires, the diligent service, the obsequious ceremonies of a Lord, that liveth retired, and in his owne house, brought-up amongst his owne servants, tenants, and followers : And note also the high pitch of his imaginations, and humours, there is no greater royaltie can be seene : He heareth no more talke of his maister, then of the *Persian King*, and happily but once a yeare : And knowes but some farre-fetcht, and old kinred or pedigree, which his Secretary findes or keepes vpon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our lawes are very free, and the burthen of soveraigntie, doth scarcely concerne a gentleman of *France* twice in his whole life. Essentiall and effectuell subjection amongst vs doth not respect any, but such as allure themselves vnto-it, and that affect to honour, and love to enrich themselves by such service : For he that can shrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without sutes in lawe, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domesticall encombrances, is as free as the Duke of *Venice*. *Pancos servitus, plures servitium tenent. Service holds few, but many hold service.* But above all things *Hieron* seemeth to complaine, that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, reciprocal societie, and familiar conversation, wherein consisteth the most perfect and sweetest fruite of humane life. For, what vndoubted testimonie of affection and good will, can I expect or exact from him, that will-he or nill-he, oweth me all he hath, all he can? Can I make accompt of his humble speech, of his low-lowing curtzie, or of his courteous offers, since it lieth not in his power to refuse them me? The honour we receive of those which feare and stand in awe of vs, is no true honour. Such respects are rather due to royaltie, to majestie, then to me.

Senec. epist. 22

Sen. Thyest. act.
2. scen. I.

— *maximum hoc regni bonum est,
Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
Quam ferre, tam laudare.*

This is chiefe good of Princes dominations,
Subjects are forc't their sov'raignes acts and fashions
To beare with patience, passe with commendations.

w^t kings should
think of y^e service
done to them

Doe I not see, that both the badde and the good King are served alike? That hee who is hated, and he that is beloved are both courted alike? And the one as much fawned vpon as the other? My predecessor was served with the same apparances, and waited vpon with the like ceremonies, and so shall my successor be. If my subjects offend mee not, it is no testimony of any good affection. Wherefore shall I take-it in that sense, sithence they cannot, if they would? No man foloweth me for any friendship that is betweene him and me: inasmuch as no firme friendship can be contracted, where is so small relation, so slender correspondencie, & such disparity. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequality, and distant disproportion. They follow for countenance, and of custome, or rather my fortune then my-selfe: hoping thereby to encrease theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe vnto me, is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their liberty being everie where brided, and checked by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me, but inscrutable hearts, hollow mindes, fained lookes, dissembled speeches, and counterfet actions. His Courtiers one day commended *Julian* the Emperour for ministring of right, and doing of justice; *I should easily grow proud (said he) for these praises, if they came from such, as durst eyther accuse or discommend my contrary actions, should I commit any.* Al the true commodities that Princes have, are common vnto them with men of meane fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia. They have no other sleep, nor no other appetite then ours. Their Steele is of no better temper, then that wherewith wee arme our selves. Their crowne, their diademe can neither hide them from the Sun, nor shelter them from the raine. *Dioclesian* that wore one so much revered, and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to with-draw himselfe vnto the pleasure of a private life; but a while after, the vrgent necessitie of publike affaires requiring his presence, and that he should returne to re-assume his charge againe, he answered those that solicited him vnto it; you would never vndertake to perswade me to that, had you but seene the goodly rankes of trees, which my-selfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melons, I have set in my garden. According to *Anacharsis* his opinion, *The happiest estate of a well-ordered common wealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedency should be measured, and preferments*

suted

futed according to vertue and desert, and the contrary according to vice. At what time King Pirrhus vndertook to passe into Italy, Cyneas his wife and trusty counsellor, going about to make him perceiue the vanity of his ambition, one day bespake him thus. *My good Sir, (saide he) To what end do you prepare for so great an enterprise? He answered sodainly, To make my self lord of Italie. That done, what will you doe then? (replied Cyneas) I will then passe (saide Pirrhus) into Gaule, and then into Spayne: And what afterwards? I wil then invade Affrike, and subdue the same, and at last, when I shall haue brought all the world vnder my subiection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease. Now, for Gods sake Sir, (replied Cyneas) Tell me, what hinders you, that you be not now, if so you please, in that estate? Wherefore doe you not now place your selfe, where you meane to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpose betweene both?*

Nimirum quia non bene norat quæ esset habendi

Finis, & omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.

Lucr. l. 5. 14. 35

The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end

Of having, nor how farre true pleasure should extend.

^{con:} I will conclude and shut vp this treatise with an ancient verse, which I singularly applaud, and deeme fit to this purpose.

Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam.

Ev'ry mans manners and his mind,

His fortune to him frame and find.

*Cic. Parad. 5.
cor. Nep.*

The three and fortieth Chapter.

Of sumptuarie Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of expences.

71

THE maner wherewith our Lawes assay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table-cheare and apparrell, seemeth contrary to it's end. The best course were to beget in men a contempt of gold and silk-wearing, as of vaine and vnprofitable things, whereas we encrease their credite and price: A most indirect course to withdraw men from them. As for example, to let none but Princes eate dainties, or weare velvets, and clothes of tissew, and interditt the people to do-it, what is-it but to give reputation vnto those things, and to encrease their longing to vse them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honour; They have many other besides: Such excesse is more excusable in other men, then in Princes. We may, by the examples of diuers Nations, learne sundry better fashions to distinguish our selves and our degrees (which truely I esteeme requisite in an estate,) without nourishing to that purpose, this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custome in these indifferent things doth easily encroch and sodainly establish the footing of hir authority. We had scarce worne cloth one whole yeere at the Court, what time we mourned for our King Henry the second, but certainly in everie mans opinion, all maner of silkes were alreadie become so vile and abject, that was any man seene to weare them, he was presently judged to be some countrie-fellow, or mechanicall man. They were left onely for chyrurgians and Physitians. And albeit most men were apparreled a-like, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins, and greasie canvase doublets creepe into fashion and credite amongst our souldiers, if they lie in the field? And the garishnesse, neatenesse, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scorne? Let Kings first beginne to leave these superfluous expences, we shall all follow; and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of parliament, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrary, as thus. That no man or woman, of what qualitie soever, shall, vpon paine of great forfeitures, weare any maner of silke, of skarlet, or any gold-smiths worke, except only Enterlude-players, Harlots, and Curtizans. With such an invention did *Zelevorus* whilome correct the corrupted maners of the *Locrines*. His ordinances were such. Be it enacted, that no woman of free condition, shall have

have any more then one maide-servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken: And further, that she may not goe out of the City by night, nor weare any jewels of gold, or precious stones about hir, nor any gowne beset with gold-smiths work or imbroidery, except she be a publike. professed whore: and moreover, that except panders and bawdes, it shall not be lawfull for any man to weare any gold-rings on his fingers, nor any rich garments, as are such of cloth made in the Cittie of *Miletum*. So did he by these reprochfull exceptions ingeniously drive his cittizens from vaine superfluities, and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honor and ambition to allure men vnto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to redresse all these externall reformations. Their inclination serveth them as a law. *Quicquid principes faciunt, precipere videntur.* Whatsoever Princes doe, that, they seeme to commaund. The rest of France takes the model of the court, as a rule vnto it selfe to follow. Let courtiers first beginne to leave-off and loathe these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret partes; the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which make vs seeme so farre from what we are, and which are so comberfome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Befolas manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremony heretofore onely due vnto Princes;) And for a gentleman to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all vnbraced, al vntrust, as if hee came from his close-stoole: And that, against our forefathers maner, and the particular libertie of our French nobilitie, we should stand bare-headed, aloofe-off from them, wheresoever they be, and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings, and petty-petty-kinglets have wee now adayes: And so of other like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone be seene to vanish and be left. Although but superficial faultes, yet are they of evill prefages. And we are warned, that the foundation or maine summers of our houses faile and shrinke, when we see the quarters bend, or walles to breake. *Plato* in his lawes, thinkes there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Cittie, then to suffer youth, to have the reines of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires, in their gestures, dances, exercises, and songs, from one forme to an other: And to remove their judgement, now to this, now to that place; following new-fangled devises, and regarding their inventors: By which, old customes are corrupted, and ancient institutions despised. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea even the alteration of seasons, of windes, of livings, and of humours. And no lawes are in perfect credite, but those to which God hath given some ancient continuance: So that no man know their of-spring, nor that ever they were other then they are.

The foure and fortieth Chapter.

XP

Of sleeping. 4

Reason doth appoint-vs ever to walke in one path, but not alwayes to keepe one pace: And that a wise-man should not permit humane passions to stray from the right carrier; hee may (without prejudice vnto his dutie) also leave-it vnto them eitherto hasten or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe as an immoveable and impassible *Colossus*. Were vertue herselfe corporeall and incarnate, I think her pulse would beate and worke stronger, marching to an assault, then going to dinner: For, it is necessarie that she heate and move herselfe. I have therefore mark't-it as a rare thing, to see great personages sometimes, even in their weightiest enterprises, and most important affaires, hold themselves so resolutely-assured in their state, that they doe not so much as breake their sleepe for them. *Alexander* the great, on the day appointed for that furious-bloodie battle against *Darius*, slept so soundly and so long that morning, that *Parmenion* was faine to enter his chamber, and approaching neere vnto his bed, twice or thrice to call him by his name, to awaken him, the houre of the battle being at hand, and vrging him. *Otho* the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe; the very same night, after he had given order for his domesticall affaires, shared his monie

monie amongst his servants, and whetted the edge of a sword, wherewith he intended to wound himselfe, expecting no other thing, but to know whether all his friendes were gone to rest, fell into so sound a sleepe, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snorte in another roome. This Emperours death hath many partes semblable vnto that of great *Cato*, and namely this: For, *Cato* being prepared to defeat himselfe, whilst hee expected to heare newes, whether the Senators, whom he caused to retire, were lanced out from the haven of *Vtica*, fell so fast asleepe, that he was heard to snorte into the next chamber: And he whom he had sent toward the porte, having awaked him, to tell him, the storme was so rough, that the Senators could not conveniently put out to sea, he sent another, and lying downe anew, fell asleepe againe, vntill the last messenger assured him, they were gone. Wee may also compare him vnto *Alexander*, in that great and dangerous storme, which threatened him, by the sedition of *Metellus* the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of *Pompey* re-appeale into the Cittie; together with his armie, at what time the emotion of *Catiline* was on foote: against which decree, onely *Cato* did insift, and to that purpose had *Metellus* and he had many injurious speeches, and menaced one another in the Senate-house: And it was the next day, they were like to come to the execution in the market-place, where *Metellus*, besides the favour of the common people, and of *Cesar*, conspiring and plotting for the advancement of *Pompey*, should come; accompanied with a multitude of strange and ferraime slaves and sencers, to doe their vtmost: And *Cato* strengthened with his onely constancie, and with an vnmated resolve: So that his kinsmen, his familiars, and many honest men tooke great care, and were in heaue anxietie and pensivenesse for him: of which many never left him all night, but sate vp together, without rest, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him; yea his wife and sisters did nought but weep & wayle, and for his sake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every body, and blamed them, for their demissenesse: And after he had supped, (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept very soundly vntill the next morning, that one of his copartners in the Tribune-ship, came to call him, to goe to the skirmish. The knowledge we have of this mans vnmated-haughtie heart, by the rest of his life, may make vs judge with all securitie, that it onely proceeded from a spirit, so farre elevated above such accidents, that hee dained not so much as to trouble his minde with them, no more then with ordinary chances. In the sea-fight, which *Augustus* gained against *Sexsus Pompeius* in *Sicilie*, even at the instant hee should goe to fight, was surprised with so heauy a sleepe, that his friends were compelled to awaken him, to give the signall of the battell; which afterward gave occasion vnto *Marcus Antonius*, to charge him with this imputation, that he had not dared with open eyes to survey the ordinance of his armie, and that his heart would not suffice him, to present himselfe vnto his souldiers, vntill such time that *Agrippa* brought him newes of the victory he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning yong *Marius*, who committed a greater error (for on the day of his last battel against *Sylla*, after he had marshalled his armie, and given the word or signall of the battell, hee lay downe in the shadow vnder a tree, a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleepe, that hee could hardly be awaked with the rowt and flight of his men, having seene no parte of the fight) they say, it was because he was so exceedingly aggravated with travell, and over-tired with wearinesse, and want of sleepe, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Phisitions may consider, whether sleepe be so necessarie, that our life must needs depend of it: For we finde that *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, prisoner at *Rome*, being kept from sleepe, was made to die; but *Plinie* aleadgeth, that some have lived a long time without any sleepe at all. And *Herodotus* reporteth, There are Nations, where men sleepe and wake by halfe yeares. And those that write the life of *Epimenides* the wise, affirme, that he slept the continuall space of seaven and fiftie yeares.

The five and fortieth Chapter.

Of the battell of Dreux.

3

There happened divers rare accidents, and remarkable chances in our battell of *Dreux*: but those who doe not greatly favour the reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, doe bouldly aledge, that he cannot be excused, to have made a stand, and temporised with the forces he commaunded, whilst the Lord Constable of *France*, Generall of the Armie, was engaged and suppressed with the enemies Artillerie, and that it had beene better for him, to hazard himselfe, to charge the enemy flankwise, then by expecting any advantage, to have him come behinde him, to suffer so reprochfull an overthrow, and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnessed, hee that shall without passion debate the matter, shall easily (in my conceite) confesse, that the ayme and drift, not onely of a Captaine, but of every particular Souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victorie in great: And that no particular occurrences, of what consequence soever, or what interest may depend on them, should never divert him from that point. *Philopamen* in an encounter with *Machanidas*, having sent before, a strong troupe of Archers, and good marke men, to beginne the skirmish: and the enemy, after he had put them to route and dis-ranked them, ammusung himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victorie alongst the maine battell, where *Philopamen* was, although his Souldiers were much moved and offended to see their fellowes put to the worst, he could not be induced to bouge from his place, nor make head against his enemy, to succour his men; but rather, having suffered them to bee defeated, and cutte in pieces before his face, beganne then to charge his enemies in the battalion of their Infanterie, when he perceived them forsaken of their horsemen: And albeit they were *Lacedemonians*, soeasmuch as he charged them, at what time (supposing to have gained the day) they beganne to disorder themselves, hee easily overcame them; which done, hee pursued *Machanidas*. This case, is cousin-german vnto that of the Duke of *Guise*. In that sharpe-bloodie battell of *Agessilaus* against the *Boetians*, which *Xenophon* (who was there present) saith, *To have beene the whottest and rudest, that ever he had seene*: *Agessilaus* refused the advantage, which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the *Boetians* passe, and to charge them behinde, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the same, esteeming that it were rather skill then valor, and to showe his prowes, and matchles-haughtie courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their forces: But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe fore-hurt, and in the end compelled to leave his enterprise, and embrace the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causing his men to open themselves, to give passage vnto that torrent of the *Boetians*; who when they were past-through, perceiving them to march in disaray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursued them, and charged them flank-wise. All which notwithstanding, he could never put to route, or force them run-away, for they, orderly, and faire and softly made their retreat, ever showing their face, vntill such time as they got safely into their houldes and trenches.

The sixe and fortieth Chapter.

Of Names. 7

What diversitie soever there-be in hearbs, all are shuffled-vp together vnder the name of a sallade. Even so, vpon the consideration of names, I wil here huddle-vp a galiemaffric of divers articles. Every severall nation hath some names, which, I wot not how are

are sometimes taken in ill part, as with vs *Iacke, Hodge, Tom, Will, But, Benet*, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes, there are certaine names fatally affected; as *Pto-
lomeus* with the *Egyptians*, *Henries* in *England*, *Charles* in *France*, *Baldwins* in *Flanders*, and
Williams in our ancient *Aquitanie*, whence some say came the name of *Guienne*; which is but
a colde invention: As if in *Plato* himselfe there were not some as harsh and ill-sounding.
Item, it is an idle matter, yet neverthelesse by reason of the strangenes, worthie the memorie,
and recorded by an oculare witnes, that *Henrie Duke of Normandie*, sonne to *Henrie King
of England*, making a great feast in *France*, the assemblie of the Nobilitie was so great, that for
pastimes sake, being, by the resemblance of their names, divided into severall companies: in
the first were found a hundred and ten Knights sitting at one table, and all called *Williams*;
besides private Gentlemen and servants. It is as pleasant to distribute the tables by the
names of the assistants, as it was vnto *Geta* the Emperor, who would have all his messes or
dishes served in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names; As for ex-
ample, those that beganne with *P.* as pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, pancakes, &c.
were all served in together; and so of all the rest. Item, it is a common saying, *That it is good
to have a good name*: As much to say, good credit, or good reputation. Yet verely it is very
commodious to have a wel-sounding and smoothe name, and which is easie to be pronoun-
ced, and facile to be remembred: For, Kings, Princes, Lords, and magistrates knowe and
remember vs the better by them, and will not so soone forget vs. Marke but of those that
serve and follow vs, whether we doe not more ordinarily commaund, and sooner employ
such, whose names come readier to our tongue, or memorie. I have seene our King *Henrie
the second*, who could never hit on the right name of a Gentleman of *Gascoignes*; and did
ever call a Ladie waiting on the Queene, by the generall surname of hir house, because that
of hir father was so harsh, and hard to be remembred. And *Socrates* saith, *it ought to be a fa-
thers speciall care, to give his children good and easie-sounding names*. Item, it is reported, that
the foundation of our Ladie the great at *Poitiers* had this beginning; A licentious yong
man having his dwelling-house where the church now standeth, had one night gotten a
wench to lie with him, who so soone as she came to bed, he demaunded hir name, who an-
swered, *Marie*: The yong man hearing that name, was sodainly so stricken with a motive
of religion, and an awefull respect vnto that sacred name, of the virgin *Marie*, the blessed
mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not only presently put hir away from him,
but reformed all the remainder of his succeeding life: And that in consideration of this mi-
racle, there was first erected a chappell in the place where this yong mans house stood,
consecrated vnto that holy name, and afterward the faire great church, which yet continu-
eth. This vocale and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, stricke right vnto his soule.
This other following, of the same kind, insinuated it selfe by the corporall senses. *Pithagoras*
being in companie with two yong men, whom he heard complot and consult (being some-
what heated with feasting and drinking) to goe and ravish a chaste house, commaunded im-
mediately the minstrels to change their tunes; and so by a solemne, grave, severe, and spon-
daicall kinde of musike, did sweetely inchaunt, allay, and in-trance their rash-violent, and law-
lesse lust. Item, shal not succeeding posteritie say, that our moderne reformation hath been
exact and delicate, to have not onely oppugned and resisted errors and vices, and filled the
world with devotion, humilitie, obedience, peace, and every other kinde of vertue, but even
to have combated their ancient names of baptisme, *Charles, Lewes, Francis*, to people the
world with *Mathusalem, Ezechiel, Malachie*, much better feeling of a lively faith? A Gentle-
man my neighbor, esteeming the commodities of ancient times in regarde of our daies, forgot
not to alledge the fiercenes and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times,
as *Don Grumedan, Quedragan, and Agesilan*: And that, but to heare them sounded, a man
might easily perceive, they had beene other manner of men, then *Peter, Guillot, or Michell*.
Item, I commend, and am much beholding to *Iames Amiot*, in the course of a French ora-
tion of his to have still kept the full ancient Latin names, without disguising or changing
them, to give them a new French cadence. At the first they seemed somewhat harsh vnto
the Reader; but now, by reason of the credit, which his *Plutarke* hath deservedly gotten a-
mongst vs, custom hath removed all strangenes from vs. I have often wished that those
who write histories in Latin, would leave vs our names whole, and such as they are: For,
altering *Vaudemont*, to *Vallemontanus*, and metamorphosing them, by suting them to the

Williams 100

xp

Mary 5

xp

n

*note y our
English plusack
is translated
out of Amiot's
copy*

French names
confused

Græcian or Latin tongue, we know not what to make of them, and are often at a non-plus. To conclude my discourse; It is an ill custome, and of exceeding bad consequence in our countrie of *France*, to call every man by the name of his Towne, Mannor, Hamlet or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring sur-names out of knowledge. A cadet or yonger-brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath beene knowne and honored, cannot well forsake and leave the same tenne yeares after his death; His Lordship commeth vnto a stranger, who doth the like: Ghesse then where we are, and how we shall doe to come to the perfect knowledge of these men. We neede not goe farre for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many sur-names, and so many severall titles have so encombred vs, that the originall of the stocke is vtterly lost. There is so much libertie in these mutations, that even in my time, I have seene no man nor woman advanced by fortune vnto some extraordinary preferment, that hath not immediatly had adjoynd vnto him or hir Genealogicall titles, new and vnknowne to their fathers, and that hath not beene engrafted into some noble stocke or familie. And as good lucke serveth, the basest vpstart, and most obscure houses are most apt vnto adulteration, and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have we in *France*, which according to their account, and blazoning of their gentrie are of the royall blood or race? I beleve more then others. Was it not pretilie said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great companie banded together about a quarell which a Gentleman had with another, who in very truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances about the common sorte of Nobilitie; vpon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall-himselfe vnto him, alledged, some one of-spring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his armes, other some an old far-fetched pedigree, and the meanest of them to be the great grand-childe of some King beyond the Seas. When they came all to dinner, this man whom hitherto they had all followed, in lieu of taking his wonted place, making low-lowting reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the companie to hould him excused, that through rash-vnadvisednes he had thitherto lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enformed of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not duly belong vnto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had acted his play, he began to raile vpon them with a thousand injuries; saying thus vnto them: For the love of God content your selves, with what your forefathers have bin contented, and with the state whereto God hath called vs: we have sufficient if wee can maintaine it well, let vs not disparage the fortune and condition of our predecessors; and reject-we these fond imaginations, which can not faile any man, whatsoever hee be, that is so impudent as to aleadge them. Crests, Armes, and Coates have no more certaintie then surnames. I beare Azure semé of trefloies, a Lions Paw in face, Or, armed Gules. What priviledge hath this Coate, that it should for ever continue particularly to my house? A sonne in lawe will transerre the same into an other familie: Some fillic-vpstart purchaser of armes will make it his chiefe coate. There is nothing wherein meete so many alterations and so much confusion.

But this consideration draweth mee perforce vnto an other field. Let vs somewhat narrowly search-into, and for Gods sake consider, on what foundation we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what doe we establish this transitorie renowne, which with so great minde-possessing toyle, and industrie we seeke and gape-after? In fine, it is *Peter* or *William*, that beareth the same (marke-it well reader) and to whom it belongeth. Is not hope a couragious facultie, which in a mortall subject, and in a moment, seekes to vsurp infinitie, and immensitie, and to replenish his maisters indigence with the possession of all things he can imagine or desire, before it would? Nature hath given vs a pleasant ioy to play withal in that. Is it *Peter* or *William*. And what is that but a word for all mouths? or three or foure dashes of a pen, first so easie to be varied, as I would willingly aske those, whom the honor of so many victories concerneth, or whether *Guesquin*, or *Glesquin*, or *Gueaquin*? yet were there more apparance here, then in *Lucian* that said, did sue T. for,

— non levia aut ludicra petuntur

Premia:

No light prize, no reward in jest
Is hunted-after as the best.

Virg. Æn. lib.
12. 764.

The

The wager goeth deepe: The question is, which letter must be paide with so many sieges, battels, hurts, emprisonments, and services done vnto the crowne of *France* by hir ever-renowned Countstale. *Nicholas Denisot* hath had no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, there-out to frame the Earle of *Alfinois*, whom he hath honored & presented with the glory of his Poessie & Painting. And *Suetonius* the Historian hath loved but the sense of his own, & having taken away *Lenis*, which was his fathers surname, hath left *Tranquillus* successor of his compositions reputation. Who would believe, Captaine *Bayard* had no honor, but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of *Peter Terrail*? And that *Antonio Escalin* (even before his eyes) suffered Captaine *Poulin*, and the Baron of *La Garde*, to steale so many Navigations, voyages and attempts, both by sea and land from him? Secondarily they are dashes, and trickes of the penne common vnto a thousand men. How many are there in all races or families both of one name and surname? And how many in diuers families, races, ages, and countries? History hath known three *Socrates*, five *Platoes*, eight *Aristotles*, seauen *Xenophons*, twenty *Demetrius*, twenty *Theodores*: besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth my horse boy to call himselfe *Pompey* the Great? But after all, what meanes, what deuises, are there that annex vnto my horse-keeper deceased, or to that other who had his head cut-off in *Egypt*, or that joyne vnto them this glorified, and farre-renowned worde, and these penne-dashes, so much honored, that they may thereby advantage themselves?

Lenis alias Tranquillus

Id cinerem & manes credis curare sepultos?

Lib. 4. 34.

Thinke you, ghost's buried, ashes dead,

Care much how we alive are sped?

What feeling motion of revenge have the two companions in chiefe valor amongst men; *Epaminondas* of that glorious verse, which so many ages since is so common in our mouthes for him?

Consilijs nostris laus est attrita Laconum.

Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 5

By our complots the haught-renowne
Of Spartan Gallants was brought downe.

And *Affricanus* of that other:

A sole exoriente, supra Meotis paludes

Ibid.

Nemo est, qui factis me equiparare queat?

From sunne-rise to the Scythian-lake, of fame

None in exploits can equalize my name.

Those that suruiue are tickled with the pleasure of these words, and by them solicited with jelousie and desire, doe presently without consideration transmit by fantasie this their proper motion of revenge vnto the deceased; and with a fond-deceiving hope perswade themselves, when their turne cometh to be capable of it. God he knowes it: nevertheless,

— ad huc se

Romanus Graiusque & Barbarus Induperator

Iuven. sat. 10

Erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris

137.

Inde habuit, tanto maior fama suis est, quam

Virtutis.

Hereto himselfe the Romane Generall,

The Græcian, the Barbarian, rouz'd and rais'd;

Heere hence drew cause of perils, trauailles all:

So more, then to be good, thirst to be prais'd.

The seven and fortieth Chapter.

Of the vncertaintie of our iudgement.

5

IT is even as, that verse saith,

Επείων δὲ πολὺς νόμος ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.

O 4

Of

Pet. Par. I.
Jon. 86. 1.

Of words on either side,
A large deale they divide.
There is law sufficient to speake every where, both *pro* and *contra*; As for example:

Vingé Hannibal, & non seppe vsar poi
Ben la victoriosa sua ventura.
Hanniball conquer'd, but he knew not after
To vse well his victorious good fortune.

He that shall take this part, and with our men go about, to make that over-sight prevaile, that we did not lately pursue our fortune at *Montcontour*: Or he that shall accuse the King of *Spaine*, who could not vse the advantage he had against vs at *Saint Quintin*, may say this fault to have proceeded from a minde drunken with his good fortune, and from a courage full-gorged with the beginning of good lucke; loofeth the taste how to encrease-it, being already hindred from digesting what he hath conceived of-it: He hath his hands full, and cannot take holde of any more: Vnwoorthie that ever fortune should cast so great a good into his lappe: For, what profit hath he of-it, if notwithstanding, he give his enemy leasure and meanes to recover himselfe? What hope may one have, that he will once more adventure to charge these re-enforced and re-united forces, and new armed with despite and vengeance, that durst-not, or knew-not how to pursue them being dismayed and put to rowt?

Lucan. l. 7. 734

Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.
While fortune is at height in heate,
And terror worketh all by great.

But to conclude, what can he expect better, then what he hath lately lost? It is not, as at *Fence*, where the number of venies given, gets the victory: So long as the enemy is on foote, a man is newly to begin. It is no victory, except it end the warre. In that conflict where *Cesar* had the worse, neere the City of *Oricum*, hee reprochfully said vnto *Pompeis* Souldiers, *that he had utterly beene overthrown, had their Captaine knowne how to conquer: and paid him home after another fashion when it came to his turne.* But why may not a man also hold the contrary? That it is the effect of an insatiate and rash-headlong minde, not to know how to limite or periode his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of Gods favours, to goe about to make them loose the measure he hath prescribed them, and that a-new to cast himselfe into danger after the victory, is once more to remit the same vnto the mercy of fortune: That one of the chiefest policies in military profession, is, not to drive his enemy vnto despaire. *Silla* and *Marius* in the sociall warre, having discomfited the *Marrians*, seeing one squadron of them yet on foote, which through dispaire, like furious beasts were desperately comming vpon them, could not be induced to stay or make head against them. If the fervor of *Monsieur de Foix* had not drawne him over-rashly and moodily to pursue the straglers of the victory at *Ravenna*, hee had not blemished the same with his vntimely death; yet did the fresh-bleeding memory of his example serve to preserve the Lord of *Anguien* from the like inconvenience, at *Serisoles*. It is dangerous to assaile a man, whom you have bereaved of all other meanes to escape or shift for himselfe, but by his weapons: for, necessitie is a violent schoole-mistress, and which teacheth strange lessons: *gravissimi sunt morsus irritatae necessitatis.* No biting so grievous, as that of necessitie provoked and enraged.

Lucan. l. 4. 278.

Vincitur haud gratis ingulo qui provocat hostem.
For nought you over-come him not,
Who bids his foe come cut his throat.

And that is the reason, why *Pharax* impeached the King of *Lacedemon*, who came from gaining of a victory against the *Mantineans*, from going to charge a thousand *Argians*, that were escaped whole from the discomfiture; but rather to let them passe with all libertie, lest he should come to make trial of provoked & despited virtue, through and by ill fortune. *Clodomire* king of *Aquitaine*, after his victory, pursuing *Gondemar* king of *Burgundie*, vanquished & running away, forced him to make a stand, and make head againe, but his vnadvised wilfulnesse deprived him of the fruite of the victory, for he dyed in the action. Likewise hee that should chuse, whether it were best to keepe his souldiers richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessity should seeme to yeeld in favour of the first, whereof was *Sertorius*, *Philopemen*, *Brutus*, *Cesar*, and others, yrting that it is ever a spur to honor and glory, for a souldier to see himselfe gorgeously attired and richly armed, and an occasion to yeeld himselfe more obstinate

obstinate to fight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (saith *Xenophon*) why the Asiatickes carried with them, when they went to warres their wives and Concubines, with all their jewels and chiefest wealth. And might also encline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remoove from his souldier, all care to preserve himselfe, than to encrease it vnto him: for, by that meanes he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing these rich spoiles do rather encrease an earnest desire of victory in the enemy: & it hath bin observed, that the said respect hath sometimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Samnites. *Antiochus* shewing the Army, he prepared against them, gorgeously accoutred with all pompe and stateliness, vnto *Hannibal*, & demanding of him, whether the Romanes would be contented with it: yea verily, answered the other, they will be very well pleased with it: They must needs be so, were they never so covetous. *Licurgus* forbade his Souldiers, not onely all manner of sumptuousnesse, in their equipage, but also to vncape or strippen their enemies, when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie and poverty should shine with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges, and els-where, where occasion brings vs neere the enemy, we freely give our souldiers liberty, to brave, to disdain, and injury him with all manner of reproaches: And not without apparance of reason; for, it is no small matter, to take from them all hope of grace and composition, in presenting vnto them, that there is no way left to expect it, from him, whom they have so egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedy left but from victorie. Yet had *Vitelius* but had successe in that; for, having to deale with *Otho*, weaker in his Souldiers valour, and of long disaccustomed from warre, and effeminated through the delights and pleasures of the City, himselfe in the end set them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, vpbrayding them with their pusillanimitie and faint-heartednesse, and with the regret of their Ladies, banquettings and sensualities, which they had left at *Rome*, that he put them into hart againe, which no perswasions or other meanes could doe before; and himselfe drew an olde house vpon his head, and made them voluntarily to runne away, that before could not be vrged to give the on-set. And verily, when they are injuries that touch a man to the quicke, they shall easily vrgen him, who was very backward to fight for his Kings quarrell, to be very forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preservation, and importance, the safety of a generall is in an army, and how the enemies chiefest ayme, is at the fairest marke, which is the head, from which all other depend, it seemeth that that counsell cannot be doubted of, which by sundry great Chieftaines wee have seene put in practise, which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the fury of the battell, to disguise themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this meanes incur, is no lesse then that mischief, which a man seeketh to avoyd: For the Captaine being vnseene and vnknowen of his Souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the hart they keepe by his presence, is therewithall empaired and diminished; and loosing the knowne ensignes, and accustomed markes of their Leader, they either deeme him dead, or despairing of any good successe, to be fledde. And touching experience, we sometimes see it to favor the one, and sometimes the other partie. The accident of *Pirrhus* in the battell he had against the Consul *Levinus* in *Italy*, serveth vs for both vses: For, by concealing himselfe vnder the armes of *Demogacles*, and arming him with his owne, indeede he saved his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischief, and loose the day. *Alexander*, *Cesar*, *Lucullus*, loved (at what time they were to enter fight) to arme and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garish clothes they had, and of particular bright-shining colours. *Agis*, *Agessilaus*, and that great *Gilippus*, contrary, would ever goe to warres meeanly accoutred, and without any imperial ornament. Among other reproaches, that *Pompey* is charged withall in the battell of *Pharsalia*, this is one speciall, that he idly linged with his army, expecting what his enemy would attempt; forasmuch as that (I will heare borrow the very words of *Plutarke*, which are of more consequence then mine) weakeneth the violence, that running giveth the first blowes, and therewithall remooveth the charging of the Combattants one against another, which more, then any other thing is wont to fill them with fury and impetuositie, when with vehemence they come to enter-shocken one another, augmenting their courage by the cry and running; and in a manner alayeth and quailth the heate of the Souldiers: Loe-here what he saith concerning this. But had *Cesar* lost, who might not also have said, that contrariwise the strongest and firmeest situation, is that, where a man keeps his hold-fast without hoping, and that who is settled in his

march,

march, closing, and against any time of need, sparing his strength in himselfe, hath a great advantage against him, that is in motion and disordered, and that running hath already consumed part of his breath: Moreover, that an army being a body composed of so many severall partes, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selfe with so just a march, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dis-ranke, or at least alter his ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grappling before his fellowes may help him. In that dreary battel of the two Persian brethren, *Clearchus* the Lacedemonian, who commaunded the Græcians that followed *Cirus* his faction, led them faire and gently without any haste-making to their charges, but when he came within fifty paces of his enemies, hee bade them with all speede to runne vnto it; hoping by the shortnesse of the distance to manage their order, & direct their breaths in the meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuositie, both for their bodies, and for their shooting-arnes. Others have ordered this doubt in their army after this manner: If your enemies headlong runne vpon you, stay for them and bouge not: If they without stirring stay for you, runne with fury vpon them.

A military
problem

In the passage which the Emperour *Charles* the fift made into *Provence*, our king *Francis* the first, stood a good while vpon this choise, whether it were best, by way of prevention, to go and meete with him in *Italie*, or to stay his comming into *France*, and albeit he considered what an advantage it is, for one to preserve his house from the troubles and mischiefes that warre brings with-it, to the end that possessing his whole strength, it may continually, in all times of need, store him with mony, and supply him with all other helps, and considering how the necessitie of direfull warre, doth dayly enforce a Generall to make spoyle of goods, and waste the Country, which cannot well be done in our owne goods and country: and if the countreiman doth not as patiently indure this ravage at his friends hands, as at his enemies, so as seditions may enfew amongst our owne factions, & troubles among our friends: That licence to robbe and spoile, which in his Country may not be tolerated, is a great furtherance in a Souldier, and makes him the more willing, to endure the miseries and toylings that follow warre: And what a hard matter it is to keepe the Souldier in office and hart, who hath no other hope of profite, but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, and his home: *That hee who layeth the cloth, is ever put to the greatest charges: That there is more pleasure in assailing than in defending:* And that the apprehension of a battell lost in our owne home and entrailes, is so violent, that it may easily shake the whole frame, and distemper the whole body. Seeing there is no passion so contagious, as that of feare, nor so easily apprehended and taken a trust, or doth more furiously possesse all partes of man: And that the Citties or Townes, which have either heard the bustling noise of the Tempest, or seene the sparkles of this all-consuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their captaines wounded, their Cittizens pursued, and their souldiers spoiled, and all out of breath, if they bee not more then obstinately constant, it is a thousand to one, if in that brunt or fury, they doe not headlong cast themselves into some desperate resolution: yet did he conclude and chose this resolve for the best. First to revoke his forces, he had beyond the Mountaines in *Italie*, and to stay his enemies approaches. For, he might on the contrary part imagine, that being in his owne Country and amidst good friends, hee had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more opportunitie, to strengthen Townes, to munite Castles, to store Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keep all passages at his devotion, which done, all the wayes should be open for him, and might by them have all maner of victuals, mony, and other habilements of warre brought him, in safety, and without convoy: that he should have his subjects so much the more affectionate vnto him, by how much nearer they shoulde see the danger: That having so many Citties, Townes, Houlds, Castles, and Barres for his securitie, he might at all times, according to opportunitie & advantage, appoint and give law vnto the fight: And if he were pleased to temporize, whilest hee tooke his ease, kept his forces whole, and maintained himselfe in safety, he might see his enemy consume & waste himselfe, by the difficulties which dayly must necessarily assault, environ and combate him, as he who should be engaged in an enemy-country and foe-land; Where he should have nothing, nor meete with any thing, eyther before, or behind him, or of any side; that did not offer him continuall warre: no way nor meanes to refresh, to ease or give his army elbow-roume: if any sicknesse or contagion should come amongst his men, nor shelter to lodge his hurt and maymed Souldiers: where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come vnto him, but

at the sword's point; where he should never have leasure to take any rest, or breath; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or countrie, that might defend him from ambuscados, or surprises: And if he should vnfortunately chance to loose a battell, no hope to save, or meanes to re-unite the reliques of his forces. And there want not examples to strengthen both sides. *Scipio* found it better for him to invade his enemies countrie of *Affrica*, then to defend his owne, and fight with him in *Italie*, where hee was, wherein he had good successe. But contrariwise, *Hanniball*, in the same warre wrought his owne overthrowe, by leaving the conquest of a forraine countrie, for to goe and defend his owne. The Athenians having left the enemy in their owne land, for to passe into *Sicilie*, had very ill successe, and were much contraried by fortune: whereas *Agathocles* King of *Syracusa* prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into *Affrica*, and left the warre on foote in his owne countrie. And we are accustomed to say with some shew of reason, that especially in matters of warre, the events depend (for the greatest part) on fortune; which seldome wil yeeld, or never subject her-selfe vnto our discourse or wisdom, as say these ensuing verses.

Manil. astr. li. 4

*Et male consiliis pretium est, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Mains, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

T'is best for ill-advised, wisdom may faile,
Fortune proves not the cause that should prevaile,
But here and there without respect doth faile,
A higher power forsooth vs over-drawes,
And mortall states guides with immortall lawes.

But if it be well taken, it seemeth that our counsells and deliberations, doe as much depend of her; and that fortune doth also engage our discourses and consultations in her trouble and vncertaintie. *We reason rashly, and discourse at random, saith Timeus in Plato: For, even as we, so have our discourses great participation with the temeritie of hazard.*

The eight and fortieth Chapter.

Of Steedes, called in French Destriers. 6

Strumely Extra vagane

BEhold, I am now become a Gramarian, I, who never learn't tongue but by way of roate, and that yet know not what either Adjective, Coniunctive or Ablative meaneth. As farre as I remember, I have sometimes heard say, that the Romanes had certaine horses, which they called *Funales*, or *Dextrarios*, which on the right hand were led-by as spare horses, to take them fresh at any time of neede: And thence it commeth, that we call horses of service *Destriers*. And our ancient Romanes doe ordinarily say, to *Adexter*, in steede of, to accompany. They also called *Desultorios equos*, certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly running with all the speede they had, joyning sides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen armed at all assayes, in the midst of their running-race, would cast and recast themselves from one to an other horse. The Numidian men at armes, were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatest furie of the battell, they might shift and change horse: *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transfultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamqua docile equorum genus.* Whose maner was, as if they had bene vaulters, leading two horses with them in armour, to leape from their tired horse to the fresh one, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agilitie was in themselves, and so apte to be taught was the race of their horses. There are manie horses found, that are taught to helpe their maister, to runne vpon any man shall offer to draw a naked sword vpon them; furiously to leape vpon any man, both with feete to strike, and with teeth to bite, that shall affront them; but that for the most parte they rather hurt their friends then their enemies. Considering

Liv. bel. pun. dec. 3. l. 3.

dering also, that if they once be graped, you can not easily take them-off, and you must needes stand to the mercy of their combat. *Artibius*, Generall of the Persian armie had very ill lucke to be mounted vpon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he fought man to man against *Onesilus* King of *Salamina*; for, he was the cause of his death, by reason, the shield-bearer or squire of *Onesilus* cut him with a faulchon betweene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping vpon his maister. And if that, which the Italians reporte be true, that in the battell of *Fornovo*, King *Charles* his horse with kicking, wincing, and flying, rid both his maister and himselfe from the enemies that encompassed him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had beene lost: He committed himselfe to a great hazard; and scap't a narrow scowring. The *Mammalukes* boast, that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to discerne, and by custome taught to distinguish their enemy, on whom they must leape and wince with feete, and bite with teeth, according to the voyce their maister speaketh, or rider giveth them. And are likewise taught to take vp from the ground, lances, darts, or any other weapons with their mouths, and as he commandeth to present them to their rider. It is said of *Cesar*, and of *Pompey* the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemen; and namely of *Cesar*, that in his youth being mounted vpon a horse, and without any bridle, he made him runne a full cariere, make a foudaine stop, and with his hands behinde his backe performe what ever can be expected of an excellent ready horse. And even as nature was pleased to make both him and *Alexander* two matchlesse miracles in militarie profession, so would you say, she hath also endeavoured yea enforced herselfe to arme them extraordinarily; For, all men know, that *Alexanders* horse called *Bucephalus*, had a head shaped like vnto that of a bull; that he suffered no man to get-on and sit-him, but his maister; that none could wealde and manage him but he; what honours were done him after his death, all know, for he had a Cittie erected in his name. *Cesar* likewise had another, who had his fore-feete like vnto a mans, with hooves cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drest, or mounted but by *Cesar*, who when he died, dedicated his image to the Goddesse *Venus*. If I be once on horse-backe, I alight very vnwillingly; for, it is the seate I like best, whether I be sound or sicke. *Plato* commendeth it to be availefull for health: And *Plinie* affirmeth the same to be healthfull for the stomake, and for the ioynts. And sithence we be false into this subject, let vs alittle follow it I pray you. We reade of a lawe in *Xenophon*, by which all men that either had or were able to keepe a horse, were expressely forbidden to travell and goe afoote. *Trogus* and *Isidorus* reporte, that the *Parthians* were not onely accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse, and negotioate their affaires both publike and private; as to bargain, to buy, to sell, to parlie, to meete, to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together; and that the chiefe difference betweene free men and servants amongst them, is, that the first ever ride, and the other goe alwayes on-foote. An institution first devised by King *Cyrus*. There are many examples in the *Romane histories* (and *Suetonius* doth more particularly note it in *Cesar*) of Captaines that commanded their horsemen to alight, whensoever, by occasion, they should be yrgerd vnto it, thereby to remove all maner of hope from their Souldiers to save themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped-for in this maner of fight: *Quo haud dubie superat Romanus. Wherein vndantedly the Romane is superiour to all faith Titus Livius*: yet shall we see, that the first provision, and chiefe meanes they vsed to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations, was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore finde we so often in *Cesar*, *Arma proferri, iumenta produci, obsides dare iubet*: He commands all their armour should be brought forth, all their cattell should be driven out, and hostages should be delivered. The great Turke doth not permit at this day any Christian or Iew, to have or keepe any horse for himselfe, throughout all his large Empire. Our ancestors, and especially at what time we had warres with the English, in all solemne combats or set battells, would (for the most part) alight from their horses, and fight on foote, because they would not adventure to hazard so precious a thing as their honour and life, but on the trust of their owne proper strength, and vigour of their vndanted courage, and confidence of their limbes. Let *Chrysanthus* in *Xenophon* say what hee pleaseth: whosoever fighteth on horse-backe, engageth his valour, and hazardeth his fortune on that of his horse; his hurtles, his stumbling, his death, drawes your life and fortune into

Liv. dec. I. li. 3.
 & 7.

Cas. commen. l. 7

into consequence, if he chance to startle, or bee afraide, then are you induced to doubt or feare: if to leape forward, then to become rash and fond-hardie: if he want a good mouth or a timely spurre, your honour is bound to answer for-it. And therefore doe I finde-it strange, that those combats were more firme and furious, then those which now we see foughten on horse-backe.

— *cedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant
Victores, victique, neque his fuga nota, neque illis.*

Virg. Æn. l. 10.
756.

The victors and the vanquish't both together
Gave backe, came-on: the flight was knowne in neither.

Their battels are seene much better compact and contrived: They are now but bickering and routes: *Primus clamor atque impetus rem decernit.* The first shoute or shooke makes an end of the matter. And the thing wee call to help vs, and keepe-vs company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought as much as possible may be, lie still in our disposition and absolute power. As I would counsell a gentleman to chuse the shortest weapons, and such as he may best assure himselfe-of. It is most apparant, that a man may better assure himselfe of a sworde he holdeth in his hand, then of a bullet shot out of a pistoll, to which belong so many severall partes, as powder, stone, locke, snap-hanse, barrell, stocke, scowring-piecke, and many others, whereof if the least faile, or chance to breake, and be distempered, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or miscarry your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aymed-at, which the ayre doth carry.

*Et quo ferre velint permittere vulnera ventis,
Ensis habet vires, & gens quacunque virorum est,
Bella gerit gladijs.*

Lucan. l. 8. 384.

Giving windes leave to give wounds as they list,
But swords have strength, and right men never miſſ
With sword t'assault, and with sword to resist.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more ample speake of-it, where I will make a comparison betweene ancient and moderne armes: And except the astonishment and frightening of the eare, which nowadaies is growne so familiar amongst men, that none dooth greatly feare-it; I thinke it to be a weapon of small effect, and hope to see the vse of-it abolished. That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw, with fire in-it, was more frightfull and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of javelin, *Phalarica*, armed at one end with an yron-pike of three foote long, that it might pierce an armed man-through, which lying in the field they vsed to lanch or hurle with the hand, and sometimes to shoote out of certaine engines, for to defend besieged places: the staffe whereof being wreath'd about with hemp or flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in the ayre, would soone be set-a-fire, and lighting vpon any body or target, deprived the partie hit therewith, of all vse of weapons or limbes. Me thinkes neverthelesse, that comming to grapple, it might aswell hinder the assailant, as trouble the assailed, and that the ground strewed with such burning truncheons, might in a pell-mell-confusion produce a common incommoditie.

— *magnum stridens contorta Phalarica venit
Fulminis acta modo.*

Virg. Æn. l. 9.
705.

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart thirled,
As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirled.

They had also other meanes, to the vse of which, custome enured them, and that by reason of inexperience seeme incredible to-vs; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with such fury darted their *Piles*, and with such force hurled their javelins, that they often pierced two targets and two armed men through, as it were with a spit. They hit as sure and as farre with their slings, as with any other shot: *Saxis globosis fundenda, mare apertum incessantes: coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti trajcere: non capita modo hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent.* While they were boyes, with round stones in a sling, making ducks and drakes vpon the sea, they accustomed to cast through round marks of small compasse a great distance off: whereby they, not onely hit and hurt the heads of their enemies, but would strike any place they aymed-at. Their battering or murdering pieces represented, as well the effect, as the clattering and thundering noile of ours: *adictus mœnium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor & trepidatio cœpit.* At the batterie of the walles made with a terrible noife,

Lin. dec. 4. l. 8.

Liv. dec. 4. l. 8.

feare, and trembling beganne to attach them within. The Gaules our ancient forefathers in *Asia*, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight hand to hand, and with more courage. *Non tam petentibus plagis moventur, ubi latior quam altior plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant; idem quum aculeus sagitta aut glandis abdita intus tenui vulnere in speciem vrit: tum in rabiem & pudorem tam parva perimentis pestis versis, prosternunt corpora humi.* They are not so much moved with wide gashes, where the wound is more broad then it is deepe, there they thinke, that they fight with more bravery; but when the sting of an arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to them, galls them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame that so slight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground.

A modell or picture very neere vnto an *barquebusada*. The ten thousand *Gracians* in their long-lingring, and farre-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation, that exceedingly much endamaged them with stiffe strong and great bowes, and so long arrowes, that taking them vp, they might throw them after the maner of a dart, and with them pierce a target and an armed man through and through. The engines which *Dionysius* invented in *Syracusa*, to shoote and cast mightie big arrowes, or rather timber-pieces, & huge-great stones, so farre and with such force, did greatly represent, and come very neere our moderne inventions. Wee may not also forget, the pleasant seate, which one named maister *Peter Pol*, doctor in divinitie vsed to sit vpon his mule, who as *Monstrelet* reporteth, was wont to ride vp and downe the streetes of *Paris*, ever sitting sideling, as women vse. He also saith in another place, that the *Gascoines* had certaine horses so fierce and terrible, taught to turne and stop sodainely in running, whereat the French, the *Piccards*, the *Flemmings*, and *Brabantins* (as they who were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought it a wonder: I vse his very words. *Cesar* speaking of those of *Sweithen*, saith, In any skirmish or fight on horse-backe, they often alight to combate on foote, having so trained and taught their horses, that so long as the fight lasteth, they never bouge from their maisters side, that if neede require, they may sodainely mount vp againe: and according to their naturall custome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile, then to vse saddles or bardels, and they greatly contemne and scorne such as vse them: So that a few of them feare not to encounter with a troupe farre exceeding them in number. That which I have other times wondered-at, to see a horse fashioned and taught, that a man having but a wand in his hand, and his bridle loose-hanging over his eares, might at his pleasure manage, and make him turne, stop, runne, cariere, trot, gallop, and what ever else may be expected of an excellent ready horse, was common amongst the *Massilians*, who never vsed either bridle or saddle.

Lucan. l. 4. 681

*Et gens que nudo residens Massilia dorso,
Ora leui flectit, franorum nescia, virga.
Massilian horsemen on bare horse-backe: sit
Manage with light rod, without reynes or bit.
Et Numida infrani cingunt.
Numidians who their horses ride
Without bit, round about vs bide.*

Vir. Æn. l. 4. 41

Equi sine frenis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice & extento capite currentium: The horses being without bridles, their course is ill fauoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and out-stretcht head (like a roasted Pigge:) *Alphonfus* King of *Spaine*, that first established the order of Knights, called the order of the Bend or skarfe, amongst other rules devised this one, that none of them, vpon paine to forsaite a marke of silver, for every time offending, should ever ride either mule or mulet; as I lately read in *Guevaras* epistles, of which whosoever called them his golden epistles, gave a judgement farre different from mine. The *Courtier* saith, That before his time, it was counted a great shame in a gentleman to be seene riding vpon a mule: Whereas the *Abyssines* are of a contrary opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced to places of honour, or dignitie, about their Prince, called *Prester-thon*, so doe they more and more affect in signe of pompe and state, to ride vpon large-great mules. *Xenophon* reporteth, that the *Assirians* were ever wont to keepe their horses fast-tied in fetters or gyves, and ever in the stable, they were so wilde and furious. And for that they required so much time to vnshackle, and to harness them, (lest protracting of so long time, might, if they should chance at vnawares, and being vnreadie, to be surprised by their enemies, endamage them) they never tooke vp their quarter in any place, except it were wel dyked & intrenched.

His

His *Cirrus*, whom he maketh so cunning in horfemanship, did alwayes keepe his horfes at a certaine stint, and would never suffer them to have any meate before they had deserved the same by the sweate of some exercise. If the Scithians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victualls, the readiest remedie they had, was to let their horfes blood, and therewithall quenched their thirst, and nourished themselves.

Venit & epoto Sarmata pastus equo.

Mart. Spectac. 3

The Scithian also came, who strangely feedes

1.

On drinking out his horse (or that he bleedeth)

Those of *Crotta* being hardly besieged by *Metellus*, were reduced to so hard a pinch, and strait necessitie of all maner of other beverage, that they were forced to drinke the stale or v-rine of their horfes. To verifie how much better cheape the Turkes doe both levie, conduct, and maintaine their armies, then we Christians doe; They reporte, that besides their souldiers never drinke any thing but water, and feede on nothing but rice, and drie-salt flesh, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly carry so much about him, as will serve for a moneths provision) and for a shift, will live a long time with the blood of their horfes; Wherein they vse to put a certaine quantitie of salt, as the Tartares and Moskovites doe. These new-discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards came first amongst them, esteemed that aswell men as horfes, were eyther gods, or creatures farre beyond, and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to sue for peace and beg pardon at their handes, to whome they brought presents of gold, and such viands as their country yeilded; omitted not to bring the same, and as much vnto their horfes, and with as solemne Orations as they had made vnto men, taking their neighings, as a language of truce and composition. In the hether Indies, the chiefe and rovallest honour was antiently wont to be, to ride vpon an Elephant; the second to goe in Coaches drawne with foure horfes; the third, to ride vpon a Camell; the last and basest, was to be carried or drawne by one horse alone. Some of our moderne Writers report, to have seene some Countries in that climate, where the people ride oxen, with packe-saddles, stirrups, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily.

Quintus Fabius Maximus Rutilianus, warring against the Samnites, and seeing that his horsemen, in three or foure charges they gave, had missed to breake and runne through his enemies battallion at last resolved thus, that they should all vnbridle their horfes, and with maine force of sharpe spurres pricke and broach them; which done, the horfes as enraged, tooke such a running, thorow, and athwart the enemies campe, armes and men, that nought was able to resist them; and with such a furie, that by opening, shouldring, and overthrowing, the battallion, they made way for his Infanterie, which there committed a most bloody slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie. The like was commaunded and effected by *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* against the Celtiberians: *Id cum maiore vi equorum facietis, si effrenatus in hostes equos immititis; quod saepe Romanos equites cum laude fecisse memorie proditum est. Detrahitque franis bis ultro citroq, cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrunt.* That shall you doe with more violence of horse, if you force your horse vnbridled on the enemy; which it is recorded, the Roman horsemen have often perfourmed with great prooffe and praise. So pulling off the bridles, they twice ranne through forward, and backe againe with great slaughter of the enemy, all their lances broken.

Liv. dec. 4. l. 40.

The duke of *Moscovie* did antiently owe this reverence vnto the Tartares; at what time soever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that hee must goe meete them on foote, and present them with a goblet full of mares-milke (a drinke counted very delicious amongst them) which whilst they were drinking; if any drop chaunced to be spilt vpon their horfes haire, he was, by duty, bound to licke the same vp with his tongue. The army which the Emperor *Baiazeth* had sent into *Russia*, was overwhelmed by so horrible a tempest of snow, that to find some shelter & to save themselves from the extremitie of the cold, many advised to kil and vnpanch their horfes, and enter into their panches, to enjoy and finde some ease by that vitall heate. *Baiazeth* after that bloody and tragicall conflict wherein he was overthrowne by the Scithian *Tamburlane*, in seeking to escape, had no doubt saved himselfe, by the swiftnesse of an Arabian mare, on which he was mounted that day, if unluckily he had not beene forced to let her drinke her fill in passing over a river, which made her so faint and foundred, that he was easily overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common say-

ing is, that to let a horse stale after a full carriere, doth take downe his speede, but I would never haue thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

Cræssus passing alongst the citty of *Sardis*, found certaine thickets, wherein were great store of snakes and serpents, on which his horses fed very hungerly, which thing as *Herodotus* saith, was an ill-boding-prodigie vnto his affaires. We call him an entire horse, that hath his full mane, and whole eares, and which in shew, or at a muster, doth not exceed others. The Lacedemonians having defeated the Athenians in *Sicilie*, returning in great pompe and glory from the victorie, into the City of *Siracusa*, among other Bravadoes of theirs, caused such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in triumph. *Alexander* fought with a nation called *Dabas*, where they went to warre two and two, all armed vpon one horse, but when they came to combate, one must alight, and so successively one fought on foote, and the other on horse backe, each in his turne one after another. I am perswaded that in respect of sufficiencie, of comelinesse, & of grace on horseback, no Nation goeth beyond vs. A good horse-man, (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an vndismayed courage, then an affected cleane seate. The man most skillfull, best and surest-fitting, comeliest-graced, and nimblest-handed, to sit, to ride, and mannage a horse cunningly, that ever I knew, & that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de *Carneualet*, who was Maister of the horse vnto our King *Henry* the second. I have seene a man take his full carriere, standing bout vp-right on both his feet in the saddle, leap downe to the ground from it, and turning backe take-off the saddle, and presently set-it on againe as fast as ever it was, and then leap into-it againe, and all this did he whilst his horse was running as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I haue also seene him ride over a bonet or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bow shooting backward, to sticke many arrows in the same; then sitting stil in the saddle to take vp any thing from the ground: To set one foote to the ground, and keepe the other in the stirrop, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and apish tricks, wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene seene in *Constantinople*, both at once vpon one horse, and who in his speediest running, would by turns, first one, and then another, leap down to the ground, and then into the saddle againe, the one still taking the others place. And another, who onely with his teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, curry, rubbe, dresse, saddle, guirt, and harnish his horse. Another, that betweene two horses, and both sadled, standing vp-right, with one foote in the one, and the second in the other, did beare another man on his armes, standing vp-right, runne a full speedy course, and the vppermost to shoote and hitte any marke with his arrowes. Divers have bin seene, who standing on their heads, and with their legs out-stretched aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimitaries fastned round about the saddle, to gallop a full speed. While I was a yoong lad, I saw the Prince of *Sulmona* at *Naples*, manage a yoong, a rough, and fierce horse, and shew all maner of horse-man-ship; To holde testons or realles vnder his knees, and toes, so fast, as if they had beene cloved or nayled there, and all to shew his sure, steeady, and vnmovable sitting.

The nine and fortieth Chapter.

Of ancient customs. 5

I Would willingly excuse our people for having no other patterne or rule of perfection, but his owne customes, his owne fashions: For, it is a common vice, not onely in the vulgar sorte, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme, and frame their thoughts vnto the fashions, wherein they were borne. I am pleased when he shall see *Fabricius* or *Lelius*, who because they are neither attired nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange, and their carriage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indiscretion, in that he suffereth himselfe to be so blinded, and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleaseth, he is readie to change opinion, and varie advise,

wise, every moneth, nay every day, and judgeth so diversly of himselfe. When he wore short-wasted doublets, and but little lower then his breast, he would maintaine by militant reasons, that the waste was in his right place: but when not long after he came to weare them so long-wasted, yea almost so low as his privities, then began he to condemne the former fashion, as fond, intollerable and deformed; and to commend the latter, as comely, handsome, and commendable. A new fashion of apparrell creepeth no sooner into vse, but presently he blameth and dispraiseth the olde, and that with so earnest a resolution, and vniverfall a consent, that you would say, it is some kinde of madnes, or selfe-fond humor, that giddieth his vnderstanding.

And forasmuch as our changing or altering of fashions, is so sodaine and new-fangled, that the inventions, and new devises of all the tailors in the world, cannot so fast invent novelties, it must necessarily follow that neglected, and stale-rejected fashions doe often come into credit and vse againe: And the latest and newest, within a while-after come to be out-cast and dispised, and that one selfe same judgement within the space of fiftene or twentie yeares admitteth, not onely two or three different, but also cleane contrarie opinions, with so light and incredible an inconstancie, that any man would wonder at. There is no man so fittle-craftie amongst vs, that suffreth not himselfe to be enveigled and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not ingensibly dazeled, both with his inward and externall eyes. I will here huddle-vp some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like vnto ours, other-some farre differing from them: To the end, that having ever this continuall variation of humane things in our minde, we may the better enlighten and confirme our transported judgement. That manner of fight which we vse now adaies with rapier and cloke, was also vsed among the Romans, as saith *Cæsar. Sinistris sagos involvunt, gladiosque distringunt:* *Cæs. Bel. ciu. l. 1* They wrap their left armes in their clokes, and draw their swordes. We may to this day observe this vice to be amongst vs, and which we have taken from them, that is, to stay such passengers as we meete by the way, and force them to tell-vs, who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count-it as an injurie, and cause of quarrell, if they refuse to answer our demaund. In Baths, which our forefathers vsed daily before meales, as ordinarily as we vse water to wash our hands, when first they came into them, they washed but their armes and legges, but afterward (which custome lasted many after-ages; and to this day continueth amongst divers nations of the world) their whole body over, with compounded and perfumed waters, in such sorte as they held-it as a great testimonie of simplicitie, to wash themselves in pure and vncompounded water: Such as were most delicate, and effeminate, were wont to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or foure times every day; And often (as our French women have lately taken-vp) to picke and snip out the haire of their forehead, so they of all their body.

Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod brachia vellis.

That you from breast, legges, armes, the haire
Neatly pull-off (to make them faire.)

*Mart. lib. 2.
epi. 62. 1.*

Although they had choise of ointments fit for that purpose.

Psilotro nitet, aut arida latet abdita creta.

She shines with oyntments that make haire to fall,

Lib. 6. epi. 93. 9.

Or with sowre chalke she over-covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on fine dowlne-beds, alleaging lying on hard mattresses as a signe of patience. They fed lying on their beds, neere after the manner of the Turkes now adades.

Inde thoro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto.

Father *Aeneas* thus gan say,

Virg. Æn. l. 2. 2

From stately couch where then he lay.

And it is reported of *Cato Iunior*, that after the battell of *Pharsalia*, and that he began to mourne and bewaile the miserable state of the common-wealth, and ill condition of publicke affaires, he ever eate sitting on the ground, folowing an austere, and obseruing a strict kinde of life. The *Beso las manos* was vsed as a signe of honor and humilitie, onely toward great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations, they vsed to kisse one another, as the Venetians doe at this day.

Gratulusque darem cum dulcibus oscula verbis.

Give hir I would with greetings graced,
Kisses with sweete words enterlaced.

And in saluting or suing to any great man, they touched his knees. *Pasicles* the Philosopher, brother vnto *Crates*, comming to salute one, whereas he should have caried his hand to his knee, caried the same vnto his genitories. The partie saluted, having rudely push't him away; *What?* quoth he, *is not that part yours as well as the other?* Their manner of feeding was as ours, their fruit last. They were wont to wipe their tailes (this vaine superstition of wordes must bee left vnto women) with a sponge, and that's the reason why *Spongia* in Latin is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as witnesse the storie of him, that was caried to be deuoured of wilde beasts before the people, who desiring leave to goe to a priue before his death, and having no other meanes to kill himselfe, thrust downe the sponge and staffe, hee found in the priue, into his throte, wherewith he choked himselfe. Having ended the delights of nature, they were wont to wipe their privities with perfumed wooll.

Mart. li. II. c.
pig. 51. II.

At tibi nil faciam, sed lota mentula lana.

To thee no such thing will I bring,
But with wash't wooll another thing.

In every streete of *Rome* were placed tubs, and such vessels for passengers to make water-in.

Pusi saepe lacum propter, se ac dolia curia

Somno deiuncti credunt extollere vestem.

Children asleepe oft thinke they take vp all

Neere to some pissing tub, some lake, (some wall.)

They vsed to breake their fast, and nonchion betweene meales, and all summer time, had men that solde snowe vp and downe the streetes, wherewith they refreshed their wines; of whom some were so daintie, that all winter long they vsed to put snow into their wine, not deeming it colde enough. Principall, and noble men had their cup-bearers, tasters, carvers, and buffons to make them merrie. In Winter their viandes were brought and set on the boord vpon arches, as we vse chafing dishes; and had portable kitchens (of which I have seene some) wherein might be drawne, wheresoeuer one list, a whole service and messe of meate.

Has vobis epulas habete lauti,

Nos offendimur ambulante cœna.

Take to you daintie-mouth'd such stirring feasts;

With walking meales we are offended guests.

Mart. l. 7. epig.
47 5.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being caried through pipes) to drill vpon them as they sate in their dining-chambers, or lowe parlors, where in cisterns, they kept store of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure, chuse and take with their handes, and have-it drest every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this priuiledge, as at this day it hath; that chiefe Gentlemen, are pleased, and have skill to dresse-it best: And to say truth, the taste of fish is much more delicate and exquisit, then that of flesh, at least in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, deliciousnes, riotous gluttonie, inventions of voluptuousnes, wantonnes, and sumptuositie, we truly endeavor, as much as may be, to equall and come neere them: For, our will and taste is as much corrupted as theirs, but our skill and sufficiencie is farre short of them: Our wit is no more capable, and our strength no more able, to approach and match them in these vitious and blame-worthie parts, then in vertuous and commendable actions: For, both proceede from a vigor of spirite, and farre-reaching witte; which, without comparison, was much greater in them, then now in vs. And mindes, by how much more strong and excellent they are, so much lesse facultie and meanes have they, to doe, either excellently well, or notoriously ill. The chiefe aim amongst them, was a meane or mediocrity. The *Foremost* or *Last*, in writing or speaking, had no signification of preheminence or greatnes, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soone say. *Oppius* and *Cesar*, as *Cesar* and *Oppius*; and as indifferently, I and thou, as thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of *Flaminius*, in our French *Plutarke*, a place, where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the jealousie of glorie, that was betweene the *Ætolians* and the *Romanes*, for the gaine of battell, which they had obtained in common, maketh for the purpose, that in Greeke songs the *Ætolians*

tolians were named before the Romanes, except there bee some Amphibologie in the French words: for, in that tongue I reade-it. When Ladies came vnto stooves or hot-houses, they made-it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be washed, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

Inguina succinctus nigra tibi servus aluta

Epig. 34. l.

— *Stat, quoties calidis nuda foveris aquis.*

Your man, whose loynes blacke-lether guird's, stand's-by,

Whilst in warme water you starke-naked lie.

They also vsed to sprinkle themselves all over with certaine powders, thereby to alay and repress all manner of filth or sweate. The ancient *Gaules* (saith *Sidonius Apollinaris*) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder-part of their head shaven, a fashion that our wanton youths and effeminate gallants, have lately renued, and in this new-fangled and fond-doting age, brought-vp againe, with wearing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans, paid the water-men their fare or due so soone as they came into the boate, whereas we pay-it when they set vs on shore.

— *dum as exigitur, dum mula ligatur,*

Hor. l. 1. Sat. 5.

Tota abit hora.

13.

While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,

There runn's away, a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the vtmost side of the bed, and therefore was *Cesar* called *Spondam Regis Nicomedis*: King *Nicomedes* his beds side. They tooke breath while they were drinking and vsed to baptise, or put water in their wines.

Suet. Jul. Ces. c. 49.

— *quis puer ocus*

Restinguet ardentis falerni

Hor. l. 2. od. 11

Pocula pratercunte lymphe?

18.

What boy of mine or thine

Shall coole our cup of wine

With running water fine?

Those cosening and minde-deceiving countenances of lackeis were also amongst them.

O Iane, à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinxit

Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas,

Pers. Sat. 1. 58

Nec lingue quantum sitiet canis Apula tantum.

O Ianus, whom behinde no Storks-bill doth deride,

Nor nimble hand resembling mak's cares white and wide,

Nor so much tongue lil'd out, as dogges with thirst ore-dride.

The Argian and Romane Ladies, mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and beare-sway amongst them, they shoudl continue it still. But because there are many bookes, that treat of this argument, I will say no more of-it.

The fiftieth Chapter.

Of Democritus and Heraclitus. 2

IVdgement is an instrument for all subjects, and medleth every where. And therefore in the Essayes I make of it, there is no maner of occasion, I seeke not to employ therein. If it be a subject I vnderstand not my selfe, therein I make triall of it, sounding as farre off the depth of the ford, and finding the same over deepe for my reach, I keepe my selfe on the shoare. And to acknowledge not to be able to wade through, is a part of it's effect, yea of such whereof he wanteth most. If I light vpon a vaine and idle subject, I assay to trie, and endeavor to see, whether I may finde a good ground to worke vpon, and matter to frame a body, and wherewith to builde and vnder-lay-it. Sometimes I addresse my iudgement and contrive-it to a noble and out-worne subject, wherein is nothing found subsisting of it selfe, the high way to

it, being so bare-trodden, that it cannot march, but in others steps. There he pleaseth himself in chusing the course he thinkes best, and of a thousand paths sometimes he saith, this or that was best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike vnto me: And I never purpose to handle them throughly: For, there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full perfection: Which they doe not; that promise to shew it-vs. Of a hundred partes and viſages that euerie thing hath, I take one, which sometimes I slightly runne-over, and other times but cursorily glance-at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the quicke. And give it a *Stockado*, not the widest, but the deepest I can. And for the most part I love to seize vpon them by some vnwonted lustre. I would adventure to treate and discourse offome matter to the depth; knew I my selfe lesse, or were I deceived in mine owne impuissance; Scattering here one and there another worde: Scantlings taken from their maine ground-worke, disorderly disperſed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it good, nor without varying to keep my selfe close-tied vnto-it; whensoever it shall please mee, to yeeld my selfe to doubt, to vncertaintie, and to my Mistris forme, which is ignorance. Each motion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of *Caſar*, we see in directing, marshalling, and setting the battel of *Pharſalia*, is likewise scene to order, dispose, and contrive, idle, trifling and amorous devises. We iudge of a horse, not onely by seeing him ridden, and cunningly managed, but also by seeing him trot, or pace; yea, if we but looke vpon him as he stands in the stable. Amongest the functions of the soule, some are but meane and base. He that seeth hir no further, can never know hir thorowly. And he that seeth hir march hir naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe hir best. The winds of passions take hir most in her highest pitch, seeing she entirely coucheth hirselfe vpon every matter, and wholly therein exerciseth hirselfe: and handleth but one at once: not according to-it, but according to hirselfe. Things severall in themselves have peradventure, weight, measure, and condition: But inwardly, in vs, she cuttes-it out for them, as she vnderstandeth the same hirselfe. Death is fearefull and vgly vnto *Cicero*; wished-for and desired of *Cato*; and indifferent vnto *Socrates*. Health, well-fare, conscience, authoritie, riches, glorie, beauty, and their contraries are dispoyled at the entrance, and receive a new vesture at the foules hand. Yea, and what colour she pleaseth; browne, bright, greene, sadde, or any hew else: sharpe or sweet, deepe, or superficial, and what each of them pleaseth. For, none of them did ever verifie their stiles, their rules, or formes in common; each one severally is a Queene in hir owne estate. Therefore let vs take no more excuses from externall qualities of things. To vs it belongeth to give our selves account of it. Our good, and our evill hath no dependency, but from our selves. Let vs offer our vowes and offerings vnto it; and not to fortune. She hath no power over our maners. Why shall I not iudge of *Alexander*, as I am sitting and drinking at Table, and talking in good company? Or if hee were playing at Chesse, what string of his witte doth not touch or harpe on this fond-childish, and time-consuming play? I lothe and shunne-it, only because there is not sport inough in it, and that in his recreation, he is over serious with vs, being ashamed I must apply that attention therunto, as might be employed on some good subject. He was no more busied in levying his forces and preparing for his glorious passage into *India*; nor this other in disintangling and discovering of a passage, whence dependeth the wel-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind troubleth this ridiculous ammuzing, if all hir sinnewes bandy not. How amply she giveth every one Law in that, to know and directly to iudge of hirselfe. I do not more vniverſally view and feele my selfe in any other posture. What passion doth not exercise vs therevnto? Choller, spight, hatred, impatience, and a vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were haply more excusable to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For, a rare pre-excellency, and beyond the common reach, in so frivolous a thing, is much mis-seeming a man of honour. What I say of this example, may be spoken of all others. Everie parcell, every occupation of a man, accuseth, and sheweth him equal vnto another. *Democritus* and *Heracitus* were two Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ridiculous, did never walke abroad, but with a laughing, scorneful and mocking countenance: Whereas *Heracitus* taking pittie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was continuallie scene with a sadde, mournfull, and heavy cheere, and with teares trickling downe his blubbred eyes.

Iuven. Sat. 10.
25.

Alter
Ridebat quoties à limine movebat unum

Procul-

Protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius alter.

One from his dore, his foote no sooner past,

But straight he laugh; the other wept as fast.

I like the first humour best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh, then to weepe; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne vs then the other. And me thinkes we can never bee sufficiently despised, according to our merite. Bewailing and commiseration, are commixed with some estimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and contemned, are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perswaded, there can be so much ill lucke in vs, as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice, as sottishnesse. We are not so full of evill, as of voydnesse and inanitie. We are not so miserable, as base and abject. Even so *Diogenes*, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and dally with himself, in rumbling and rowling of his tub, and flurting at *Alexander*, accompting vs but flies, and bladders puffed with winde, was a more sharpe, a more bitter, and a more stinging judge, and by consequence, more just and fitting my humour, then *Timon*, surnamed the hater of all mankind. For looke what a man hateth, the same thing he takes to hart. *Timon* wisht all evill might light on vs; He was passionate in desiring our ruine. He shunned and loathed our conversation as dangerous and wicked; and of a depraved nature: Whereas the other did so little regarde vs, that wee could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; forsooke our company, not for feare, but for disdain of our commerce: He never thought vs capable or sufficient to doe either good or evill. Of the same stampe was the answer of *Statilius*, to whom *Brutus* spake to winne him to take his part, and adhere to the conspiracy against *Cesar*: He allowed the enterprize to be very just, but disallowed of the men that should performe the same, as vnworthy that any man should put himselfe in any adventure for them: Comformable to the discipline of *Hegeias*, who saide, *That a wise man ought never to doe any thing, but for himselfe; forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for, and to that of Theodorus, who thought* him *it an iniustice, that a wise man should in any case hazard himself for the good and benefit of his country, or to indanger his wisdom for fooles.* Our owne condition is as ridiculous, as risible: to be laught-at, as to laugh at others.

The one and fiftieth Chapter.

Of the vanitie of Wordes.

4

- 212

A Rethorician of ancient times, said, that his trade was, to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shoemaker, that can make great shooes for a little foote. Had hee lived in *Sparta*, he had doubtlesse beene well whipped, for professing a false, a cozening and deceitfull arte. And I thinke, *Archidamus* King of that Cittie, did not without astonishment listen vnto the answer of *Thucydides*, of whom he demaunded, whether he, or *Pericles*, was the stronger and nimblest wrestler; whose answer was this, *Your question Sir, is very hard to be decided; for, if in wrestling with him, I give him a fall, with his faire words he perswadeth those that saw him on the ground, that he never fell, and so gets the victorie.* Those that mask and paint women, commit not so foule a fault; for, it is no great losse, though a man see them not, as they were naturally borne and vn timered: Whereas these professe to deceive and beguile, not our eyes, but our judgement; and to bastardize and corrupt the essence of things. Those common-wealths, that have maintained themselves in a regular, formall, and well politied estate, as that of *Crete* and *Lacedemon*, did never make any great esteeme of Orators. *Ariston* did wisely define Rhetorike to be a Science, to perswade the vulgare people: *Socrates* and *Plato*, to be an Art to deceive and flatter. And those which deny it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts verifie the same. The Mahometanes, by reason of it's impietie, forbid the teaching of it vnto their children. And the Athenians, perceiving how pernicious the profession and vse thereof was, and of what credite in their Cittie, ordained, that their principall parte, which is to moove affections, shoulde bee dismissed and taken away, together with all exordiums and perorations. It is an instrument devised, to busie, to manage,

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nage, and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement employed, but about distempred and sicke mindes, as physicke is about crazed bodies. And those where either the vulgar, the ignorant, or the generalitie have had all power, as that of *Rhodes*, those of *Athens*, and that of *Rome*, and where things have ever beene in continuall disturbance & uproare, thither have Orators and the professours of that Art flocked. And verily, if it bee well looked into, you shall finde very few men in those common-wealths, that without helpe of eloquence have attained to any worthy estimation and credite: *Pompey*, *Cesar*, *Crassus*, *Lucullus*, *Lentulus*, *Metellus*, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended vnto that height and greatnesse of authoritie, wherevnto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words, than with armes. For, *L. Volumnius* speaking publikely in favour of the election, which some had made of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Publius Decius*, to be Consulles; saith thus; *They are men borne vnto warre, of high spirites, of great performance, and able to effect any thing, but rude, simple, and unarted in the combate of talking; mindes truely Consulare. They only are good Pretors, to doe iustice in the Citie, (saith he) that are subtile, cautelous, well-spoken, wily, and lippe-wise.* Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in *Rome* when the common-wealths affaires have beene in worst estate, and that the devouring Tempest of civill broyles, and intestine warres did most agitate and turmoyle them. Even as a rancke, free and vntamed soyle, beareth the ranckest and strongest weeds, wherby it seemeth that those common-weales, which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lesse neede of it then others: For, that foolishnesse and facilitie, which is found in the common multitude, & which doth subject the same, to be managed, perswaded, and led by the eares, by the sweet alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this harmony, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the trueth of things by the force of reason. This facility and easy-yeelding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impression of this poyson, by good institution and sound counsell. There was never seene any notable or farre-renowned Orator to come out of *Macedon* or *Persia*. What I have spoken of-it, hath beene vpon the subject of an Italian, whom I have lately entertained into my service. Who during the life of the whilom cardinall *Carassa* served him in the place of steward of his house. Enquiring of his charge, and particular quality, he tolde mee, a long, formall, and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurisme and gluttonie, with such an Oratory-gravitie, and Magistrale countenance, as if he had discoursed of some high-mysterious point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically decifred and distinguished sundry differences of appetites: First of that which a man hath fasting, then of that men have after the first, the second, and third service. The severall meanes how sometimes to please-it simply, and other times to sharpen and provoke the same; the policy and rare invention of his sawces: First, in general terms, than particularizing the qualities and severall operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The differences of salades according to their distinct seasons, which must be served-in warme, and which cold: The manner how to dresse, how to adorne, and embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and farre-fetcht-narration, touching the true order, and due methode of service, full of goodly and important considerations.

2at. 3. 127

— *Nec minimo sanè discrimine refert,**Quo gestu lepores, & quo gallina secetur.*

What grace we vse, it makes small diff'rence, when
We carve a Hare, or else breake vp a Henne.

And all that filled vp and stuffed with rich magnificent words, wel couched phrases, oratory figures, and patheticall metaphores; yea, such as learned men vse and employ in speaking of the Governement of an Empire, which made me remember my man.

Ter. Adel. act. 3
sc. 4. 62.

*Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lantum est parum,**Illud rectè, iterum sic memento, sedulo,**Moneo quæ possum pro mea sapientia.**Postremo tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demea,**Inspicere inbeo, & moneo quid facturus sit.*

This dish is salt, this burnt, this not so fine,

That is well done, do so againe; Thus I

As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.

Lastly

Lastly Sir, I commaund, they neatly prie,
On dishes, as a glasse,
And shew what needfull was.

Yet did those strict Græcians commend the order and disposition, which *Paulus Emilius* observed in the banquet he made them at his returne from *Macedon*: But heere I speake not of the effects, but of the wordes. I know not whether they worke that in others, which they doe in mee. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those bigge and ratling words of *Pilasters*, *Arbitraves*, *Cornixes*, *Frontispices*, *Corinthian*, and *Dorike* workes and such-like fustian-termes of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a so-daine apprehension of *Apollidonius* his pallace, and I finde by effect, that they are the seelie, and decayed peeces of my Kitchin-dooere. Doe but heare one pronounce *Metonomia* *Metaphore*, *Allegory*, *Etymologie*, and other such trash-names of Grammer, would you not thinke, they meant some forme of a rare and strange language? They are titles and wordes, that concerne your chamber-maides tittle-tattle. It is a fopperry and cheating trick, cosin Germane vnto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud titles of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at all of charge, & lesse of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch vnto our age, vnworthily and vnderfervedly to bestow on whom we list the most glorious Surnames, and lofuest titles, wherewith antiquitie in manie long-continued ages honoured but one or two persons. *Plato* hath by such an vniversal consent borne-away the surname of Divine, that no man did ever attempt to envy him for-it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeede with some reason) to have generallie more lively, and farre reaching wits, and their discourse more sound and sinnowy, then other nations of their times, have lately therewith embellished *Peter Aretine*, in whom except it be an high-raised, proud, pufft, mind-moving, and hart-danting maner of speach, yet in good sooth more then ordinary, witty and ingenious; But so new fangled, so extravagant, so fantastical, so deep-labored; & to conclude, besides the eloquence, which be it as-it may-be, I cannot perceive any thing in it, beyond our exceeding that of manie other writers of his age, much lesse that it in any sorte approacheth that ancient divinity. And the surname Great, we attribute and fasten the same on Princes, that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatnesse.

The two and fiftieth Chapter.

Of the parcimony of our Forefathers. 7

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A *Tullius Regulus*, Generall of the Romanes Army in *Affrike*, in the middest of his glory and victory against the Carthaginians, writ vnto the common-wealth, that a hynde, or plough-boy whom he had left alone to over-see and husband his land (which in all was but seaven acres of ground) was run away from his charge, & had stolne from him all his implements & tools, belonging to his husbandrie, craving leave to be discharged, & that he might come home to look to his busines, for feare his wife & children shuld therby be endamaged: the Senate took order for him, and appointed another man to looke to his land and busines, & made that good vnto him, which the other had stolne from him, & appointed his wife & children to be maintained at the common-wealths charge. *Cato* the elder returning Consull from *Spaine*, sold his horse of service, to save the monie he should have spent for his transport by Sea into *Italie*: And being chiefe Governour in *Sardinia*, went all his visitations a foote, having no other traine, but one officer of the common-wealth, who carryed his gowne, and a vessell to do sacrifice-in, and for the most part carried his male himselfe. Hee boasted that hee never woare Gowne, that cost him more then tenne crownes, nor sent more then one shilling sterling to the market for one whole dayes-provision, and had no Countrie house rough-cast or painted-over. *Scipio Emilianus* after he had triumphed twice, and twice bin Consull, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended-on onely with seaven servants. It is reported that *Homer* had never any more then one servant. *Pato* three, and *Zeno*

Zeno chiefe of the Stoikes sect, none at all. *Tiberius Graccus*, being then one of the principall men amongst the Romanes and sent in commission about weightie matters of the common-wealth was allotted but six-pence halfe-penie a day for his charges.

The three and fiftieth Chapter.

Of a saying of Caesar. 4

IF we shall sometimes amuse our selves and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controlling others, and to knowe the thinges that are without-vs; would we but employ the same in founding our selves throughly, we should easily perceive how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying pieces. Is it not an especiall testimonie of imperfection, that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne desire and imagination, it is beyond our power to chuse what wee stand in neede-of? Whereof the disputation that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witnes, to finde-out the chiefe felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, and which yet doth, and shall eternally last without resolution or agreement.

Lucr. l. 3. 1096.

— *dum abest quod avemus, id exuperare videtur
Cetera, post aliud cum contigit illud avemus,
Et sitis aqua tenet.*

While that is absent which we wish, the rest
That seemes to passe, when ought else is adrest,
That we desire, with equall thirst oppress.

Whatsoever it be that falleth into our knowledge and ioyissance, we finde, it doth not satisfie-vs, and we still follow and gape after future, vncertaine, and vnkowne things, because the present and knowne please-vs not, and doe not satisfie-vs. Not (as I think) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to satiate and please-vs, but the reason is, that we apprehend and seize on them with an vnurly, disordred, and diseased taste and holde-fast.

Lucr. ret. lib. 9.

*Nam cum vidit hic ad usum qua flagitat usus,
Omnia iam ferme mortalibus esse parata,
Diuitijs homines & honore & laude potentes
Affluere, atque bona natorum excellere fama,
Nec minus esse domi, cuiquam tamen anxia corda,
Atque animum infestis cogi seruire querelis:
Intellexit ibi vitium vas facere ipsum,
Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus
Que collata foris & commoda queque venirent.*

For when the wiseman saw, that all almost,
That vse requires, for men prepared was,
That men enriches, honors, praises boast,
In good reporte of children others passe,
Yet none at home did beare lesse pensive heart,
But that the minde was forst to serve complaint,
He knew, that fault the vessell did empart,
That all was marr'd within by vessels taint,
What ever good was wrought by any art.

Our appetite is irresolute, and vncertaine; it can neither holde nor enjoy any thing handsomly and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice and fault of things he possesseth, feedeth and filleth himselfe with other things, which he neither knoweth, nor hath understanding-of, whereto he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honor and reverence to himself; as saith *Caesar*, *Communi sit vitio natura, ut in visis, latitantibus atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur*. It hapneth by the common fault of nature, that both we are more confident, and more terrified by things vnscene, things hidden, and vnkowne.

Ces. bel. civ. li. 2

The foure and fiftieth Chapter. *xp**Of vaine subtilties, or subtile devises.* 7

There are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them, subtilties of wit, by meanes of which, some men doe often endeavor to get credit and reputation: as diuers Poets, that frame whole volumes with verses beginning with one letter: we see Egges, Wings, Hatchets, Crosses, Globes, Columnes, and diuers other such-like figures anciently fashioned by the Græcians, with the measure and proportion of their verses, spreading, lengthning, and shortning them, in such sort as they justly represent such and such a figure. Such was the science and profession of him, who long time busied himselfe, to number how many severall wayes the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found-out that incredible number mentioned by *Plutarke*. I allow of his opinion, who having one brought before him, that was taught with such industrie, and so curiously to cast a graine of millet with his hand, that without ever missing, he would every time make-it goe through a needles-eyes and being entreated to bestowe some thing vpon him, (as a reward for so rare a skill,) very pleasantly and worthily, commaunded, that this cunning workeman should have two or three peckes of millet delivered him, to the end his rare arte and witty labour might not remaine without daily exercise. It is a wonderfull testimonie of our judgements imbecillitie, that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rarenesse, or noveltie, or for their difficultie, though neither goodnes or profit be joynd vnto them. We come but now from my house, where we have a while recreated our selves, with devising who could finde out most things, that held by both extreame endes; As for example, *Sire*, is in our tongue a title onely given to the most imminent person of our state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sorte, as vnto marchants and pedlers, and nothing concerneth those of the middle sorte, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefeest calling and qualitie are called *Dames*, the meane sort *Damosells*, and those of the basest ranke, are also entituled *Dames*. The clothes of estate, which we see set over tables and chaires, are onely allowed in Princes houses, yet we see them vsed in Tavernes. *Democritus* was wont to say, *That Gods and beastes, had quicker senses and sharper wittes then men, who are of the middle ranke*. The Romanes vsed to weare one selfe same garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine, that both an extreame feare, and an exceeding heate of courage, doe equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nick-name of *Tremblant*, wherewith *Zanchio* the twelfth King of *Navarre* was surnamed, teacheth, that boldenes, as well as feare, engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Those which armed, either him, or any other of like nature, whose skinn would quiver, assaied to re-assure him, by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall; you have no perfect knowledge of me (said he) for if my flesh knew how farre my courage wil ere-long carrie-it, it would presently fall into a flat swowne. That chilnesse, or as I may terme-it, faintnes, which we feele after the exercises of *Venus*, the same doth also proceede of an over vehement appetite and disordred heate. Excessive heate and extreame cold do both boile and roste. *Aristotle* saith, *that leaden vessels doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter, as by a vehement heat*. Both desire and satietie fill the seates with sorow, both aboue and vnder voluptuousnes. Folly and wisdom meete in one point of feeling and resolution, about the suffering of humane accidents. The wiser sort doth gourmandise and command evill, and others ignore-it. The latter, (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other, beyond. Who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and duly measured, and rightly judged what they are, over-leap them by the power of a vigorous courage. They disdain and tread them vnder foote, as having a strong and solide mind, against which, if fortunes darts chance to light, they must of necessity be blunted and abated, meeting with so resisting a body, as they cannot pierce, or make

any impression therein. The ordinarie and meane condition of men abideth betweene these two extremities; which are those that perceive and have a feeling of mischiefs, but cannot endure them. Both infancie and decrepitude meete with weakenes of the braine. Covetise and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard-vp. It may with likelyhooe be spoken, that there is a kinde of *Abecedarie* ignorance; preceeding science: an other doctorell, following science: an ignorance, which science doth beget: even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, lesse-curious, and least-instructed spirits are made good christians, who simply beleeve through reverence and obedience, and are kept in awe of the lawes. In the meane vigor of spirits, and slender capacitie is engendred the error of opinions: They follow the apparance of the first sense; and have some title to interpret-it foolishnes and sottishnes, that we are confirmed in ancient waies, respecting vs, that are nothing therein instructed by studie. The best, most-setled and clearest-seeing spirits, make another sorte of well-beleevvers, who by long and religious investigation, penetrate a more profound, and finde-out a more abstruse light in scriptures, and discover the misterious and divine secrets of our ecclesiasticall pollicie. And therefore see we some of them, that have reached vnto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruite and confirmation; as vnto the furthest bounds of christian intelligence: and enjoy their victorie with comfort, thank-giving, reformation of manners, and great modestie. In which ranke, my purpose is not to place these others, who to purge themselves from the suspicion of their forepassed errors, and the better to assure vs of them, become extreme, indiscreet and vnjust in the conduct of our cause, and taxe and tainte the same with infinit reproches of violence. The simple peasants are honest men; so are Philosophers, (or as our time nameth them, strong and cleare natures) enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sorte of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach vnto the other (as they that sit betweene two stooles, of which besides so many others I am one) are dangerous, peevish, foolish, and importunate, & they which trouble the world most. Therefore do I (as much as lieth in me) withdrawe my selfe into the first and naturall seate, whence I never assaid to depart. Popular and meerely naturall Poesie, hath certaine graces, and in-bred livelines, whereby it concurrith and compareth it selfe vnto the principall beautie of perfect and artificial Poesie, as may plainly be seene in the *Villanelles*, homely gigges, and cuntry songs of *Gasconie*, which are brought vnto vs from nations, that have no knowledge at all, either of any learning, or so much as of writing. Meane and indifferent Poesie, and that consisteth betweene both, is skorned, and contemned, and passeth without honor or esteeme. But forasmuch as since the passage hath beene opened vnto the spirit, I have found (as it commonly happeneth) that we had apprehended that which is neither so nor so for a difficult exercise, and of a rare subject; And that since our invention hath beene set on fire, it discovereth an infinit number of like examples; I will onely adde this one: That if these Essayes were worthe to be judged-of, it might in mine opinion happen, that they would not greatly please the common and vulgar spirits, and as little the singular and excellent. The first will vnderstand but little of them, the latter over-much; they might perhaps live and rub out in the middle region.

Note how this may
concerne the gener-
rality of English
men

The five and fiftieth Chapter. *xv*

Of smells and odors. 6

IT is reported of some, namely of *Alexander*, that their sweate, through some rare and extraordinary complexion, yeelded a sweete-smelling savour; whereof *Plutarke* and others seeke to finde out the cause. But the common sorte of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the best qualitie they have, is to be cleare of any smell at all. The sweetnes of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them, then to be without, savour, that may offend-vs: as are those of healthie-sound children. And therefore saith *Plautus*;

Mulier

Mulier tam benè olet, ubi nihil olet.

Then smell's a woman purely well,
When she of nothing else doth smell.

Plant. Mosel.
act. 1. sc. 3.

The most exquisit and sweetest favour, of a woman, is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange favours, may rightly be held suspicious in such as vse them; and a man may lawfully thinke, that who vseth them, doth-it to cover some naturall defect: whence proceede these ancient Poeticall sayings. *To smell sweete, is to stinke,*

Rides nos Coracine nil olentes;

Malo quàm benè olere, nil olere,

You laugh at vs that we of nothing favour,

Rather smell so, then sweeter (by your favour.) And else where.

Posthume non benè olet, qui benè semper olet.

Mart. l. 6. epig.
55. 4.

Good sir, he smells not ever sweete,

Who smells still sweeter then is meete.

L. 2. epig. 12. 4

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweete smells, and hate exceedingly all maner of fowre and ill favours, which I shall sooner smell, then any other.

— *Namque sagacius unus odoror,*

Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,

Quàm canis acer ubi lateat sus.

Hor. epod. 12. 4.

Sooner smell I, whether a cancred nose,

Or ranke gote-smell in hairie arme-pits lie,

Then sharpest hounds, where rowting bores repose.

The simplest and meerey-naturall smells, are most pleasing vnto me; which care ought chiefly to concerne women. In the very heart of *Barbarie*, the Scithian women, after they had washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawbe, and powder all their bodies and faces over, with a certaine odoriferous drug, that groweth in their countrie: which dust and dawbing being taken away, when they come neere men or their husbands, they remaine very cleane, and a very sweete-savouring perfume. What odor soever it be, it is strange to see, what hold it will take on-me, and how apt my skinne is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature, that she hath not created man with a fit instrument, to carry sweete smells fast-tied to his nose, is much too blame: for, they carry themselves. As for me in particular, my mostachoes, which are very thicke, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my hand-kercher to them, their smell will sticke vpon them a whole day. They manifest the place I come from. The close-smacking, sweetenesse-moving, love-aluring, and greedy-smirking kisses of youth, were heretofore wont to sticke on them many houres after; yet am I little subject to those popular diseases, that are taken by conversation, and bred by the contagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time, of which there hath beene many and severall kindes, both in the townes about me, and in our *Annie*. We reade of *Socrates*, that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infested the Cittie of *Athens*, he never forooke or went out of the towne: yet was he the onely man, that was never infected, or that felt any sicknesse. Physicians might (in mine opinion) draw more vse and good from odours, then they doe. For, my selfe have often perceived, that according vnto their strength and qualitie, they change and alter, and move my spirits, and worke strange effects in me: which makes me approve the common saying, that the invention of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so farre-dispersed throughout all nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoyce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze, and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apter and readier vnto contemplation. And the better to judge of it, I would I had my parte of the skill, which some cookes have, who can so curiously season and temper strange odors with the favour and relish of their meates. As it was especially observed in the service of the King of *Tunes*, who in our dayes landed at *Naples*, to meete and enter-parly with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His viands were so exquisitely farced, and so sumptuously seasoned with sweete odoriferous drugs, and aromaticall spices, that it was found vpon his booke of accompts, the dressing of one peacocke, and two fefants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinary maner of cooking his meates. And when they were carved-vp, not onely the dining-chambers, but all the roomes of his pallace, and the streetes round about-it were replenished with an exceeding

odoriferous

odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principall care I take, wheresoever I am lodged, is to avoide, and be farre from all maner of filthy, foggy, ill-favoring, and vnwholesome aires. These goodly Citties of strangely-seated *Venice*, and huge-built *Paris*, by reason of the muddie, sharp, and offending favors, which they yeeld; the one by her fennie and marish scituation, the other by her durie vncleanesse, and continuall mire, doe greatly alter and diminish the favour which I beare them.

The six and fiftieth Chapter.

Of Praiers and Orisons. 5

x p

I Propose certaine formelesse and irresolute fantasies, as do those schollers, who in schooles publish doubtfull and sophisticall questions to be disputed and canvased: not to establishe the truth, but to find it out: which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering & directing, not onely of my actions and compositions, but also of my thoughts, belongeth. The condemnation, as well as the approbation of them, will be equally acceptable and profitable vnto me, deeming it absurde and impious, if any thing be, either ignorantly, or vnadvisedly set downe in this rapsodie, contrary vnto the sacred resolutions, and repugnant to the holy prescriptions of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore alwayes referring my selfe vnto their censures that have all power over me, do I meddle so rashly, to write of all manner of purposes and discourses, as I do here. I wot not whether I be deceived, but sithence, by an especiall and singular favor of Gods divine bounty, a certaine forme of praier, hath, by the very mouth of God, word by word beene prescribed and directed vnto vs, I have ever thought the vse of it, should be more ordinary with vs, then it is. And might I be believed, both rising and going to bed, sitting downe and rising from boorde, and going about any particular action or busines, I would have all good Christians, to say the *Pater noster*, and if no other praier, at least not to omitte that. The Church may extend, amplifie, and diversifie prayers according to the neede of our instruction: For, I knowe it is alwayes the same substance, and the same thing. But that one should ever have this priviledge, that all manner of people, should at all times, and vpon every occasion have it in their mouth: For, it is most certaine, that onely it containeth whatsoever we want, and is most fit, and effectuell in all events. It is the onely prayer I vse in every place, at all times, and vpon every accident; and in steade of changing, I vse often repetition of it: whence it commeth to passe, that I remember none so well as that one. I was even now considering, whence this generall error commeth, that in all our desseignes and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediatly have recourse vnto God, and in every necessitie, we call vpon his holy name: And at what time soever wee stand in neede of any help, and that our weaknesse wanteth assistance, we onely invoke him, without considering whether the occasion be just or vnjust; and what estate or action we be in, or go about, be it never so vicious or vnlawfull, we call vpon his name and power. Indeepe he is our onely protector, and of power to affoorde vs all maner of help and comfort; but although he vouchsafe to honour vs with this joy-bringing fatherly adoption, yet is he as just as he is good; and as good and just, as he is mightie: But ofener vseth his justice than his might, and favoereth vs according to the reason of the same, and not according to our requests. *Plato* in his lawes maketh three sortes of injurious beliefe in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our affaires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing vnto our vowes, offrings, and sacrifices. The first error, according to his opinion, did never continue immutable in man, even from his first infancie vnto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constancie. His justice and power are inseparable. It is but vaine to emplore his power in a bad cause. Man must have an vnpoluted soule

Pater noster

soule when he praiceth (at least in that moment he addresseth himselfe to pray) and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwise we our selves present him the rodde to scourge vs withall. In lieu of redressing our fault, we redouble the same, by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom onely we should sue for grace and forgiveness. Loe-heere, why I doe not willingly commend those Pharisaicall humours, whom I so often behold, and more then ordinary, to pray vnto God, except their actions immediately preceeding or succeeding their prayers witnesse some shew of reformation or hope of amendment.

— *Sin nocturnus adulter*

Tempora sanctonico velas adoperta cucullo.

If in a cape-cloke-hood bestenchifide

Thou a night-whore-munger thy head doost hide.

Iuven. sat. 8.

144.

And the state of a man that commixeth devotion vnto an execrable life, seemeth in some sort to be more condemnable, then that of one, that is conformable vnto himselfe, and everie way dissolute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse, the favour of hir enterance and societie, vnto customes and manners wilfully-obstinate on some egregious villainy. Wee onely pray by custome and vse, and for fashion-sake, or to say better, wee but reade and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formalitie, and a formall shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meate, will with great shew of devotion, crosse themselves three or foure times (and it vexeth mee so much the more, when I call to mind, that it is a signe I greatly reverence, and have in continuall vse, yea if I be but gaping) and therewith, shall you see them bestow all other houres of the day in al manner of hatred, malice, covetousnes, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to God, & that as it were by way of recompence & composition. It is wonderous to see, so far different and divers actions, continue with so even a tenor, that no interruption or alteration at-all can be perceived, either about their confines, or passage from one vnto another. What prodigious conscience can be at any hartes-ease, fostering, and feeding with so mutual, quiet, and agreeing society, in one selfe same mansion, both crime and judge? A man whose *Paillardize* and luxurie, doth vncessantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the same abominable & most hateful in the sight of God; what saith he vnto his all-seeing Majestie, when he openeth his lippes, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of-it? He reclaimeth himselfe, but falleth sodainely againe. *If the object of his divine iustice, and his presence should strike, (as he saith) and chastize his soule, how short-soever the penitence were; feare it selfe would so often cast his thought on-it, that he should presently perceive himselfe maister of those vices, which are habituaded, in-bred, settled and en fleshed in him.* But what of those, which ground a whole life vpon the fruit and benefite of that sinne, they know to bee mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations and vacations, have we dayly and continually vsed, frequented and allowed amongst vs, whose essence is vicious and most pernicious? And hee that would needs confesse himselfe vnto me, and of his owne accord told me, that for feare of loosing his credite, and to keepe the honour of his offices; he had for a whole age, made shew and profession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne selfe-accusing conscience, hee judged damnable, and cleane contrary vnto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and foster so contradictory and impious a discourse in his heart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subject? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends, and manageable reparation; they loose both towards God and vs, the meanes to alleage the same. Are they so malapart and fond-hardie as to crave pardon without satisfaction, and sans-repentance? I thinke it goeth with the first, as with the last: But obstinacie is not herein so easie to be vanquished. This so sodaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they faine vnto vs, seemeth to me a miracle. They present vs with the state of an indigestible agonie. How fantastickall seemed their imagination vnto me, who these latter yeares had taken vp a fashion, to checke and reprove all men, that professed the Catholicke religion, in whom shined any extraordinary brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained: and to doe him honor, held, that whatsoever he saide in apparance, he could not inwardly chuse but have his beliefe reformed according to their byase. It is a peevisish infirmite, for a man to thinke himselfe so firmly grounded, as to perswade himself, that the contrary may not be believed: And more peevisish also, to bee perswaded by such a spirit, that

preferreth I wot not what disparitie of fortune, before the hopes and threatens of eternall life. They may believe mee: If any thing could have tempted my youth, the ambition of the hazard, and difficulty, which followed this late-moderne enterprize, should have had good part therein. It is not without great reason, in my poore judgement, that the church forbid-
 deth the confused, rash and indiscreete vse of the sacred and divine songs, which the holy spirit hath indited vnto *David*. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with aw-
 full reverence, and an attention full of honor and respect. The word or voyce is too diuine,
 having no other vse but to exercise our lungs, and to please our eares. It is from the consci-
 ence and not from the tongue that it must proceede. It is not consonant vnto reason, that a
 prentise or shoppe-keeping boy, amidst his idle, vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be
 suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemely, or tolerable, to see the
 sacred booke of our beliefes-Mysteries, tossed vp and downe and plaid withall, in a shoppe,
 or a hall, or a kitchin. They have heretofore bin accompted mysteries, but through the ab-
 vse of times, they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious, and venerable a studie
 should not, by way of pastime, and tumultuarly be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purpo-
 sed, and settled action, to which this preface of our office *sursum corda* should ever bee adjoy-
 ned; and the very exterior parts of the body, should with such a countenance, be referred vn-
 to it, that to all mens eyes it may witnesse a particular attention and duteous respect. It is
 not a studie fitting all men, but onely such as have vowed themselves vnto-it, and whome
 God hath, of his infinit mercy, called therevnto. The wicked, the vngodly, and the igno-
 rant are thereby empaired. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to bee
 dutifully revered, awfully feared, and religiously adored. Are they not pleasantly concei-
 ted, who because they have reduced the same into the vulgar tongues, and that all men
 may vnderstand-it, perswade themselves, that the people shal the better conceive and digest
 the same? Consisteth-it but in the wordes, that they vnderstand not all they finde written?
 Shall I say more? By approaching thus little vnto it, they goe backe from it. Meere igno-
 rance, and wholly relying on others, was verily more profitable & wiser, then is this verball, &
 vaine knowlege, the nurse of presumption, & source of temerity. Moreover, I am of opinion,
 that the vncontroled libertie, that all men have to wrest, dissipate, and wyre-draw a word so
 religious, and important, to so manie severall idiomes, hath much more danger then profit
 following-it. The Iewes, the Mahometans, and well-nigh all other nations, are wedded vn-
 to, and reverence the language, wherein their mysteries and religion had originally bin con-
 ceived; and any change or translation hath not without apparance of reason bin directly for-
 bidden. Know we whether there be Iudges enow in *Basque* and in *Brittanie* to establish this
 translation made in their tongue? The Vniuersall Church hath no more difficult and so-
 lemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandering,
 free, and mutable, and of one parcell; so is it not alike. One of our Græcian Historians, doth
 justly accuse his age, for so much as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all pub-
 like places, and even amongst the basest artificers; and that every man might, at his pleasure,
 dispute of it, and at randon speake his minde of the same. And it should be a great shame for
 vs, who by the vnspeakable grace of God enjoy the pure and sacred mysteries of piety,
 to suffer the same to be profaned in the mouthes of ignorant and popular people, seeing
 the very Gentiles interdicted *Socrates* and *Plato*, and the wisest, to meddle, enquire or speake
 of things committed vnto the Priestes of *Delphos*. Saying moreover, *That the factions of*
Princes, touching the subiect of Divinitie, are armed, not with zeale, but with anger. That zeale
dependeth of diuine reason and iustice, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth
into hatred and envie, and in steede of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darnell, if it be di-
rected by humane passion. And justly saith this other, who counselling the Emperour *Theodo-*
sius, affirmed that *disputations, did not so much appease and lull asleepe the schismes of the Church,*
as stirre up and cause heresies. And therefore it behooved to avoyde all contentions, contro-
 versies, and logicall arguings, and wholly and sincerely referre himselfe vnto the prescriptions
 and orders of faith, established by our forefathers. And *Andronicus* the Emperour, finding
 by chance in his pallace, certaine principall men very earnestly disputing against *Lapodius*, a-
 bout one of our points of great importance, taunted and rated them very bitterly, and threat-
 ned if they gave not over, he would cause them to bee cast into the river. Children and wo-
 men doe now-adayes governe and sway the oldest and most experienced men concerning
 Ecclesiasticall

Ecclesiasticall Lawes: Whereas the first that *Plato* made, forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civill Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allowing aged men to communicate the same amongst themselves, and with the Magistrate, adding more-over, alwayes provided it be not in the presence of yoong men, and before profane persons. A notable Bishoppe hath left written, that in the other end of the world, there is an Island called of our predecessours *Dioscorida*, very commodious, and fertile of all sortes of fruites and trees, and of a pure and wholesome ayre; whose people are Christians, and have churches and altars; adorned with nothing else but crosses, without other images; great observers of fastings and holy dayes; exact payers of their priestes tithes; and so chaste, that none of them may lawfully all his life long know any more then one wife. And in all other matters so well pleased with their fortune, that being seated in the midst of the sea, they have and knowe no vse of shippes; and so simple, that of their religion, which they so diligently and awfully observe, they know not, nor vnderstand so much as one onely word. A thing incredible, to him that knew not how the Pagans, who are so devout and zealous idolaters, know nothing of their Gods, but only their bare names and statues. The ancient beginning of *Menalippe*, a tragedy of *Euripides*, imported thus.

*O Iupiter, car de toy rien sçay,
Je ne cognois seulement que le nom.*

*O Iupiter, for vnto me,
Onely the name is knowne of thee.*

Eurip.

I have also in my time heard certaine writings complained of, for so much as they are meerly humane and Philosophicall, without meddling with divinitie. He that should say to the contrarie (which a man might doe with reason.) that heavenly doctrine, as a Queene and gouvernesse doth better keepe hir ranke apart; that she ought to be chiefe ruler and principall head every where, and not suffragant and subsidiarie. And that peradventure examples in Grammer, Rethorike, & Logike, might more fitly & fortably be taken from elsewhere, then from so sacred and holy a subject, as also the arguments of theatres, plots of plaies, and groundes of publike spectacles. That mysteriously-divine reasons are more venerably and reverently considered alone, and in their native stile, then joyned and compared to humane discourse. That this fault is oftener scene, which is, that Divines write too humanely, then this other, that humanists write not theologically enough. *Philosophie*, saith *S. Chrysostom*, is long since banished from sacred schooles, as an unprofitable servant, and deemed unworthie to behold, but in passing by the entrie, or vestrie of the sacred treasures of heavenly doctrine. That the formes of humane speech, are more base, and ought by no meanes to make any vse of the dignitie, majestie, and preheminance of divine speech. As for my part, I give it leave to say, *verbis indisciplinatis, with undisciplined words*, Fortune, destinie, chance, accident, fate, good lucke, ill lucke, the Gods, and other phrases, as best it pleaseth. I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits, and severally considered; not as settled, concluded, and directed by celestially ordinance, incapable of any doubt or alteration. A matter of opinion, and not of faith. What I discourse according to my selfe, not what I beleieve according vnto God, with a laycall fashion, and not a clerical manner; yet ever most religious. As children propose their essayes, instructable, not instructing. And might not a man also say without apparance, that the institution, which willeth, no man should dare to write of religion, but sparingly, and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. It hath bin told me, that even those which are not of our consent, do flatly inhibite amongst themselves the vse of the sacred name of God in all their vulgar and familiar discourses. They would have no man vse it as an interjection, or exclamation, nor to be aleaged as a witnesse, or comparisons wherein I finde they have reason. And howsoever it bee, that we call God to our commerce and societie, it should be zealously, seriously and religiously. There is (as farre as I remember) such a like discourse in *Xenophon*, wherein he declareth, That we should more rarely pray vnto God: forasmuch as it is not easie, we should so often settle our mindes in so regular, so reformed, and so devout a seate, where indeede it ought to be, to pray aright and effectually: otherwise our praies are, not onely vaine and unprofitable, but vicious. Forgive vs (say we) our offences, as we forgive them that trespasse against vs. What else inferre we by that petition, but that we offer him our soule void of all revenge and free from all rancour? We neverthelesse

dinarie condition did not present these inconveniences vnto vs all. Let vs not flatter our selves with these fond-goodly words; a man may peradventure rather call that naturall, which is generall, common and vniuersall. To die of age, is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall then others: It is the last and extreamest kinde of dying: The further it is from vs, somuch the lesse is it to be hoped-for: Indeepe it is the limit, beyond which we shall not passe, and which the lawe of nature hath prescribed vnto vs, as that which should not be outgon by any; but it is a rare priuiledge peculiar vnto hir selfe, to make vs continue vnto-it. It is an exemption, which through some particular fauour she bestoweth on some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles and difficulties, she hath enterposed betweene both, in this long carriere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider, that the age vnto which wee are come, is an age whereto few arive: since men come not vnto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe wee are very forward. And since wee have past the accustomed boundes, which is the true measure of our life, we must not hope, that we shall goe much further. Having escaped so many occasions of death, wherein wee see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune, as that is, which maintaineth vs, and is beyond the common vse, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the very lawes, to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to bee capable and of discretion, to manage and dispose of his owne goods, vntill he bee five and twentie yeares olde, yet shall hee hardly preserve the state of his life so long. *Augustus* abridged five yeares of the ancient Romane Lawes, and declared, that for any man that should take vpon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirtie yeares olde. *Servius Tullius* dispensed the Knights, who were seaven and fortie yeares of age from all voluntarie services of warre. *Augustus* brought them to fortie and five. To send men to their place of sojourning before they be fife and fiftie or three skore yeares of age, me seemeth, carrieth no great apparance with-it. My advice would be, that our vacation, and employment should bee extended as farre as might bee for the publike commoditie; but I blame some, and condemne most, that wee beginne not soone enough to employ our selves. The same *Augustus* had beene vniuersall and supreme judge of the world, when he was but nineteene yeares olde, and would have another to bee thirtie, before he shall bee made a competent judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I thinke our mindes are as full growne and perfectly joynted at twentie yeares, as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A minde which at that age hath not given some evident token or earnest of hir sufficiencie, shall hardly give-it afterward; put hir to what tryall you list. Naturall qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them, will produce and shew the same within that time, or never. They say in *Delphinate*.

Si l'espine non picque quand nai,

A peine que picque iamai.

French prov.

* A thorne, vnlesse at first it pricke,
Will hardly ever pearce toth' quicke.

Of all humane honorable and glorious actions, that ever came vnto my knowledge, of what nature soever they be, I am perswaded, I should have a harder taske, to number those, which both in ancient times, and in ours, have beene produced and atchieved before the age of thirtie yeares, then such as were performed after: yea often in the life of the same men. May not I boldly speake it of those of *Haniball*, and *Scipio* his great aduersarie? They lived the better parte of their life with the glorie which they had gotten in their youth: And though afterward they were great men, in respect of all others, yet were they but meane in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age, both my spirite and my body, have more decreased then encreased, more recoyled then aduanced. It may bee, that knowledge and experience shall encrease in them, together with life, that bestowe their time well: but vivacitie, promptitude, constancie and other partes much more our owne, more important and more essentiall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

—*ubi iam validis quassatum est viribus ævi
Corpus, & obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,
Clandicat ingenum, delirat linguaque mensque.*

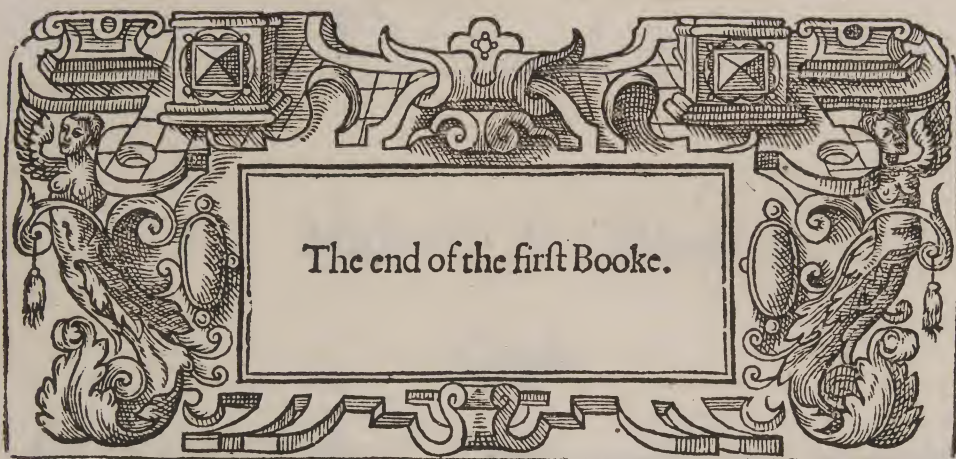
Lucr. l. 3. 457.

When

When once the bodie by shrewd strength of yeares
Is shak't, and limmes drawne-downe from strength that weares,
Wit halts, both tongue and minde
Doe daily doate, we finde.

It is the body, which sometimes yeeldeth first vnto age; and other times the minde: and I have seene many, that have had their braines weakened before their stomake or legges. And forasmuch as it is a disease, little or nothing sensible vnto him that endureth-it, and maketh no great shew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leave vs so long and late in working and employment, but that they set vs a worke no sooner, and it is so late before we be employed. Me thinkes that considering the weakenesse of our life, and seeing the infinite number of ordinarie rockes, and naturall dangers it is subject vnto, we should not so soone as we come into the world, alotte

so great a share thereof vnto vnprofitable wantonnesse in
youth, il-breeding idlenesse, and
slow-learning pre-
tissage.



THE ESSAYES

Or

Morall, Politike and Millitarie
Discourses

of

Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,

Knight

*Of the noble Order of S^r Michaell, and one of the
Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry
the third his Chamber.*

The second Booke.

(* *)

THE ESSAYS

OF

MORAL, POLITICAL AND MILITARY
DISCOURSES

OF

LO: MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE

KNIGHT

OF the noble Order of St. Michael, and one of the
Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French King, formerly
the third his Chamberlain.

The second Book.

(*)



TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable and all-praise-worthie Ladies, Elizabeth
Countesse of Rutland, and Ladie
Penelope Riche.



I've me leave (peerelesse, and in all good gifts unparagoni-
zed Ladies) though I make my fault double to aske leave
for a fault, which I might leave; yet thus to paire you with-
out dislike, who like (I imagine) each other above other,
and to whom a like paire long may I seeke, but be long ere
I finde. Such pairing is no empairing, no disparaging,
nor yet comparing, unlesse in that good comparison of ex-
cellence. This is the number appropriate, at least recipro-
call, of true love: as the two Tables comprised in two com-
mandements of due love. And such is Gods proceeding,

A
Strang stile

Mont. l. 2. c. 27.

when Mercie and Truth meete together, Righteousnesse and Peace have kissed each other.
Even as body and soule, braine and heart, memory and understanding; so are you two with
your two honorablest Lordes made, as you should be, even : two Doves, two Loves :
double kinde, double kindenesse. Both like the two Cherubins on the toppes and sides of the
propitiatorie, respective mutually; like the two starres of the North, which our Mariners
call; the Guardes, directive of our course; like your owne eyes, their owne onely matches;
yet as much pleasing others with their sight, as your themselves. And hereby, as your Cog-
nifance (noblest Countesse of RUTLAND) beares the body or chiefe part of an Imprese made
for a worthy Dutchesse of Florence : so (hope we) you ere long shall adde the soule and life
of her word, Cum pudore lata facunditas : to reape as much ioy by Iuno, as labour by
Lucina, and honor by them both: which being so well grafted shall be (as the Italian spake in
Dutch) Wan Got will: whereof yet a faire patterne you have here (be it auspicious) afforti-
ated to you : I meane you (truely-richest Ladie RICH) in riches of Fortune not deficient,
but of body incomparably richer, of minde most rich : who yet, like Cornelia, were you
out-vied, or by rich shewes envited to shew your richest ieweltes, would stay till your sweete I-
mages (your deere-sweete children) came from schoole. And if you may so ioy in those your
yong Schollers, of such hope, of such spirit, so nobly borne, so worthily proceeding : how then
may I boast of both your Ladiships, of such prooffe, of such merite, my not onely proficient, but
perfect Schollers? Yea, as of love, so of language, peerelesse Ladies? who like that great and
good Cornelia, not only with bountie entertaine, but of benigntie invite learned and ver-
tuous strangers, not so much to employ, as rather to releevie, yea oblige, yea amuse, yea
drive them to admiration or veneration of your singular sufficiencies, surmounting magna-
nimitie, and inestimable value, even from forraine Princes that come to see this happy-hap-
piest Iland to receive gratulations, and merit commendations. Who also, like another of the
same name, to your great and good Pompeys brought an invaluable dowrie, not onely of
Nobilitie, Learning, Language, Musicke, but withall, an uncurious gravitie, and all-ac-
complish't vertue. So as into this familie of these Corneliaes, as many ciences into one
stocke, the Orator may well conclude the wisdom and vertue of many engrafted and colle-

Paul. Gio. Imp

Bul.

The Epistle.

*Eded. And though this Montaigne-Lord, not so knightly as uncivilly, in this your part acknowledged no dozens of good women at any time in one place (in France it may be, or of his knowledge) but onely a bare trinity, and those Italians, and that about their husbandes death to die with or afore them; forgetting he had instanced but a little before, out of Propertius and others, in many Indians; who, did they ordinarily as much for their husbands, would out of doubt affectionately doe more for them yet living: yet as even those Corneliaes, and in that very poynt, both in Plutarch, both (as God would have it) surviving their husbands, the one prevented by her husbands wise kindenesse, the other with all sympathy attending his extreame fortune; both while they lived, preserved the dead in Honorable memorie: as also in his kinde three other in Plutarch went as farre; namely Empo-
na, Camma and Damocrita: or this mans Theoxena, Sextilia, Praxea, Pelagia, Sophronia, Fulvia, and many more; since in the Romane proscriptions, as one of their Historians doth testifie, many wives were found exceeding faithfull, but few men-servants, fewer friends, and fewest sonnes. So neyther is one vertue fit for all, nor all fit for one vertue: nor is that one so excellent, but by more it might be mended: nor deeme I his three so good, but many have bin, and some be much better: Yea, as a Christian, I must deny them good, who cast-backe Gods good gift before he call for it, leave their faire corps-de-guarde ere their Generall discharge them; hope to be deified for being their owne murderers, who should be damned if they were so to others; more savage to their owne soules, than any beast would be to their owne flesh; nor of force, but for feare, or for fame at the best: though even in that (as Plinie thinkes of two of the same persons) the same fact is diversly extolled or abased, as the person that doth it, is divers, high or base. Nor would a wiser Pactus than his, yea a better man than his Seneca permitte as good an Arria as his her daughter to die as shee did; though as willingly she would, but charged her to live after him for him and his. Better yet (but not much) like I that seely one, which this Authour approoveth by his wise Duke of
Bretaigne in choice of Isabell of Scotland. But since himselfe likes it better to be well used in life then at death, and better vsage proceeds from better vertues (for better vertues make you love as well as be beloved: and loyall love from you makes up his mouth, with sweeter sawce than death) without that extreame triall, I can tell him we have, and by good hap, my dedications name vnto him, halfe a dozen, better, because more vertuous, and therefore more loved, and as loving. Or, will hee admitte but three, if not paires, yet their Peeres, I must say of three as Ariosto saide of one, Credi ogn'una d'esser quella Fenice: Or as my fellow Nolano in his heroycall furies wrote (noble Countesse) to your most heroeicke father, and in a Sonnet to you Ladies of England, You are not women, but in their likeness Nymphs, Goddes, and of Celestiall substance.*

Mont. lib. 2. c. 35.

Ibid. lib. 2. c. 29.

Plut. vit. Grac.
& Pomp.

Mon. lib. 2. c. 27
& c. 3.

Ibid. lib. 1. c. 24.

Orl. fu. can. 27

Gior. Bru. hero.
fur. arg.

Et siote in terra quel' ch'in ciel' le stelle,

And above all, that onely divine Diana,

Qual' è tra voi qualche tra gl' astri il sole.

*And cleane contrary to this Censor, the Nobler and the Richer you are, the more vertuous and worthy we esteeme you by reason and experience. But while I follow my guide, I have forsaken my selfe, and while I would winne him friendes, he workes (I feare) foes both to him and me of my best friends; while he findes but three good, and that, when they did so, as I pray God keepe mine both from cause and effect, intention and execution: where-
in I follow, if not his Paris Preacher, at least his douceur Françoise. But is hee then so capriccious, so opiniative, so paradoxicall? I graunt, sometimes extravagant, often odd-crocheted, and ever selfe-conceited to write of himselfe out of himselfe. Why wrote he then? for him and his. But why doe I translate him? For your Ladiships and yours. What? to displease? Nay, neither doth such extraordinarinesse ever displease, nor is hee ever in his humour: for, in the iudgement (beside others, yea even of the precise Genevians he hath so bin iudged, and amongst them allowed to be printed) of your most learned, wise and hono-
rable*

Mon. lib. 2. c. 3.

The Epistle.

rable kinsman, sir Edward Wotton (who encouraged and set mee first upon this Worke)
 there are in it so pleasing passages, so iudicious discourses, so delightful varieties, so per-
 swasive conclusions, such learning of all sortes, and above all, so elegant a French stile, as
 (I thinke) for ESSAYES, I may say of him, as hee, in this Booke, did of Homer; Heere
 shines in him the greatest wit without example, without exception, deserving for his com-
 position to be entituled, Sole-Maister of Essayes: whose maister-poynt is this, none was
 before him, whom he might imitate; none hath come after him who could well imitate, or
 at most equall him: and a wonder it is, he therein should be perfectest, whereof he is first
 Authour. And for French eloquence, I may adde that of him, which the same Historian
 doth of Tullie, It brake out in full streames, full beames, vnder this Prince thereof, Lord of
 Montaigne, so as before him you may be delighted with few, but wonder at none, that hath
 not either seene him, or bin seene of him. His worth then being so eminent, his wit so excelent,
 his inventions so rare, his elocutions so ravishing; nor are my pains mis-spent in translating,
 nor will your Honours pleasure and leasure be mis-placed or mis-employed in perusing him. I
 know, nor this, nor any I have seen, or can conceive, in this or other language, can in aught be
 compared to that perfect-vnperfect Arcadia, which all our world yet weepes with you, that
 your all praise-exceeding father (his praise-succeeding Countesse) your worthy friend (friend-
 worthiest Lady) liued not to mend or end it: since this end wee see of it, though at first a-
 bove all, now is not answerable to the precedents: and though it were much easier to mend
 out of an originall and well corrected copie, than to make up so much out of a most corrupt,
 yet see we more marring that was well, then mending what was amisse. And if not any
 principall invention, much lesse may any translation at second hand come neere it: yet as
 that Worthie did diuinely even in French translating some part of that excellent du Ple-
 sis, and (as I have seene) the first septmaine of that Arch-Poet du Bartas (which good La-
 dies, be so good to all, as all this age may see, and after-ages honor) so though we much more
 meanely doe in meaner workes (for still I say none can annear him) yet where our Proto-
 notaries doe holde the chaire, let vs poore Secondaries not be thrust out of doores. Of this
 your Honourable goodnesse dooth assure me, and for this, and much more, I must and ever
 shall avow my selfe

ibid. lib. 2. c. 36

note

To your Honours obliged and devoted

in all service,

Iohn Florio.



TO THE RIGHT HON-
orable, *Elizabeth Countesse*
of Rutland.

THrife-happy Countesse, your thrife-honor'd Sire,
An other Nature, *Maro*-like, sur-named,
As he in Arte divinest Poems framed,
In love did to a love divine aspire,
In both wrought wonders of *Prometheus* fire;
So got in kind an of-spring no lesse famed,
His fame's enheritrix to be proclaimed;
That got, he got himselfe one of Heav'ns quire.
Asthen his, and your Mothers match you are
In parents, match, and shall (we hope) in breeding,
England to steade with antient *MANORS* race :
So be you (when we you in praise compare)
As kinde, in kindenesse them as kinde succeeding,
Great good-wils gift not great, & accept with grace.

Il Candido.



¶ To the Honorably-vertuous Ladie,
La: Penelope Riche.

M Adame, to write of you, and doe you right,
What meane we, or what meanes to ayde meane might?
Since HE, who admirably did endite,
Entiteling you Perfections heire, Ioyes light,
Loves life, Lifes gemme, Vertues court, Heav'ns delight,
Natures chiefe worke, Fair'st booke, his Muses spight,
Heav'n on Earth, peerelesse Phœnix, *Phœbe* bright,
Yet said, he was to seeke, of you to write.
Vnlesse your selfe be of your selfe devising;
Or that another such you can inspire.
Inspire you can; but ô none such can be:
Your selfe as bright as your mid-day, as rising.
Yet, though we but repeate who would flie higher,
And though we but translate, take both in gree.

Il Candido.



To the Honourably-virtuous Ladie,
La: Penelope Riches.

Adams to write of you, and doe you right,
What means was, or what means to speake means might,
Since HE, who admirably did endite,
Enticing you Perfection, his loves light,
Loves life, Loves games, Vices count, Heavns delight,
Names chaste works, First booke, his Muses bright,
Heavns on Earth bestelle, Phoenix, was bright,
Yet said, he was to seek, of you to write.
Villie your selfe be of your selfe devining;
Or that an other such you can inspire.
Inspire you can; but o none such can be;
Your selfe as bright as your mid-day, as rising.
Yet though we but repeat who would his light,
And though we but translate, take both in gree.



THE ESSAYES

of Michael Lord of
Montaigne.

The second Booke.

The first Chapter.

Of the inconstancie of our actions. 5 Xp

THose which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, find no such let in any one parte, as to peece them together, and bring them to one same lustre: For, they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcells of one ware-houſe. Yong *Marius* is sometimes found to be the sonne of *Mars*, and other times the childe of *Venus*. Pope *Boniface* the eight, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Foxe; to have carried himselfe therein, as a Lion; and to have died like a dog. And who would thinke it was *Nero*, that lively image of crueltie, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender, that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answere? Oh would to God I could never have written! So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may store himselfe; and I woonder to see men of vnderstanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature; as witnesseth that famous verse of *Publius* the Comœdian:

Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest.

Pub. Mim.

The counsell is but bad,
Whose change may not be had.

There is some apparance to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life; but seeing the naturall instabilitie of our customes and opinions; I have often thought, that even good Authors doe ill, and take a wrong course, wilfully to opionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of vs. They chuse an vniverſall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret al a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remitte them vnto dissimulation. *Augustus* hath escaped their hands; for, there is so apparant, so sodaine and continuall a variety of actions found in him, through the course of his life, that even the boldest judges and strictest censurers, have bin faine to give him over, & leave him vndecided. *There is nothing I so hardly beleewe to be in man, as constancy, and nothing so easy to be found in him, as inconstancy.* He that should distinctly, and part by part, judge of him, should often jumpe to speake trueth. View all antiquitie over, and you shall finde it a hard

S

matter,

matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life vnto one certaine, settled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdom. For, to comprehend all in one worde, saith an ancient writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I would not vouchsafe, (saith hee) to adde anie thing; alwayes provided the will be just: for, if it be vnjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heeretofore leained, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequence, it is impossible to fasten constancy vnto it. It is a saying of *Demosthenes*, (as some report,) *That consultation and deliberation, is the beginning of all vertue; and constancie, the end and perfection.* If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine waie, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on-it.

Hor. l. 1. epist. 1.
98.

*Quod petijt, spernit, repetit quod super omisit,
Æstuat, & vita disconvenit ordine toto.*

He scorn's that which he sought, seek's that he scorn'd of late,
He flowes, ebbes, disagrees in his lifes whole estate.

Our ordinarie maner is to follow the inclination of our appetite, this way and that way, on the left, and on the right hand; vpward and downward, according as the wind of occasions doth transport vs: we never think on what we would have, but at the instant we would have it: and change as that beast that takes the colour of the place wherein it is layd. What we euen now purposed, we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former byase: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy:

L. 2. sat. 7. 82.

Ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.

So are we drawne, as wood is shooved,
By others sinnewes each way mooved.

We goe not, but we are carryed: as things that flote, now gliding gentlie, now hulling violently; according as the water is, either stormy or calme.

Lucr. l. 3. 1100.

— *nōne videmus*

*Quid sibi quisque velit nescire & querere semper,
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?*

See we not, every man in his thoughts height
Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he straight
To change place, as he could lay downe his weight?

Everie day new toyes, each houre new fantasies, and our humours move and fleete with the fleetings and movings of time.

Cic. Fragm.

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse
Iuppiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.*

Such are mens mindes, as that great God of might
Survayes the earth with encrease-bearing light.

We floate and waver betweene divers opinions: we wil nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes, or established assured policies in his owne head; in his life should we dayly see, to shine an equalitie of customes, an assured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (*Empedocles* noted this deformitie to be amongst the *Agigentines*, that they gave themselves so over vnto delights, as if they should die to morrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourse thereof were easie to be made. As is seene in yong *Cato*: He that toucht but one step of it, hath touched all. It is an harmony of wel-according tunes and which cannot contradict it selfe. With vs it is clean contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there requir'd. The surest way (in mine opinion) were to referre them vnto the next circumstances, without entering into further search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broyles of our mangled estate, it was tolde mee, that a yoong woman, not farre from mee, had headlong cast hir selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill hirselfe, only to avoyde the ravishment of a rascalie base souldier, that lay in hir house, who offred to force-hir: and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed hirselfe, to make an end of hir enterprize, she would have cutte hir owne throate with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came in to her: Neverthelesse having sore wounded hir selfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but vrged hir with importunate requests, suing-solicitations, and golden bribes, but she feared he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion:

tion: by whose earnest speeches, resolute countenance, and gored bloud (a true testimony of his chaste vertue) she might appeare to be the lively patterne of an other *Lucrece*; yet know, I certainly, that both before that time, and afterward, she had bin enjoyed of others vpon easier composition. And as the common saying is; Faire and soft, as squeamish-honest as she seemes, although you misse of your intent, conclude not rashly an inviolable chastitie to be in your Mistresse; For, a groome or a horse-keeper may find an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. *Antigonus* having taken vpon him to fauour a Souldier of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commaunded his Physicians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingring & inward disease, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceived him to bee nothing so earnest and diligent in his affaires, demaunded of him, how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so cowardish: your selfe good sir (answered he) have made me so, by ridding me of those infirmities, which so did grieve me, that I made no accompt of my life. A souldier of *Lucullus*, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himself vndertooke a notable and desperat attempt vpon them; and having recovered his losses, *Lucullus* conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greatest shewes of assured trust and loving kindnesse he could bethinke himselfe, made especiall accompt of him, and in any daungerous enterprize seemed to trust and employ him onely:

Verbis que timido quoque possent addere mentem:

With words, which to a coward might

Adde courage, had he any spright.

Imploy (said he vnto him) some wretch-stripped and robbed souldier

— (*quantumvis rusticus ibit,*

Ibit eò, quò vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.)

(None is, saith he, so clownish, but will-on,

Where you will have him, if his purse be gone)

and absolutely refused to obey him. When we read that *Mahomet*, having outragiously rated *Chasan*, chiefe leader of his Ianizers, because he saw his troupe wel-nigh defeated by the Hungarians, and hee to behaue himselfe but faintly in the fight, *Chasan* without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more adoe, with his weapon in his hand rushed furiously in the thickest throng of his ennemies that he first mette withall, of whom hee was instantly slaine: This may haply be deemed, rather a rash conceite, than a justification; and a new spight, then a natural prowes. He whom you saw yesterday so boldly-venturous, wonder nor if you see him a dastardly meacocke to morrow next: for either anger or necessitie, company or wine, a sodaine fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowze-vp his hart, and stir vp his courage. It is no hart nor courage so framed by discourse or deliberation: These circumstances have settled the same in him: Therefore is-it no marvell if by other contrary circumstances he become a craven and change copy. This supple variation, and easie-yeelding contradiction, which is seene in vs, hath made some to imagine, that wee had two soules; and others, two faculties; wherof every one as best she pleaseth, accompanieth and doth agitate-vs; the one towards good, the other towards evil. Forso much as such a rough diversitie cannot wel sort & agree in one simple subject. The blast of accidents, doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for besides, I remove and trouble my selfe by the instability of my posture, and whosoever looketh narrowly about himselfe, shall hardly see himselfe twise in one same state. Sometimes I give my soule one visage, and sometimes another, according vnto the posture or side I lay hir-in. If I speake diversly of my selfe, it is because I looke diversly vpon my selfe. All contrarieties are found in hir, according to some turne or remooving, and in some fashion or other. Shamefast, bashfull, insolent, chaste, luxurious, peevish, prating, silent, fond, doting, labourious, nice, delicate, ingenious, slowe, dull, froward, humorous, debonaire, wise, ignorant, false in wordes, true-speaking, both liberall, covetous, and prodigall. All these I perceive in some measure or other to bee in mee, according as I stirre or turne my selfe; And whosoever shall heedefully survey and consider himselfe, shall finde this volubilitie and discordance to be in himselfe, yea and in his very judgement. I haue nothing to say entirely, simply, and with soliditie of my selfe, without confusion, disorder, blending, mingling; and in one word, *Distinguo* is the most vniversal part of my logike. Although I ever purpose to speake good of good, and rather to interpret those

things, that will beare-it, vnto a good sence; yet is it, that the strangenes of our condition admitteth that we are often vrged to do wel by vice it selfe, if wel doing were not judged by the intention only. Therefore may not a couragious acte conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when iust occasion serueth, shall ever be so, and vpon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vertue, and not a sodaine humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all assaies, in all accidents: Such alone, as in company; such in a single combate, as in a set battell; For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike, and not one in the street or towne, and another in the campe or field. As couragiously should a man beare a sickenes in his bed, as a hurt in the field, and feare death no more at home in his house, then abroad in an assault. We should not then see one same man enter the breach, or charge his enemy with an assured and vndanted fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vexe, to grieve and torment himselfe like vnto a feely woman, or faint-hearted milke-soppe for the losse of a sute, or death of a childe. If one chance to be carelessly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly resolute in povertie; if he be timorously fearefull at sight of a Barbers razor, and afterward stowly vndismayed against his enemies swordes: The action is commendable, but not the man. Divers Græcians (saith *Cicero*) can not endure to looke their enemy in the face, yet are they most constant in their sickeneses; whereas the *Cimbrians*, and *Celiberians*, are meere contrary. *Nihil enim potest esse aquabile, quod non à certa ratione profisciscatur*: For nothing can beare it selfe even, which proceedeth not from resolved reason. There is no valor more extreame in his kinde, than that of *Alexander*; yet is it but in species, nor every where sufficiently full and vniuersall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest suspitions, he apprehendeth at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuite whereof, he demeaneth himselfe with so vehement and indiscreet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare, that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted. Also the superstition, wherewith he is so thoroughly tainted, beareth some shew of pusillanimitie. And the vnlimited excessse of the repentance he shewed for the murder of *Clitus*, is also a witnesse of the inequality of his courage. Our matters are but parcells hudled-vp, and peeces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes, and vntrue tokens. *Vertue will not be followed, but by her-selfe*: And if at any time we borrow her maske, vpon some other occasion, she will as soone pull-it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyde with the same perfectly, and which wil never fade or be gone, except it carry the skinned away with-it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steppes; whether constancie doe wholly subsist and continue vpon hir owne foundation in him, *Cui vivendi via considerata atque provisã est, who hath forecast and considered the way of life*; whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I mean his way, for his pace may eyther be hastened or slowd) let him runne-on: such a one (as sayeth the impresse of our good Talbot) goeth before the winde. It is no marvaile (saith an olde writer) that hazard hath such power over-vs, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not in grose directed his life vnto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all pieces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What avayleth the provision of all sortes of colours vnto one that knowes not what he is to draw? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of-it but by parcells. A skilfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe astray, because they are not rightly addrested, and have no fixed end. *No winde makes for him, that hath no intended port to saile-vnto*. As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement, which some made of *Sophocles*, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domestical matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor do I commend the conjecture of the *Parians*, sent to reforme the *Messians*, sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting & surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assemblie of the Townes-men of the Cittie, they named and instituted those owners as new governours and magistrates; judging and concluding, that beeing good husbands and carefull of their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are all

Cic. parad. 5.

xp

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all framed of flappes and patches, and of so shapelesse and diuerse a contexture, that everie piece, and everie moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betweene vs and our selves, as there is betweene our selves and others. *Magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere. Esteeme it a great matter, to play but one man.* *

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, yea and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a shop-prentis-boy, brought vp in ease and idlenes, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bredde ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a small barke to yeeld him-selfe vnto the mercy of blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull Neptune; and that it also teacheth discretion and wisedome; And that Venus hirselfe ministreth resolution and hardinesse vnto tender youth as yet subiect to the discipline of the rodde, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier, the soft and tenderly -effeminate hart of women in their mothers lappes.

Hac duce custodes furtim transgressa iacentes,

Tib. l. 2. el. 175.

— *Adiuvenem tenebris sola puella venit.*

The wench by stealth her lodg'd guards having stript,
By this guide, sole, i'th darke, to'th yonker skipt.

It is no parte of a well-grounded iudgement, simplie to iudge our selves by our exterior actions:
A man must thoroughly sound himself, and dive into his hart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions stirre. But forasmuch as it is a hazardous and high enterprife, I would not have so many to medle with it as doe.

The second Chapter.

Of Drunkennesse. 5 Xp

THe world is nothing but varietie, and dissemblance. Vices are all alike, in as much as they are all vices: And so doe happily the Stoikes meane-it. But though they are equally vices, they are not equall vices; And that he who hath started a hundred steps beyond the limes

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,

Hor. l. 1. sat. 1.

On this side, or beyond the which

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No man can hold a right-true pitch.

is not of worse condition, then he that is ten steps short of-it, is no whit credible: and that sacriledge is not worse then the stealing of a coleworthe out of a garden.

Nec vincet ratio, tantundem ut peccet, idemque,

Sat. 3. 115.

Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horri,

Et qui nocturnus divum sacra legerit.

No reason can evict, as great or same sinne taints

Him that breakes in an others garden tender plants,

And him that steales by night things consecrate to Saints.

There is as much diversitie in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order, and measure of crimes, is dangerous: Murderers, Traitors and Tyrants, have too much gaine by-it: it is no reason their conscience should be eased, in that some is either idle or lascivious, or lesse assiduous vnto devotion. Every man poiseth vpon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers doe often range it ill in my conceite. As Socrates saide, that the chiefe office of wisedome, was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the best is ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge, to distinguish vices. Without which, and that very exact, both vertuous and wicked menne remaine confounded and vknowne. Now drunkennesse amongst others, appeareth to me a grosse and brutish vice. The minde hath more parte else-where; and some vices there are, which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generositie in them. Some there are, that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexteritie, and subletie joyned with them; whereas this is meere corporall, and terrestriall. And the grossest and rudest nation,

that liveth amongst vs at this day, is onely that which keepeth it in credite. Other vices but alter and distract the vnderstanding, whereas this vtterly subverteth the same, and astonieth the body.

Lucr. l. 3. 479.

— *cum vini vis penetravit,
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, præpediuntur
Crura vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,
Nant oculi, clamor, singultus, iurgia gliscunt.*
When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,
Limbes heaviness is next, legs faine would goe,
But reeling can not, tongue drawles, minde dispierst,
Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man, is where he looseth the knowledge and government of himselfe. And amongst other things, it is said, that as must-wine boiling and working in a vessel, workes and sends vpward what ever it containeth in the bottome, so doth wine cause those that drinke excessively of it, worke vp, and breake out their most concealed secrets.

Hor. l. 3. od. 21
14.

— *tu sapientium
Curas, & arcanum iocoso
Consilium retegis Lyao.*
Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale
The cares, which wise men would conceale,
And close drifts, at a merrie meale.

Iosephus reporteth, that by making an Ambassador to tippie-square, whom his enemies had sent vnto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Neverthelesse *Augustus* having trusted *Lucius Piso*, that conquered *Thrace*, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him; Nor *Tiberius* with *Cossus*, to whom he imparted all his seriousest counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine, that they were often faine to be carried from the Senate, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

Vir. buc. ec. 6. 15

*Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyao.
Veines pufft vp, as is vsde alway,
By wine which was drunke yesterday.*

And as faithfully was the complot and purpose to kill *Caesar* committed vnto *Cimber*, who would dayly be drunke with quaffing of wine, as vnto *Cassius*, that drunke nothing but water, wherevpon he answered very pleasantly. What? shall I beare a tyrant, that am not able to beare wine? We see our carowling tosse-pot German Souldiers, when they are most plunged in their cups, and as drunke as rats, to have perfect remembrance of their quarter, of the watch-word, and of their files.

Iuv. sat. 15. 47

— *nec facilis victoria de madidis, &
Bleis, atque mero titubantibus.*
Nor is the conquest easie of men sow't,
Lisping and reeling with wine they carow't.

I would never have believed so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkenness, had I not read in Histories, that *Attalus* having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignitie) the same *Pansanius*, who for the same cause killed afterward *Philip* King of *Macedone* (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimony of the education he had learned in the house and company of *Epaminondas*) made him so dead-drunke, that insensibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beautie as the body of a common-hedge-harlot, to mulettiers, groomes and many of the subject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told me, protesting, that neere *Burdeaux*, towards *Castres*, where her house is, a widdow countrywoman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting herselfe to be with childe, told her neighbours, that had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with childe. But the occasion of this suspition encreasing more and more, and perceiving herselfe so big-bellied, that shee could no longer conceale-it, shee resolved to make the parrish-priest acquainted with-it, whom she entreated to publish in the Church, that whosoever he were, that was guiltie of the fact, and would avow-it, she would freely forgive him, and if he were so pleased, take him

him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hyne-boy of hers, emboldned by this proclamation, declared, how that having one holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and so found asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit and ready for him, that without awaking her he had the full vse of her body. Whom she accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diuerse Philosophers speake but sparingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme-it not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor roundly, and drinke drunke, thereby to recreate his spirites.

*Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt.*

*Cor. Gal. el. I.
47.*

They say, in this too, *Socrates the wise*,
And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato that strict censurer, and severe corrector of others, hath beene reproved for much drinking.

Narratur & prisca Catonis

*Hor. l. 3. od. 21.
11.*

Sape mero caluisse virtus.

Tis saide, by vse of wine repeated,
Old *Catoes* vertue oft was heated.

Cyrus that so far-renowned King, amongst his other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother *Artaxerxes*, & get the start of him, alegeth, that he could drinke better, and tittle more then he. And amongst the best policed and formalest nations, the custome of drinking, and pledging of healths was much in vse. I have heard *Silvius*, that excellent Phisitian of *Paris* affirme, that to preserve the vigor of our stomake from empairing, it is not amisse once a moneth to rowze vp the same by this excesse of drinking; and lest it should grow dull and stupide thereby to stirre-it vp. And it is written, that the *Persians*, after they had well tiddled, were wont to consult of their chiefeest affaires. My taste, my relish and my complexion, are sharper enemies vnto this vice, then my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easily my conceites vnder the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeede I finde-it to be a fond, a stupide and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull then others; all which thocke, and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost-vs something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable vnto our conscience then others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, nor difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie, amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde-it, then amongst the naturall? But he tooke-it ill, delicatenesse, and the choise of wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neate, you tie your selfe vnto an inconvenience to drinke-it other then is alwayes to be had. A man must have a milder, a looser and a freer taste. To be a true drinker, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The *Germanes* doe in a maner drinke equally of all sortes of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely, then to taste it kindly. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French maner, as two draughts, and moderately, is over-much to restraîne the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required therevnto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long dayes vnto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lorde; a man of great employment and enterprises, and famous for good successe, who without straining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales-meate, was wont to drinke little lesse then five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather as we have found to our no small cost in managing of our affaires, over-wise & considerate. The pleasure of that, whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed longer space. It were necessary, as shop-boyes or labouring people, that we should refuse no occasion to drinke, and continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that we dayly shorten the vse of this; and that in our houses, (as I have seene in mine infancie) breakefasts, nunchions, and beavers should be more frequent and oftner vsed, then now adayes they are. And should wee thereby in any sorte proccede towards amendment? No verily. But it may be, that we have

The Authors
father

much more given our selves over vnto paillardise and all maner of luxurie then our fathers were. They are two occupations, that enter-hinder one another in their vigor. On the one side, it hath empaired and weakened our stomake, and on the other, sobrietie serveth to make vs more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to thinke on the strange tales I have heard my father reporte, of the chastitie of his times. He might wel speake of it, as he that was both by art & nature proper for the vse & solace of Ladies. He spake little and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to enter-mixe some ornament taken from vulgar bookes, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish auethors, none was more familiar vnto him then *Marcus Aurelius*. His demeanour and carriage was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and very modest, and above all, grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more careful-of, then of his honesty, and to observe a kinde of decencie of his person, and orderly decorum in his habites, were it on foote or on horsebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly conscientious and obsequous in religion, that generally hee seemed rather to encline toward superstition, then the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an vpright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerefull-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimble addicted, and exquisitely nimble vnto all noble and gentleman-like exercises. I have seene some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which hee wont to vse and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable him-selfe to pitch the barre, to throw the sledge, to cast the pole, & to play at fence: and shooes with leaden soles, which he wore to enure himselfe, to leape, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of himselfe, he hath left certain petty-miracles amongst vs. I have seene him when hee was past three-score yeeres of age mocke at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowne about him to leap into his saddle; to make the pommada round about a Table vpon his thumb; and seldom to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steppes at once. And concerning my discourse, hee was wont to say, that in a whole Province there was scarce any woman of qualitie, that had an ill name. Hee would often report strange familiarities, namely of his owne, with very honest women, without any suspicion at all. And protested verie religiouslie, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgine; yet had he long time followed the warres beyond the Mountaines, and therein served long, whereof hee hath left a Iournall. Booke of his owne collecting, wherein hee hath particularly noted, whatsoever happened day by day worthy the observation, so long as he served, both for the publike and his particular vse. And he was well stricken in yeeres, when he tooke a wife. For returning out of *Italie*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eight and twenty, and being full three and thirty yeeres olde, by the way hee chose himselfe a wife. But come wee to our drinking againe. The incommodities of age, which neede some help and refreshing, might with some reason beget in me a desire or longing of this faculty: for, it is in a man the last pleasure, which the course of our yeeres stealeth vpon vs. Good fellowes say, that naturall heate is first taken in our feete: That properly belongeth to infancie. From thence it ascendeth vnto the middle region, where it is settled & continueth a long time: and in mine opinion, there produceth the onely true, and mooving pleasures of this corporall life. Other delights and sensualities in respect of that, doe but sleepe. In the end, like vnto a vapour, which by little and little exhal-eth, and mounteth aloft, it comes vnto the throate, and there makes hir last abode. Yet could I never conceive, how any man may eyther encrease or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificiall appetite, & against nature. My stomacke could not well reach so farre: it is very much troubled to come to an end of that which it takes for his neede. My constitution is, to make an accompt of drinking, but to succeed meate, and therefore doe I never make my last draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the rooffe of our mouthes commonlie furr'd with rheume, or distempered, distasted, and altered through some other evill constitution, wine seemeth better vnto vs, & of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and washed. At least I seldome relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. *Anacharsis* wondered to see the Græcians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, then in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason, that the Germans doe-it, who never beginne to carowse, but when they have well fedde. *Plato* forbiddeth children to drink any wine

wine, before they be eightene yeeres of age, and to be druncke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie, he is content to pardon them, if they chauce to delight themselves with it, and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of *Dionysius* in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerefulnesse vpon men, and youth vnto aged men, who alayeth and aswageth the passions of the minde, even as yron is made flexible by the fire: and in his profitable lawes drinking-meetings or quaffing companies as necessary & commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkennesse beeing a good and certaine tryall of everie mans nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing & in musicke; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not vndertake being sober & seled. That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance, and the bodie with health. Notwithstanding these restrictions, partely borrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forbear it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate, & all judges abstaine from it, at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publike affaires. Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due vnto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported, that *Stilpo* the Philosopher, finding himselfe furcharged with age, did purpose-ly hasten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocate the vital forces, crazed through eld-age of the Philosopher *Arcefilaus*. But it is an old and pleasant question, whether a wisemans mind were like to yeelde vnto the force of wine.

Si munita adhibet vim sapientia.

Od. 28. 4.

If vnresisted force it bends,

Gainst wisdom which it selfe defends.

Vnto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of our selves provoke vs? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the worlde, findes it too great a taske to keep himself vpright, lest she fall by her owne weakenesse. Of a thousand there is not one perfectly righteous and settled but one instant of her life, and question might be made, whether according to her naturall condition she might at any time be so. But to joyne constancie vnto it, is her last perfection: I mean if nothing should shooke her: which a thousand accidents may do. *Lucretius* that famous Poet, may philosophie and bandie at his pleasure: Loe where he lieth senslesse of an amorous potion. Thinkes any man, that an Apoplexie cannot as soone astonish *Socrates*, as a poore labouring man? Some of them have by the force of a sicknesse, forgot their owne names, and a slight hurt hath overthrowne the judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he can, in the end he is but a man; what is more fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wisdom forcerh not our naturall conditions.

Sudores itaque & pallorem existeret toto

Lucr. l. 3. 155.

Corpore, & infringi linguam vocemque aboriri

Caligare oculos, sonere aures, succidere artus,

Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.

We see therefore, palenesse and sweats ore-grow,

Our Bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth breake,

Eyes dazle, eares buzze, joynts doe shrinke below,

Lastly we found, by hart-fright, terrours weake.

He must feele his eyes against the blow that threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a precipise, hee must cry out like a child. Nature having purposed to reserve these light marks of her aucthoritie vnto herselfe, inexpugnable vnto our reason, and to the Stoicke vertue: to teach him his mortalitie and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusseth for shame, he groaneth feeling the cholike, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a lowe, smothered and hoarse-sounding noyse.

Humani à se nihil alienum putet,

Ter. Heaut. act. 1. sc. 1. 25

He thinkes, that nothing strange be can,

To him that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their Heroes from teares.

Sic fatur lachrymans, classiq; immittit habenas.

Virg. Æn. l. 6. 1

So saide he weeping, and so saide,

Himselfe hand to the steerage laide.

Let

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to beare them away. *Plutarke* himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing *Brutus* and *Torquatus* to kill their owne children, remaineth doubtfull, whether virtue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. *All actions beyond the ordinarie limits, are subiect to some sinister interpretation:* Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come vnto that which is above it, then to that which is vnder it. Let vs omit that other sect, which maketh open profession of fiercenes. But when in the very same sect, which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of *Metrodorus*: *Occupavite, Fortuna, atq; cepi: omnesque aditus tuos interclusi ut ad me aspirare non posses. Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd uppe all thy passages, whereby thou mightest attaine vnto me.* When *Anaxarcus*, by the appointment of *Nisocreon*, the tirant of *Cypres*, being laid along in a trough of stone, and smoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie-out, strecke, smite, and breake; it is not *Anaxarcus*, it is but his vaile you martyrs so. When we heare our martyrs, in the midst of a flame crie a loude vnto the Tyrant, this side is roasted enough, chop-it, eate-it, it is full roasted, now begin on the other. When in *Iosephus* we heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of *Antiochus*, to defie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and vndismaid voice; Tyrant thou loosest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee, then I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint-hearted varlet, dost thou yeelde when I gather strength? Make me to faint or shrink, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeelde and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage thy satelites, harden thy executioners; loe how they droope, and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them. Verely we must needs confesse there is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those minds. When we come vnto these *Stoicke* evasions; I had rather be furious then voluptuous: the saying of *Antisthenes*. *Μακρόν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡδίστην, Rather would I be mad, then merrie.* When *Sextius* telleth vs, he had rather be surpris'd with paine, then sensuality; when *Epicurus* vndertakes to have the gowte, to wantonize and fawne vpon him, and refusing ease and health, with a heartie cheerefulness defie all evils, and skornefully despising lesse sharpe griefes, disdainig to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthie of him:

*Met. Cic. Tusq.
quest. l. 5.*

*Antist. Diogen.
Laert. l. 6. cap. 1*

*Virg. Æn. l. 4.
158.*

*Sputantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem:
He wist, mongst heartles beast some foming Bore,
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and rore.*

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage removed from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of hir place attaine so high. She must quit-it and raise hir-selfe a loft, and taking the bridle in hir teeth, carrie and transporte hir man so farre, that afterward he wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploits of warre, the heate and earnestnes of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded-souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at-it. As also Poets, are often surpris'd and rapt with admiration at their owne labors, and forget the trace, by which they past so happie a carier. It is that, which some terme a furie or madnes in them. And as *Plato* saith, that a settled and reposed man, doth in vaine knocke at Poesies gate. *Aristotle* likewise saith, that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other entermixture of folly. And hee hath reason, to call any starting or extraordinarie conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. Forasmuch as *Wisedome*, is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which she addresseth with measure, and conducteth with proportion; And take hir owne word for-it. *Plato* disputeth thus; that the facultie of prophesying and divination is farre above-vs, and that when wee treat-it, wee must bee besides our selves: our wisedome must be darkned and overshadowed by sleepe, by sickenes, or by drowzines; or by some celestially furie, ravished from hir owne seate.

The third Chapter.

Acustome of the Ile of Cea. 2. x^p
It is a tedious relation of examples of such as killed them selves

IF, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason, to rave and fantastique, as I doe, must necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedrall maister. But know, my cathedrall, it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway-vs, and hath hir ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. *Philip* being with an armed hand entred the countrie of *Peloponnesus*, some one told *Damidas*, the Lacedemonians were like to endure much, if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favor. Oh varlet as thou art (answered he.) And what can they suffer, who have no feare at all of death? *Agis* being demanded, how a man might do to live free, answered; *Despising and contemning to die*. These and a thousand like propositions, which concur in this purpose, doe evidently inferre some thing beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: witnes the Lacedemonian child, taken by *Antigonus*, and solde for a slave, who vrged by his master, to performe some abject service; Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought; for, it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithal threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. *Antipater*, sharply threatening the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, shouldest thou menace vs worst then death, we will rather die. And to *Philip*, who having written vnto them, that he would hinder al their enterprises; What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder vs from dying? That is the reason, why some say, that the wiseman liveth as long as he ought, and not so long as he can. And that the favourablest gift, nature hath bequeathed-vs, and which removeth all meanes from-vs to complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left-vs the key of the fieldes. She hath appointed but one entrance vnto life, but many a thousand wayes out of it: *Well may wee want ground to live upon, but never ground to die in*. As *Boiocatus* answered the Romanes. Why dost thou complaine against this world? It doth not containe thee: If thou livest in paine and sorrow, thy base courage is the cause of-it, To die there wanteth but will.

Ubique mors est: optimè hoc cavit Deus,

Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:

At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.

Ech where death is: God did this well purway,

No man but can from man life take away,

But none barr's death, to it lies many'a way.

*Sen. Theb. act. i.
 sc. i.*

And it is not a receipt to one maladie alone; *Death is a remedie against all evils*: It is a most assured haven, never to be feared, and often to be sought: All comes to one period, whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure-it; whether he runne before his day, or whether he expect-it: whence soever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the threed be broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web. The voluntariest death, is the fairest. *Life dependeth on the will of others, death on ours*. In nothing should we so much accommodate our selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerne such an enterpise, it is folly to have any respect vnto it. *To live is to serve, if the liberty to die be wanting*. The common course of curing any infirmitie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into vs, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let blood, we are dieted. Goewe but one step further, we neede no more phisicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throate veine as much at our commaund as the medi.ine? To extreame sicknesses, extreame remedies. *Servius* the Gramarian being troubled with the gowt, found no better meanes to be rid of it, then to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were *Podagrees* or no, so they were insensible. God giveth vs sufficient priviledge, when hee placeth vs in such an estate, as life is worse then death vnto vs. *It is weaknesse to yeelde to evils, but folly to foster them*. The Stoikes say, it is a convenient naturall life, for a wife

wife man, to forgoe life, although he abound in all happinesse; if he doe it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided hee be in most part of things, which they say to be according vnto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against theeves, when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied vnto lawes made against murtherers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. *Hegesias* was wont to say, that even as the condition of life, so should the qualitie of death depend on our election. And *Diogenes* meeting with the Philosopher *Spensippus*, long time afflicted with the dropsie, and therefore carried in a litter, cried out vnto him; All haile *Diogenes*: And to thee no health at all, (replied *Diogenes*) that endurest to live in so wretched an estate. True it is that a while after, *Spensippus* as overtired with so languishing a condition of life, compassed his owne death. But this goeth not without some contradiction: For, many are of opinion, that without the expresse commandement of him, that hath placed vs in this world, wee may by no means forsake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God onely, who therein hath placed vs, not for our selves alone, but for his glory, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge vs hence, and not for vs to take leave: *That we are not borne for our selves, but for our countrie*: The lawes for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murther against vs. Else as destroyers of our owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

Virg. *Æn.* l. 6.
434.

*Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
Proicere animas.*

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,
Whose hand their death caus'd causelesse, (but not well)
And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in vsing the chaine that holds vs, then in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in *Regulus*, then in *Cato*. It is indiscretion and impacience that hasteneth our way. *No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue*: She seeketh-out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threatens of fell tyrants, tortures and torments; executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

Hor. l. 4. od. 4. 57

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigra feraci frondis in Alcido
Per damna, per cedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.*

As holme-trees do with hard axe lopt
On hills with many holme-trees topt,
From losse, from cuttings it doth feele,
Courage and store rise ev'n from steele.

And as the other saith.

Sen. Theb. act. 1
sc. 1.

*Non est ut putas virtus, pater,
Timere vitam, sed malis ingentibus
Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.*
Sir, tis not vertue, as you vnderstand,
To feare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,
Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

Mart. li. II. epi.
57. 15.

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem.
Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.
Tis easie in crosse chance death to despise:
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rise.*

It is the parte of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue, to seeke to squat it selfe in some hollow-lurking hole, or to hide her selfe vnder some massie tombe, thereby to shunne the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormy weather soever crosse-her.

Hor. l. 3. od. 3. 7.

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidam ferient ruinae*
If the world broken should vpon his fall,

The

The ruines may him strike, but not appall.

The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive vs into this, yea sometimes the shunning of death, makes vs to runne into it.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori?

Madnesse is't not, say I,

To die, lest you should die?

As those who for feare of a downe-right precipice, doe headlong cast themselves into-it.

— *multos in summa pericula misit*

Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,

Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,

Ei differre potest.

The very feare of ills to come, hath sent

Many to mightie dangers: strongest they,

Who fearefull things t'endure are ready bent,

If they confront them, yet can them delay.

— *usque adeo mortis formidine, vita*

Percipit humanos odium, lucisque videnda,

Vt sibi consciscant morienti pectore lethum,

Obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.

So farre the feare of death the hate of life,

And seeing light doth men as men possesse,

They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,

Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.

Plato in his lawes, alots him that hath deprived his neereft and deereft friend of life (that is to say himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike judgement, nor by any lewde and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infamie, but through basenesse of minde, and weakenesse of a faint-fearefull courage, to have a most ignominious, and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth our life, is ridiculous: For, in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and richer being, may accuse ours: But it is against nature, wee should despise, and carelesly set our selves at naught: It is a particular infirmitie, and which is not seene in any other creature, to hate and disdain himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, then we are. The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne vs, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe: He should bee nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoyce or conceive any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

Debet enim miserè cui sorte agrèque futurum est,

Ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cum male possit

Accidere,

For he, who shall perchance proove miserable,

And speede but ill, should then himselfe be able

To be himselfe, when ills may chance vnstable.

The securitie, indolencie, impassibilitie, and privation of this lives-evilles, which wee purchase at the price of death, bring vs no commoditie at all. In vaine doth he avoide warre, that can not enjoy peace; and bootelesse doth he shunne paine, that hath no meanes to feele rest. Amongst those of the first opinion, great questioning hath beene, to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawfull to make a man vndertake the killing of himselfe, they call that, *εὐλογον ἐξαγωγήν*, a reasonable orderly out-let. For, although they say, a man must often die for slight causes, since these that keepe vs alive, are not very strong; yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantastick & brayne-sicke humors, which have not onely provoked particular men, but whole nationst o' deafeate themselves. I have heretofore alleag'd some examples of them: And moreover we reade of certaine Milesian virgins, who vpon a furious conspiracy hanged themselves one after an other, vntill such time as the Magistrate provided for it, appoynting that such as should bee found so hanged, should with their owne halters be dragged naked through the streetes of the City. When Threicion perswadeth Cleomenes to kill himselfe, by reason of the badde and desperate estate his affaires stood

T

in,

Mart. l. 2. 2. c.
pag. 80. 2.

Lucan. l. 7. 104

Lucr. l. 3. 79.

Ab. 881.

Alex. Aphrod.

in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the conqueror no leifure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shameful life. *Cleomenes* with a Lacedemonian and Stoicke courage, refuseth this counsell as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (saith he) which can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no vse, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancy and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Countrey, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue. *Threicion* then believed, and killed himselfe. *Cleomenes* did afterwards as much, but not before hee had tried and assayed the vtmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should die to eschue them. Moreover, there being so manie sodaine changes, and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

Sperat & in seua victus gladiator arena,

— Sit licet infesto pollice turba minax.

The fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lie,
And people with turn'd hand threat's he must die.

All things, saith an ancient Proverb, may a man hope-for, so long as hee liveth: yea but, answereth *Seneca*, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde; that fortune can do al things for him that is living, then this; that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to die? *Ioseph* is seene engaged in so an apparant-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counseled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kil himself, it fell out wel for him to opiniate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond al mans discourse, did so turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due-time and occasion, they killed themselves; did vtterly loose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of *Anguien* in the battell of *Seriselles*, as one desperate of the combates successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twise to runne himself through the throate with his Rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have seene a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Gray-hounds jawes: *Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit.* Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.

Virg. Æn. l. II.
426.

Multa dies variisque labor mutabilis ævi

Retulit in melius, multos alterna revisens

Lusit, & in solido rursus fortuna locavit.

Time, and of turning age the divers straine,
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn'd traine,
Hath manie mock't, and set them fast againe.

Plinie saith, there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoyde, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the v-rine is there stopped. *Seneca*, those onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the minde. To avoyde a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. *Democritus* chiefe of the *Ætolians*, beeing led Captive to *Rome*, found meanes to escape by night: but being pursued by his keepers, rather then hee would be taken againe, ranne himselfe through with his Sword. *Antinoüs* and *Theodotus*, their City of *Epirus* being by the Romans reduced vnto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsel, rather to yeeld, having prevailed: they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike, than to warde themselves. The island of *Gosa*, being some yeres since surprized and over-runne by the *Turkes*, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two faire daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne handes, together with their mother, that came-in to help them. That done, running out into the streetes, with a crosse-bow in one hand, & a caliver in the other, at two shoots, slew the two first *Turkes* that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his Sword, ranne furiously among them; by whom he was sodainly hewen in pieces: Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from-it. The Iewish women after they had caused their children to

be

be circumfized, to avoide the crueltie of *Antiochus*, did headlong precipitate themselves and them vnto death. I have heard-it credible reported, that a gentleman of good quality, being prisoner in one of our Gaoles, and his parents advertized that hee should assuredly be condemned, to avoide the infamy of so reproachfull a death, appointed a Priest to tell him, that the best remedie for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight dayes without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weakenesse soever he should feele in himselfe. He believed them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. *Scribonia* perswading *Libo* his nephew to kill himselfe, rather then to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preserve his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure dayes after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another mans businesse, and that it was no other, then for one to serve his enemies, to preserve his blood, therewith to make them food. We reade in the holy Bible, that *Nicanor* the persecutor of Gods law, having sent his Satelites to apprehend the good old man *Rafias*, for the honor of his vertue, surnamed the father of the *Jewes*; when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay holde on him, chose, rather then to fall into the handes of such villaines, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his place, to die nobly, and so smote him-selfe with his owne sword; but by reason of his haste, having not throughly slaine him-selfe, he ranne to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making him roome, hee fell right vpon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, hee tooke heart of grace againe; and getting vp on his feete, all goared with bloud, and loaden with strokes, making way through the pleafe, came to a craggie and downe-steepie rocke, where vnable to goe any further, by one of his woundes, with both his handes he pulled out his guttes, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him, calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light vpon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoyded, is that which is offred against the chastitie of women, forso much as there is naturally some corporall pleasure commixt with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joynd thereunto: And it seemeth, that force is in some sort, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiasticall storie hath in especiall reverence, sundry such examples of devout persons, who called for death to warrant them from the out-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some souldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shunne the force of *Maxentius* the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise Author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the ladies of our times, rather to hazard vpon any resolution, than to embrace so horrible a counsell of such desperation. I am sory, that to put amongst his discourfes, he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at *Tholouse*, who had passed through the hands of some souldiers: God be praised (saide she) that once in my life, I have had my belly-full without sinne. Verily these cruelties are not woorthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement; our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice, that in doing it, they say, *No, and take it*, following the rule of *Marot*. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand wayes have changed a lingering-toylsome life with death. *Lucius Aruntius* killed himselfe (as he saide) to avoide what was past, and eschew what was to come. *Granius Sylvanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, after they had beene pardoned by *Nero*, killed themselves; eyther because they scorned to live by the favor of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yeelding vnto suspicions & accusations against honest men. *Spargapizes* sonne vnto *Queene Tomiris*, prisoner by the lawe of warre vnto *Cyrus*, employed the first favor that *Cyrus* did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reape other fruit by his libertie, then to revenge the infamie of his taking vpon himselfe. *Boges* a Governour for king *Xerxes* in the country of *Ionia*, being besieged by the *Athenians* army vnder the conduct of *Cymon*, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure in to *Asia*, as one impatient to survive the losse of what his maister had given him in charge; and after he had stowly, and even to the last extremitie, defended the towne, having no manner of victualles left him; first he cast all the golde, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reape

any commoditie-by, into the river *Strimon*; Then having caused a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped, and thrown into the flames, afterward ranne in himselfe, where all were burned. *Minachstuen* a Lorde in the East *Indies*, having had an inkling of the king of *Portugales* Viceroyes deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparant cause, of the charge he had in *Malaca*, for to give it vnto the king of *Campar*; of himselfe resolved vpon this resolution. First he caused an high scaffold to be set vp, somewhat longer than broad, vnderpropped with pillers, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapestry, strewed with flowers, and adorned with pretious perfumes: Then having put on a sumptuous long robe of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of pretious stones of inestimable worth, hee came out of the pallace into the streete, and by certaine steppes ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood set afire. All the people of the Cittie were flocked together, to see what the meaning of such vnaccustomed preparation might tend vnto. *Minachetuen* with an vndanted-bold, yet seeming-discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the *Portugal* Nation was endebted vnto him for; expostulated how faithfully and truly he had dealt in his charge; that having so often witnessed, armed at all assayes, for others; that his honour was much dearer vnto him then life, he was not to forsake the care of it for himselfe: that fortune refusing him all meanes to oppose himselfe against the injurie intended against him, his courage, at the least willed him to remoove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing stocke vnto the people, and a triumph to men of lesse worth then himselfe: which wordes as he was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire. *Sextilia* the wife of *Scaurus* and *Pæcea* wife vnto *Labeo*, to encourage their husbands, to avoyd the dangers, which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engaged their life, in this extreame necessity, to serve them, as an example to imitate, and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands; *Cocceius Nerva* acted for his country, & though lesse profitable, yet equall in true-love. That famous interpreter of the lawes, abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and flourishing in health about the Emperour, had no other cause to ridde himselfe of life, but the compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he saw the Roman common-wealth. There is nothing can be added vnto the daintinesse of *Fulvius* wives death, who was so inward with *Augustus*. *Augustus* perceiving he had blabbed a certaine secret of importance, which he on-trust had revealed vnto him; one morning coming to visit him, he seemed to frowne vpon him for-it; whereupon as guiltie, he returneth home, as one full of dispaire, and in pitteous sort told his wife, that sithence he was false into such a mischiefe, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee as one no whit dismaide, replide vnto him; Thou shalt doe but right, since having so often experienced the inconvenience of my tongue, thou hast not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my self first, and without more adoe, ranne hir selfe through with a sword. *Vibius Virius* despairing of his Citties safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their own hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and *Hanniball* might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken: Enviting those that should allow of his advise, to come, and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented vnto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our minds from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefes, which the conquered must endure at the handes of most cruell and offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fitte for that purpose shall be ready, when we shalbe expired, to cast vs into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse approved of his high resolution, but few did immitate the same. Seaven and twenty Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to stifle so yrkesome, and suppress so terror-mooving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and entre-embracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries misfortune; some went home to their owne houses, other some stayed there, to be entombed with *Vibius* in his owne fire; whose death was so long and lingring, forsomuch as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and slowed the effect and operation of the poison, that some lived an houre after they had scene their enemies enter *Capoa*, which they carried

ried the next day after, & incurred the miseries, and saw the calamities, which at so high a rate they had sought to eschew. *Taurea Iubellus*, another citizen there, the Consul *Fulvius* returning from that shameful slaughter, which he had committed of 225. senators, caled him churlishly by his name, & having arrested him; Command (quoth he) vnto him, that I also be massacred after so many others, that so thou maist brag to have murdered a much more valiant man then ever thou wast. *Fulvius*, as one enraged, disdainig him; forso much as he had newly received letters from *Rome* contrary to the inhumanity of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further: *Iubellus* continuing his speech, said; sithence my country is taken, my friends butchered, and having with mine owne hands slaine my wife & children, as the only meane to free them from the desolation of this ruine; I may not die the death of my fellow-citizens, let vs borrow the vengeance of this hateful life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he had hidden vnder his garments, therewith ran himsele through, & falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet. *Alexander* besieged a citie in *India*, the inhabitants wherof, perceving themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the plesure he might get of his victory, and together with their citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the towne & themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kind of warring, where the enemies did all they could, & fought to save them, they to loose themselves, & to be assured of their death, did all a man can possible effect to warrant his life. *Astapa* a Citie in *Spaine*, being very weake of walles and other defences, to withstand the Romanes that besieged the same; the inhabitants drew all their riches and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heape, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood, that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fiftie lusty yong men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a fallie, where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be slaine every mothers childe. The fiftie, after they had massacred every living soule remaining in the Citie, and set fire to the heape, joyfully leaped thereinto, ending their generous libertie in a state rather insensible, then dolorous and reprochfull; shewing their enemies, that if fortune had beene so pleased, they should as well have had the courage to be-reave them of the victory, as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous, yea and mortall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and three-fold approching greedily vnto it, were therein smothered and burned, the formost being vnable to give back, by reason of the throng that followed them. The *Abideans* pressed by *Philip*, resolved vpon the very same, but being prevented, the King whose heart yerned and abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized-vpon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and vtter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granted them the full space of 3. dayes to make themselves away, that so they might do it with more order & leisure; which three dayes they replenished with blood and murther beyond all hostile crueltie: And which is strange, there was no one person saved, that had power vpon himsele. There are infinit examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more the effect of them is more vniversall. They are lesse then severall, what discourse would not doe in every one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie, ravishing particular judgements. Such as were condemned to die in the time of *Tiberius*, & delayde their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried, but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly entered, and might, at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. I desire, (saith Saint *Paul*) to be out of this world, that I may be with *Iesus Christ*: and who shall release me out of these bonds? *Cleombrotus Ambraciota* having read *Platoes Phadon*, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more adoe, hee went and headlong cast himsele into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntary dissolution, dispaire; vnto which the violence of hope doth often transport-vs, and as often a peacefull and settled inclination of judgement. *Iaques du Castell*, Bishop of *Soissons*, in the voyage which Saint *Lewes* undertooke beyond the seas, seeing the King and all his Armie ready to returne into *Fraunce*, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himsele rather to goe to heaven; And having bidden his friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the ennemies troopes, of

whom he was forthwith hewen in pieces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered Indies, vpon the day of a solemne proceſſion, in which the Idoles they adore, are publickly caried vp and downe, vpon a chariot of exceeding greatnesse; besides that, there are many seene to cut and slice great mammocks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idoles; there are numbers of others seene, who prostrating themselves alongſt vpon the ground, endure very patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death, vnder the Chariots wheeles, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more generositie, and lesse ſence: the heate of the combate ammuſing one parte of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to ſway the iuſtice, & direct the opportunitie of voluntary deaths. In our Cittie of *Marseille*, they were wont in former ages, ever to keepe ſome poiſon in ſtore, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Citties charge, for ſuch as would vpon any occaſion ſhorten their daies, having firſt approved the reaſons of their enterpriſe vnto the ſix hundred Elders of the towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwiſe it was vnlawfull for any body, except by the magiſtrates permiſſion, and for very lawfully-vrgent occaſions, to lay violent hands vpon himſelfe. The very ſame law was likewiſe vſed in other places.

This is of firſt thing that con- responds to of tytle of 7 chap- ter. *Sextus Pompeius* going into *Asia*, paſſed through the Iland of *Cea*, belonging to *Negroponto*; it fortun'd whiſt he abode there, (as one reporteth that was in his company) that a woman of great authoritie, having firſt yeelded an accompt vnto her Cittizens, and ſhewed good reaſons why ſhe was reſolved to end her life, earneſtly entreated *Pompey* to be an aſſiſtant at her death, that ſo it might be eſteemed more honourable, which he aſſented vnto; and having long time in vaine ſought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherin he was exceedingly ready) and force of perſwaſion, to alter her intent, and remove her from her purpoſe, in the end yeelded to her requeſt. She had lived foure ſcore and ten yeares in a moſt happy eſtate of minde and body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned then before ſhe was accuſtomed to have it, and leaning on her elbow, thus ſhe beſpake: The Gods, Oh *Sextus Pompeius*, & rather thoſe I forgo, then thoſe I go vnto, reward & appay thee, for that thou haſt vouchſafed to be both a counſeller of my life, and a witneſſe of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever taſted the favourable viſage of fortune, for feare the deſire of living over-long ſhould make me taſte of hir frownes, with an happy and ſucceſſfull end, I wil now departe, and licence the remainder of my ſoule, leaving behinde me two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephewes. That done, having preached vnto, and exhorted all her people and kinsfolkes to an vnitie and peace, and divided her goods amongſt them, and recommended her houſhold Gods vnto her eldeſt daughters, with an aſſuredly-ſtaide hand ſhe tooke the cup, wherein the poyſon was, and having made her vowes vnto *Mercurie*, and prayers, to conſect her vnto ſome happy place in the other world, roundly ſwallowed that mortal potion; which done, ſhe intertained the company with the progreſſe of her behaviour, and as the partes of her body were one after another poſſeſſed with the colde operation of that venome; vntill ſuch time as ſhee ſaide, ſhe felt it worke at the heart and in her entralls, ſhe called her daughter to doe her the laſt office, and cloſe her eyes. *Plinie* reporteth of a certaine *Hiperborean* nation, wherein, by reaſon of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never die, but when they pleaſe to make themſelves away, and that being wearie and tired with living, they are accuſtomed at the end of a long-long age; having firſt made merry and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an high-ſteepy rocke, appointed for that purpoſe, to caſt themſelves headlong into the ſea. Grieving-ſmarte, and a worſe death ſeeme to me the moſt excuſable incitations.

The fourth Chapter.

To morrow is a new day. 3

I Doe with ſome reaſon, as me ſeemeth, give pricke and praife vnto *Iaques Amiot* above all our French writers, not only for his naturall purity, and pure elegancy of the tongue, wher-
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in he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancy off so long and toyle-some a labor, nor for the vnsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successefully happy bin able to explaine an Authour so close and thorny, and vnfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see through out all his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithilie-continued, that either he hath assuredly vnderstood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continual conversation, lively planted in his mind a generall Idea of that of *Plutarke*, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belie him, or mis-seem him) but above all, I kon him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therwith to make so vnvaluable a present vnto his Country. We that are in the number of the ignorant had bin vtterly confounded, had not his booke raised vs from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeavors we dare now both speak and write: Even Ladies are therwith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breuiary. Iffo good a man chance to live, I bequeath *Xenophon* vnto him, to do as much. It is an easier piece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where *Plutarke* speaketh of himselfe, that *Rusticus* being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour, which hee temporized to open vntill he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravity of the man. Verily being on the instance of curiosity, and on the greeedy and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreete impatience, and impatient indiscretion, induceth vs to neglect al things, for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget al respect and countenance, wheresoever we be, sodainely to breake-yp such letters as are brought-vs; he had reason to commend the gravitie of *Rusticus*: to which hee might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation; But I make a question, whether hee might be commended for his wisdom: for, receiving vnexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortunated, that his deferring to reade them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. *Recklesnesse is the vice contrary vnto curiositie*; towards which I am naturally enclined, and wherein I have seene many men so extreameply plunged, that three or foure dayes after the receiving of letters, which had beene sent them, they have beene found in their pockets yet vnopened. I never opened any, not onely of such as had beene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience, standing neare some great person, if mine eyes chance, at vnawares, to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that hee readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or pryed lesse into other mens affaires, then I. In our fathers time; the Lord of *Bontieres* was like to have told *Turin*, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company, hee deferred the reading of an advertisement, which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and complotted against that Citty, where he commaunded. And *Plutarke* himselfe hath taught me, that *Iulius Caesar* had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murdered by the conspiratours, hee had read a memorial which was presented vnto him. Who likewise reporteth the story of *Archias*, the Tyrant of *Thebes*, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprise that *Pelopidas* had complotted to kil him, thereby to set his country at liberty: another *Archias* of *Athens* writ him a letter wherein he particularly related vnto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which letter beeing delivered him whilst he sate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word. *To morrow is a new day*, which afterward was turned to a Proverbe in *Greece*. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not vmannerly to breake company, like vnto *Rusticus*, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and deferre to vnderstand such news as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if hee regarde his dinner so much, that hee will not breake-it off, or his sleepe, that hee will not interrupt-it: to doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in *Rome*, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to

entertaine him that should bee there placed. Witnesse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires, and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune doe not sway, and keepe hir right in them.

The fifth Chapter.

Of Conscience. *The Rack used with ill effect*

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MY brother the Lord of *Bronze* and my selfe, during the time of our civill wars, travelling one day together, we fortun'd to meete vpon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour: He was of our contrary faction, but forasmuch as he counterfai'ted himselfe otherwise, I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles, is, that the cardes are so shuffled (your enemy being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparant marke distinguished from you; nay, which is more, brought vp vnder the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoide confusion and shun disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearefull to meete with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be vr-ged to tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befallne me; for, by such a chaunce, or rather mistaking, I fortun'd once to loose al my men and horses, and hardly escaped my selfe: and amongst other my losses, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the vntimely and miserable death of a yong Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought-vp, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seem'd so fearefully dismayd, and at every encounter of horsemen, and passage, by, or through any Towne that helde for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted, that in the end I perceived, and guesst they were but guilty alarums that his conscience gave him. It seem'd vnto this feely man, that all might apparantly, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore vpon his vpper garments, reade the secret intentions of his faint-hart. Of such marvailous-working power is the sting of conscience: which often induceth vs to bewray, to accuse and to combate our selves; and for want of other evidences thee produceth our selves against our selves,

Bar. sat. 13. 195

Occulum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.

Their minde, the tormentour of sinne,
Shaking an vnseene whippe within.

The story of *Bessus* the *Pœnian* is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth hee had beaten-downe a nest of yong sparrows and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to do-it; for so much as those yong birdes ceased not falsely to accuse him to have murdered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have beene committed by him; and vntill that day had layen secret; but the revengefull furies of the conscience, made the same party to reveale it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and vnnaturall a murder. *Hesiodus* correcteth the saying of *Plato*, That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at-hand: for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. *Whosoever expects punishment, suffereth the same, and whosoever deserveth it, he doth expect-it. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie dooth frame torments against it selfe.*

*Eras. chil. 1.
cent. 2. ad 14.*

Malum consilium consultori pessimum.

Bad counsell is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell.

Even as the Waspe stingeth and offendeth others, but hir selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she looseth hir force and sting for ever.

*Virg. Georg.
l. 4. 338.*

—vitæque in vulnere ponant.

They,

They, while they others sling,
Death to themselves doe bring.

The *Cantarides* have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by fundrie yrksome and painefull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth vs, both waking and a sleepe.

*Quippe ubi se multi per somnia sepe loquentes,
Aut morbo delirantes procraxe ferantur,
Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.*

Lucr. l. 5. 1168.

Many in dreames oft speaking, or vnhealed,
In sickenes raving have themselves revealed,
And brought to light their sinnes long time concealed.

Apolodorus dreamed he saw himselfe first fleade by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, saying; I onely have caused this mischiefe to light vpon thee. *Epicurus* was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked; for, they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, sithence conscience is ever readie to disclose them to themselves.

*— prima est hac ultio, quod se
Iudice nemo nocens absolvitur.*

Iuven. Sat. 13. 2

This is the first revenge, no guiltie minde
Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

Which as it doth fill vs with feare and doubt, so doth it store vs with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say, that I have waded through many dangerous hazards, with a more vtired pace, onely in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocencie of my desseignes.

*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
— Pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.*

*Ouid. fast. lib.
1. 485.*

As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he
Inlie breede hope and feare, as his deedes be.

Of examples, there are thousands; It shall suffice vs to alleage three onely, and all of one man. *Scipio* being one day accused before the Romane people, of an vrgent and capitall accusation; in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Iudges; turning to them, he said. It will well besee me you to vndertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authoritie to judge of all the world. The same man, another time, being vehemently vrged by a *Tribune* of the people, who charged him with fundrie imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause, gave him this sodaine and short answer. Let vs goe (quoth he) my good citizens; let vs forthwith goe (I say) to give heartie thanks vnto the Gods for the victorie, which even vpon such a day as this is, they gave me against the Carthaginians. And therewith advancing himselfe to march before; the people, all the assemblie, and even his accuser himselfe did vndelayedly follow him towards the temple. After that, *Petilius* having beene animated and stirred vp by *Cato* to sollicite and demaund a strict accompt of him, of the mony he had managed, and which was committed to his trust, whilst he was in the Province of *Antioche*; *Scipio* being come into the senate-house, of purpose to answer for himselfe, pulling out the booke of his accompts from vnder his gowne, tolde them all, that that booke contained truely, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the same vnto a clark to register it, he refused to doe it, saying, he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and therevpon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in pieces. I cannot apprehend or beleve, that a guiltie-cauterized conscience could possibly dissemble or counterfet such an vndisfained assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith *Titus Livius*) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yelde himselfe to the basenes, to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trialles of patience then Essayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conceale the truth. For, wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confesse that, which is so indeede, then force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments; why shall not he

be able to tolerate them, who hath doone-it, and is guiltie indeede; so deare and worthie a reward as life being proposed vnto him? I am of opinion, that the ground of his invention, proceedeth from the consideration of the power and facultie of the conscience. For, to the guiltie, it seemeth to give a kinde of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakeneth and dismayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengtheneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of vncertaintie and danger. What would not a man say; nay, what not doe, to avoide so grievous paines, and shunne such torments?

Sen. prover.

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.

Torment to lie sometimes will drive,

Ev'n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the Iudge hath tortured, because he shall not die an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place *Phylotas*, considering the circumstances of the enditement that *Alexander* framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weakenes could invent: though, in my conceit, verie inhumanely, and therewithall most vnprofitably. Many nations lesse barbarous in that, then the Græcian or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell thing, to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you vnjust, who because you will not put him to death without some cause, you doe worse then kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuseth to die guiltles, then passe by this information, much more painefull, then the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpnes of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this storie, but it exactly hath reference vnto the conscience of our justice. A countrie woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe justicier, that he, with violence, had snatched from out hir poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some pappe or water-gruell, which shee had onely left to sustaine them, forsomuch as the Armie had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman, had neither witnes nor prooffe of it; It was but hir yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned hir to be well advised what she spake, and that she should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if she spake an vntruth, she should then be culpable of his accusation: But she constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be thoroughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faultie, and the poore woman to have said true; whereupon she was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.

The sixt Chapter. He talks much of him him self & iustifies ye doing of it.

Of exercise or practise. 6.

IT is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly apply it selfe vnto it) that Discourse and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerful, to direct vs to action, and adresse vs to performance; if over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our minde, to the traine whereunto we will range-it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtles finde it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not beene content, at home, and at rest to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surprisethem vnexperienced, and finde them novices, if she should chance to enter fight with them; but have rather gone to meete and front hir before, and wittingly earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a genvine povertie: others have willingly found out labor, and an austeritie of a toyle some life, thereby to harden and enyre themselves

to euill, and travell: other some have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, lest their over-pleasing, and too-too wanton service, might in any sort mollifie and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to die, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing a-vaile vs thereunto. A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against griefe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accidents: but concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come vnto it. There have, in former times, beene found men so good husbands and thriftee of time, that even in death they have assayed to taste and savour it; and bent their minde to observe and see, what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell vs tidings of-it.

— *nemo expurgatus extat*
Frigida quem semel est vitæ pausa sequuta.
 No man doth ever after wake,
 Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

Lucr. l. 3. 973.

Canis Iulius, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene condemned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, *Caligula*: besides many marvelous evident assurances he gave of his matchlesse resolution, when he was even in the nicke to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: *Canis*, in what state is your soule now? What doth she? What thoughts possesse you now? I thought (answered he) to keep me readie and prepared with all my force, to see whether in this instant of death, so short and so neere at hand, I might perceive some dislodging or distraction of the soule, and whether it will shew some feeling of hir sodaine departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any thing of hir) I may afterward, if I can, returne, and give advertisement thereof vnto my friends. Loe-here a Philosopher, not onely vntil death, but even in death it selfe: what assurance was-it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his owne death should serve him as a lesson, and have leasure to thinke elsewhere in a matter of such consequence?

— *ius hoc animi morientis habebat.*
 This powre of minde had he,
 When it from him did flee.

Lucan. l. 8. 636

Me seemeth neverthelesse, that in some sort, there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it, and to assay-it. We may have some experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as may not altogether be vnprofitable, and which may yeelde vs better fortified and more assured. If we cannot attaine vnto it, we may at least approach-it, and discern the same: And if we cannot enter hir fort, yet shall we see and frequent the approaches vnto-it. It is not without reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe, for the resemblance it hath with death. How easily we passe from waking to sleepings; with how little interest we loose the knowledge of light, and of our selves. The facultie of sleepe might happily seeme vnprofitable, and against nature, sithence it depriveth vs of all action, and barreth vs of all sense; were it not that nature doth thereby instruct vs, that she hath equally made vs, as wel to live, as to die; and by life presenteth the eternall state vnto vs, which she after the same reserveth for vs, ^{after} so to accustome vs thereunto, and remove the feare of it from vs. But such as by some violent accident are false into a faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might beholde hir true and naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared, it should bring any travell or displeasure with-it, forasmuch as we can have, nor sense, nor feeling without leasure. Our sufferances have neede of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approaches that leade vnto it we should feare; and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination, then by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and perfect health. I say, not onely sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the consideration of sickenneses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fittes but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I dayly proove. Let me be vnder a rooffe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well at ease in some tempestuous and stormie night,

n night. I am exceedingly perplexed, and much grieved for such as are abroad, and have no shelter: But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe not so much as desire to be else-where. Onely to be continually pent vp in a chamber, seemed intollerable to me. I have now en-
 ured my selfe to live a whole weeke, yea a moneth in my chamber, full of care, trouble, alteration and weakenes; and have found, that in the time of my best health I moaned such as were sicke, much more, then I can well moane my selfe when I am ill at ease: and that the power of my apprehension did wel-nigh halfe endear the essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in good hope the like will happen to me of death: and that it is not worth the labor I take for so many preparations as I prepare against hir; and so many helps as I call to sustaine, and assemble to endure the shooke and violence of it. But hab or nab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I doe not well remember which) I fortun'd one day, for recreation-sake, to goe forth and take the ayre, about a league from my house, who am seated even in the bowels of al the troubles of our civill wars of France, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne home and reite, that I had no neede of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted vpon a very easie-going nagge, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a sudaine occasion being offered me, to make use of this nagge in a peece of service, whereto he was neither trained nor accustomed, one of my men (a strong sturdie fellow) mounted vpon a yong strong-headed horse, and that had a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lustie and in breath; to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fellows, fortun'd with might and maine to set spurres vnto him, and giving him the bridle, to come right into the path where I was, and as a Colossus with his weight riding over me and my nagge, that were both very little, he overthrew vs both, and made vs fall with our heeles vpward: so that the nagge lay along astonied in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelfe paces wide of him; my face all torne and brused, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or sense in me then a stocke. It is the onely swowning that ever I felt yet. Those that were with me, after they had assayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with much adoe were carrying me home to my-house, which was about halfe a french league thence, vpon the way; & after I had for two houres space, by all, bin supposed dead and past all recoverie, I began to stir and breathe: for, so great abundance of blood was false into my stomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced to rowze vp hir spirits. I was immediatly set vpon my feete, and bending forward, I presently cast vp, in quantitie as much clottie pure blood, as a bucket will hold, and by the way was constrained to doe the like divers times before I could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and so long a doing, that my chiefe senses were much more enclining to death then to life.

Perche dubbia sa ancor del suo ritorno

Non s'assicura attonita la mente.

For yet the minde doubtfull of it's returne

Is not assured, but astonished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me hir visage and *Idea* so lively and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me vnto hir. And when I began to see, it was with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discern any thing of the light,

— come quel c'hor' apre, hor chiude

Gli occhj, mezzo tra'l sonno, & esser desto.

As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts

His eyes, betweene sleeping and being awake.

Touching the functions of the soule, they started vp and came in the same progresse as those of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloodie; for my doublet was all sullied with the blood I had cast. The first conceit I apprehended, was, that I had received some shot in my head; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about vs. Me thought, my selfe had no other hold of me, but of my lippes-ends. I closed mine eyes, to helpe (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kinde of pleasure to linger and languishingly to let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest: but in truth, not onely exempted from dispea-
 sure,

The Authors mis-
 hap

Agony

sure, but rather comixt with that pleasant sweetenes, which they feele that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slumbring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleeeve it is the same state, they finde themselves in, whom in the agonie of death we see to droope & faint through weaknes: and am of opinion, we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grievous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painefull cogitations. It was ever my conceite, against the opinion of many, yea & against that of *Stephanus la Boëtie*, that those whom we see, so overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the aproches of their end, or vtterly cast downe with the lingring tediousnes of their defeases, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evill,

— (*vi morbi sepe coactus*)

Lucr. lib. 3. 490

*Ante oculos aliquis nostros ut fulminis ictu
(Concidit, & spumas agit, ingensit, & fremit artus,
Despit, extent at nernos, torquetur, anhelat,
Inconstanter & in iactando membra fatigat)*

Some man by force of sicknes driu'n doth fall,
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;
He fomes, he grones, he trembles over all,
He raves, he stretches, he's vext, panting lyes,
He tyr's his limmes by tossing,

Now this now that way crossing.

or hurt in the head, whom wee heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gaspes, although wee gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth, they have yet some knowledge left, and certaine motions wee see them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their soule and body buried and asleepe.

Vivit & est vita nescius ipse sua.

*Ovid. trist. lib.
1. el. 3. 12.*

He lives, yet knowes not he,
That he alive should be.

And I could not beleeeve, that at so great an astonishment of members, and deffailance of senses, the soule could maintaine any force within, to know hir selfe; and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feele the miserie of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, voide of meanes to disburthen and declare hir selfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongne to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the most dumbe seemes vnto me the fittest, namely if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hard-harted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them vnto some excessive and vnpossible ransom, keeping them all that while in so hard a condition and place, that they have no way left them to vtter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were some Gods, that fauoured the release of such as sufferd so languishing deaths.

— *hunc ego Diti*

Sacrum inssa fero, & que isto corpore soluo.

*Virg. Æn. lib.
4. 703. Iris.*

This to death sacred, I, as was my charge,

Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the faltering speeches and vncertaine answeres, that by continuall ringing in their eares & incessant vrging them, are somtimes by force wrested from them, or by the motions which seeme to have some simpatie with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes, that they live, at least a perfect sound life. We do also in yawning, before sleep fully seize vpon vs, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about vs, and with a troubled and vncertain hearing, follow the voices, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; & frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance then of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt, but hitherto I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was vnarmed) and well I wot, that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are severall motions in vs, which proceed not of our free wil.

Semianimesque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.

lib. 10. 396.

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,
(Though it they cannot stirre) for Steele.

Those that falle, doe commonly by a naturall impulsion cast their armes abroad before their falling, which sheweth, that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our discourse :

Lucr. l. 3. 648.

*Falciferos memorant curius abscondere membra,
Vt tremere in terra videatur ab artubus, id quod
Decidit abscessum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis
Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.*

They say, fische-bearing chariots limbes bereave,
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,
Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and minde
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion, finde.

My stomacke was surcharged with clotted blood, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often as they are wont (yea against the knowledge of our will) where we feele it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead, we may see their muscles to close and stirre. All men know by experience, there be some partes of our bodies, which often without any consent of ours, doe stirre, stand and lie downe againe. Now these passions, which but exteriorly touch vs, can not properly be termed ours; For, to make them ours, a man must wholly be engaged vnto them : And the paines that our feete or handes feele whilest wee sleepe, are not ours. When I came neere my house, where the tidings of my fall was already come, and those of my housholde met me, with such outcries as are vsed in like times, I did not onely answere some words, to what I was demanded, but some tell me, I had the memory to commaund my men to give my wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over-tired, and labouring in the way, which is very hilly, fowle, and rugged. It seemeth this consideration proceeded from a vigilant soule : yet was I cleane distracted from it, they were but vaine conceits, and as in a cloud, onely moved by the sense of the eyes and eares : They came not from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I knew neither whence I came, nor whither I went, nor could I vnderstand or consider what was spoken vnto me. They were but light effects, that my senses produced of themselves, as it were of custome. Whatsoever the soule did assist it with, was but a dreame, being lightly touched, and onely sprinkled by the soft impression of the senses. In the meane time my state was verily most pleasant and easfull. I felt no maner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe nor others. It was a slumbering, languishing and extreame weakenesse, without anie paine at all. I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when I was laide in my bedde, I felt great ease in my rest, for I had beene vilely hurried and haled by those poore men, which had taken the paines to carry me vpon their armes a long and wearysome way, and to say truth, they had all beene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shift severall times. Many remedies were presently offered me, but I tooke none, supposing verily I had beene deadly hurt in the head. To say truth, it had beene a very happy death : For the weakenesse of my discourse hindred me from judging of it, and the feeblenes of my body from feeling the same. Me thought I was yeelding vp the ghost so gently, and after so easie and indolent a maner, that I feele no other action lesse burthensome then that was. But when I beganne to come to life againe and to recover my former strength,

Ovid. Trist. li. 1.
el. 3. 14.

Vt tandem sensus convalescere mei.

At last when all the sprites I beare,
Recall'd and recollected were.

which was within two or three houres after, I presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each parte thereof was with the violence of the fall much brused and tainted; and for two or three nights after I found my selfe so ill, that I verily supposed I should have died no other death : But more feeling and sensible (and to speake plaine) I feele my bruses yet, and feare me shall doe while I live : I will not forget to tell you, that the laste thing I could rightly fall into againe, was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeate me over and over againe, whither I was going, whence I came, and at what houre that chance befell me, before I could thoroughly conceive it. Concerning the maner of my falling, they in favour of him who had beene the cause of it, concealed the truth
fro

from me, and told me other flim flam tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie beganne to come to it selfe againe, and represent the state vnto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espie him, and helde my selfe for dead; yet was the conceite so sodaine, that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so slight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the instructions I have drawne from thence, for my vse: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way, then to approach vnto it. Now as *Plinie* saith, every man is a good discipline vnto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my studie; And not another mans lesson, but mine owne. Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may happily serve another mans; otherwise I marre nothing, what I make vse of, is mine owne. And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies interest. For it is but a kinde of folly, that dies in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients, that have trodden this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like vnto this of mine, for wee know but their names. No man since hath followed their steppes, it is a thornie and crabbed enterprife, and more then it makes shew-of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: To penetrate the shadie, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks; To chuse so many, and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And a new extraordinary amusing, that distracts vs from the common occupations of the world, yea and from the most recommended. *Many yeares are past since I have no other aime, whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controle and study nothing but my selfe.* And if I study any thing else, it is immediatly to place it vpon, or to say better, in my selfe. And me thinks I erre not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparrison lesse profitable. I impart what I have learn't by this, although I greatly content not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. *There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans owne selfe.* Yet must a man handsomely trimme-vp, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke vp my selfe; for I vncessantly describe my selfe. Custom hath made a mans speech of himselfe, vicious. And obstinately forbids-it in hatred of boasting, which ever seemeth closely to follow ones selfe witnesses, whereas a man should wipe a chilles nose, that is now called to vn-nose him-

In vicium ducit culpe fuga.

Some shunning of some sinne,
Doth draw some further in.

I finde more evill then good for this remedie: But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himselfe, were necessarily presumption: I ought not following my generall intent, to refuse an action, that publisheth this crazed qualitie, since I have it in my selfe: and I should not conceale this fault, which I have not onely in vse, but in profession. Neverthelesse to speake my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much too blame, because many are therewith made drunke. Only good things may be abused. And I believe this rule hath only regard to popular defects: They are snaffles wherewith neither Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom wee heare so gloriously to speake of themselves, will in any sorte be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one then other. If they write purposely or directly of it, yet when occasion doth conveniently leade them vnto it, faine they not, headlong to cast themselves into the listes? Whereof doth *Socrates* treat more at large, then of himselfe? To what doth he more often direct his disciples discourses, then to speake of themselves, not of their bookes lesson, but of the essence and moving of their soule? We religiously shrift our selves to God and our confessor, as our neighbours to all the people. But will some answere mee, we reporte but accusations; wee then reporte all: For, even our vertue it selfe is faultie and repentable; My arte and profession, is to live. Who forbids mee to speake of it, according to my sense, experience, and custome? Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to anothers skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe; why doth not *Cicero* preferre the eloquence of *Hortensius*, and *Hortensius* that of *Cicero*? Some may peradventure suppose that by deedes and ef-

it is

*He insinuates
his discourses of
him self*

Hor. art. po. t. 31

by

fects, and not simply by words, I witnesse of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations; a shapelesse subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a worke-manlike production: with much adoe can I set it downe in this ayrie body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoiding all apparant effects. Effects would speake more of fortune, then of me. They witnesse their part, and not mine; vnlesse it be conjecturally and vncertainly: Parcels of a particular shew, I wholly set forth and expose my selfe: It is a *Keletos*; where at first sight appeare al the veines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tennons, each severall parte in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that of palenesse or panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my jests, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe, and equally conscientious to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise vnto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe then he possesseth, is follie and not modestie. To pay himselfe for lesse then he is worth, is basenesse and pusilanimitie, saith *Aristotle*. No vertue aides it selfe with falsehood; and truth is never a matter of errour. And yet for a man to say more of himselfe, then he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene, & please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The best remedie to cure him, is to do cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who in forbidding men to speake of themselves, do consequently also inhibite more to thinke of themselves. *Pride consisteth in conceit*: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to amuse on himselfe, is in their imagination to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at over-deare a rate to endear himselfe. But this excesse doth onely breede in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves, that are seene to follow their affaires, which call idlenesse and fondnesse, for a man to entertaine, to applaude and to endear himselfe, and frame Chimeras, or build castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be besotted with his owne knowledge, looking vpon himselfe, let him cast his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quailed; for there shall he find many thousands of spirits, that will cleane suppress and tread him vnder. If he fortune to enter into any selfe-presumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of *Scipio* and *Epaminondas*; so many armies, and so many nations, which leave him so farre behinde them. No particular qualitie shall make him prowd, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weake qualities that are in him, and at last, the nullitie of humane condition. Forso much as *Socrates* had truely onely nibled on the precept of his God, to know himselfe, and by that studie had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowne by his owne mouth.

The seaventh Chapter.

Of the recompences or rewards of Honour. 4

Those which write the life of *Augustus Caesar*, note this in his militarie discipline, that hee was exceeding liberall and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere recompences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had bin liberally gratified by his Vnckle with military rewardes, before ever hee went to warres. It hath bene a witty invention, and received in most partes of the worlds common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthles marks, therewith to honor and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Garlands of myrtle, the forme of a certaine peculiar garment; the priviledge to ride in Coche through the City; or by night to have a torch carried before one; Some particular place to sit in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the vse whereof hath bene diversly received according to the opinions

opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with diuers of our neighbour-Nations, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable vse, and profitable custome, to find meanes to reward the worth, and acknowledge the valour of rare and excellent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common wealth, and put the Prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we have plainly perceived amongst our selves, that men of qualitie, were ever more jealous of such recompences, then of others, wherein was both gaine and profite: which was not without reason and great apparance. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other commodities and riches joyned, this kinde of commixing, in steade of encreasing the estimation thereof, doeth enpaire, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of the Knights of Saint *Michaell* in *France*, which of so long continuance hath bin in credite amongst vs, had no greater commoditie then that it had no manner of communication with any other advantage or profite, which hath heeretofore beene the cause, that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, whereto the nobilitie pretended with so much desire, or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order; nor calling, that was followed with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerly and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious, then profitable. For, to say truth, other giftes have no vse so worthy; inasmuch, as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service of a groomme the diligence of a messenger, the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same paulty pelf-money, vice is payed and sinne requited, as flattery, murther, treason, *Maquereluge*, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kinde of common trash, mony, then that which is only proper and peculiar to hir selfe, and is altogether noble and generous. *Augustus* had therefore reason, to bee much more niggardly and sparing of this last, then of the former, forasmuch as honour is a privileged which drawes his principall essence from rarenesse: and so doth vertue it selfe.

Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest?

To him who good can seeme,

Who doth none bad esteeme?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiously carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and worthy praise soever it be: no more then one great tree, where the forrest is full of such. I doe not thinke that any Spartane Cittizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor, because it was a popolare vertue in that Nation: And as little for his fidelitie, and contempt of riches. There is no recompence fals vnto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once have passit into custome: And I wot not whether we might call it great, beeing common. Since then the rewardes of honor, have no other prize and estimation then that which few enjoy, there is no way to disannull them, but to make a largesse of them. Were there now more menne found deserving the same then in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrupted. And it may easilie happen that more deserve it: For, there is no vertue, doeth so easilie spread it selfe as military valiancie. There is another, true, perfect, and Philosophical, wherof I speake not (I vse this word according to our custome) farre greater and more full then this, which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally contemning all manner of contrarie accidents, vpright, vniforme, and constant, wherof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Custome, institution, example and fashon, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speake of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainly bee seene by the experience our civill warres gives vs of it. And whosoever could now joyne vs together, and eagerly flesh al our people to a common enterprise, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times only concerne prowes, and respect valour; it had a further ayme. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier, but of a famous captaine. The skil to obey could not deserve so honourable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquitie, wee shall perceive, that for the worthie obtaining thereof, there was required more vniversall warre-like expertnesse, and which might imbrace the greatest part, and most partes of a mi-

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Mare. l. 12. c. 82. 2.

Xp

vide

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Xp

ought to be borne & augmented, with the knowledge they give vs of themselves; and then, if they deserve-it (naturall inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love & loving friendship, & conformable to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwayes yeelding our selves vnto reason, notwithstanding naturall power. For the most part, it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly we feele our selves more mooued with the sportes, idlenesse, wantonneffe, and infant-trifles of our children, than afterward we doe with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had loved them for our pastimes, as we doe apes, monkees, or perokitoes, and not as men. And many a father doth very prodigally bestow much vpon his childe, that afterward will spare and miche very niggardly for necessary things about him, when he is of riper yeers. Nay, it seemeth that the ielousie wee have to see them appeare into, and inioy the world, when wee are ready to leave them, makes vs more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth vs when wee see them following vs at our heeles, supposing they sollicite vs to bee gone hence: And if we were to feare that, since the order of things beareth, that they cannot indeede, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should not meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deeme it a kind of crueltie & iniustice, not to receive them into the share and societie of our goods, and to admit them as partners of our domesticall affaires (if they be once capable of it) and not to cut off and shut vp our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have engendred them to that purpose. It is meere iniustice to see an old, crazed, sinnowe-shronken, and nigh-dead father sitting alone in a chimnie-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and entertainment of many children, and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer them to loose their best daies and yeares, without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into dispaire, to seeke, by some way how vnlawful soever to provide for their necessities. And in my dayes, I have seene divers yong men, of good houses, so given to stealing and filching, that no correction could divert them from-it. I know one very well alied, to whom, at the instance of a brother of his (a most honest, gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to that purpose, who boldly answered and confessed vnto me, that onely by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beene forced and driven to fall into such lewdnes and wickednes. And even at that time he came from stealing certaine jewels from a Ladie, in whose bed-chamber hee fortun'd to come with certaine other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had almost beene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of an other Gentleman, from his youth so fashioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that comming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods, resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if hee chaunc'd to come neere a shop, where he sawe any thing he stood in neede of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily steale such things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, then I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goodes.

in the intellectuall
genec

And although my countrymen be indeede somewhat more taxed with this fault, then other Provinces of *France*, yet have we seene of late dayes, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other partes of *France* in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion, that in regarde of these debauches and lewde actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is onely long of them. And if any shall answer me, as did once a gentleman of good worth and vnderstanding, that he thriftily endeavoured to hoard vp riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any vse and commoditie of them, then to be honoured, respected and suingly-sought vnto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the onely remedy he had left to maintaine himselfe in auctoritie with his household, and keepe him from falling into contempt and disdaine of all the world. (And truly according to *Aristotle*, not onely old-age, but each imbecilitie, is the promoter and motive of covetousnes) That is something, but it is a remedie for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered, and breeding avoyded. That father may truly be said miserable, that holdeth the affection of his children tied vnto him by no other meanes, then by the neede they have of his helpe, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: *A man should yeeld him-*

selfe

selfe respectable by vertue and sufficiencie, and amiable by his goodnesse, and gentlenesse of maners.
The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: to have the bones and reliques of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially vnto his children, whose minds ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necessitie and neede, nor rudenesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

— & errat longè, mea quidem sententia,
*Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,
Ut quod sit, quam illud quod amicitia adiungitur.*

Ter. Adelph.
act. 1. sc. 1. 39

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,
Who, that command may give, more firme doth take,
Which force doth get, then that which friendships make.

I utterly condemne all maner of violence in the education of a yong spirit, brought vp to honour and libertie. There is a kinde of slavishnesse in churlish-rigor, and servilitie in compulsion; and I hold, that *that which can not be compassed by reason, wisdom and discretion, can never be attained by force and constraint.* So was I brought vp: they tell me, that in all my youth, I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had my selfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they die all very yong: yet hath *Leonora* my onely daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth, and punishment of her childish faulces (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildely vnto it) was never other meanes vsed but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are diverse other causes to take hold of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just & naturall. I would also have beene much more religious in that towards male-children, not borne to serve as women, and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuitie and libertie. I have scene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remisse, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to wish our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and vnnaturall wishes, can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*, no ill deede hath a good reason.

his children

Let vs reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so yoong, that our age do in a maner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth vnayoydably cast vs into many difficulties, and encombrances. This I speake, chiefly vnto Nobilitie, which is of an idle disposition, or loytering condition, and which (as we say) liveth onely by her landes or rents: for else, where life standeth vpon gaine; pluralitie & company of children is an easefull furtherance of husbandrie. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeers of age, & commend the opinion of thirtie-five, which is saide to be *Aristotles*. *Plato* would have no man married before thirtie, and hath good reason to scoffe at them that will deferre it till after fiftie-five, and then marry; and condemneth their breede as vnworthy of life and sustenance. *Thales* appoynted the best limites, who by his mother, being instantly vrged to marry whilst he was yong, answered that it was not yet time; and when he came to be old, he saide it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunitie to every importunate action. The antient *Gauls* deemed it a shamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares; and did especially recommend vnto men that sought to be trained vp in warres; the carefull preservation of their maidenhead, vntill they were of good yeares, forso much as by loosing it in youth, courages are thereby much weakened, and greatly empaired, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous actions.

marrying

The
Germans

*Ma hor cogiunto à giovinetta sposa,
Lieto homai de figli era invilito
Ne gli affetti di padre & di marito.*

But now conjoyn'd to a fresh-springing spouse,
Ioy'd in his children, he was thought-abased,
In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

Muleasses king of *Thunes*, hce whom the Emperour *Charles* the fifth restored vnto his owne

owne state againe, was wont to vpbraide his fathers memorie, for so dissolutely frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greeke storie doth note *Iecus* the *Tarentine*, *Chryso*, *Astylus*, *Diopomus* and others, who to keepe their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympike courses, wrestlings, and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were possessed with that care, heedelessly abstaine from all vicerian actes, and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanishe *Indies*, no man was suffered to take a wife, before he were fortie yeares olde, and women might marry at tenne yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then is the father as seemely, and may aswell appeare, and set himselfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres, aswell by land as sea, and doe his Prince as good service, in court, or else-where, as his sonne: He hath neede of all his partes, and ought truly to impart them, but so, that hee forget not himselfe for others: And to such may justly that answer serve, which fathers have commonly in their mouthes: *I will not put off my clothes before I be readie to goe to bed.* But a father over-burthened with yeares, and crazed through sickenesse, and by reason of weakenesse and want of health, barred from the common societie of men, doth both wrong himselfe, and injure his, idely and to no vse to hoorde vp, and keepe close a great heape of riches, and deale of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not say to his shirt, but to a good warme night-gowne: As for other pompe and trash whereof hee hath no longer vse or neede; hee ought willingly to distribute and bestow them amongst those, to whome by naturall decree they ought to belong. It is reason he should have the vse, and bequeathe the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. The worthiest action, that ever the Emperour *Charles* the fifth performed was this, in imitation of some ancients of his qualitie, that hee had the discretion to know, that reason commaunded vs, to stripp or shift our selves when our cloathes trouble and are too heauey for vs, and that it is high time to goe to bed, when our legges faile vs. He resigned his meanes, his greatnesse and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former vndanted resolution to decaie, and force to conduct his affaires, to droope in himselfe, together with the glorie hee had thereby acquired.

Hor. l. i. epist. 1.
8.

*Solue senescentem maturè sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat,*
If you be wise, the horse growne-old betimes cast-off,
Least he at last falle lame, foulter, and breede a skoffe.

This fault, for a man not to be able to knowe himselfe betimes, and not to feele the impuissance and extreame alteration, that age doth naturally bring, both to the body and the minde (which in mine opinion is equall, if the minde have but one halfe) hath lost the reputation of the most part of the greatest men in the world. I have in my daies both seene and familiarly knowne some men of great authoritie, whom a man might easily descerne, to be strangely fallen from that ancient sufficiencie, which I knowe by the reputation they had thereby attained. vnto in their best yeares. I could willingly for their honors sake have wisht them at-home about their owne busines, discharged from all negotiations of the common-wealth and employments of warre, that were no longer fit for them. I have sometimes beene familiar in a Gentlemans house, who was both an olde man and a widdower, yet lustie of his age. This man had many daughters marriage-able, & a sonne growne to mans state, and readie to appeare in the world; a thing that drew on, and was the cause of great charges, and many visitations, wherein hee tooke but little pleasure, not onely for the continuall care hee had to fave, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken him-selfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better be seeme him to give vs place, and resigne his chiefe house to his sonne (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished) and quietly retire him-selfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or incommode his rest, since he could not otherwise avoide our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great ease by it. It is not to be said, that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recalle againe: I, that am readie to play such a part, would give over vnto them the full possession of my house,

house, and enjoying of my goods, but with such libertie and limited condition, as if they should give me occasion, I might repent my selfe of my gift, and revoke my deede. I would leave the vse and fruition of all vnto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in grosse, I would reserve what I pleased vnto my selfe. Having ever judged, that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household-affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth, to checke and controule their demeanors: storing them with instruction and advised counsel, according to the experience he hath had of them, and himselfe to addresse the ancient honour and order of his house in the handes of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after successe. And to this effect, I would not shunne their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts. If I did not continually live amongst them (as I could not wel without offending their meetings and hindering their recreations, by reason of the peevish forwardnesse of my age, and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing the rules, and resisting the forme of life, I should then follow) I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in shew, but the most easfull and commodious. And not as some yeeres since, I saw a Deane of *S. Hillarie* of Poictiers, reduced by reason and the incommoditie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never remooved one steppe out of it in two and twenty yeeres before: yet had all his faculties free and easie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomake. Scarfe once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and see him. He would ever be shut vp in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meate, and who might not tarrie there, but as soone as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke vp and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some vnderstanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and die in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kinde of civill demeanour and milde conversation, to breede and settle in my children a true-harty-loving friendship, and vnfaigned good will towards me. A thing easily obtained amongst well-borne mindes: For, if they proove, or be such surly-furious beastes, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beastes be hated, as chvrils neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I hate this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strange name, as of more reverence: As if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God almightie by the name of father, and disdaine our children should call vs so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne household: It is also follie and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to shew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainefull countenance, hoping thereby to keepe them in awefull feare and duteous obedience. For, it is a very vnprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome vnto children; and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the worlde; and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish fierce, and tyrannicall countenaunces, from a man that hath no lusty blood left him, neither in his heart, nor in his veines; meere bugge-beares, and scar-crowes, to scare birdes withall. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sortes of defects in age, and so much impuissance: It is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make, is the good will, love and affection of hers. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowne one, whose youth had bin very imperious and rough, but when hee came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chafeth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous master of *France*, he frets and consumes himselfe with carke and care and vigilancy (all which is but a jugling & ground for his familie to play vpon, and cozen him the more) as for his goodes, his garners, his cellers, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keepes the keyes of them, close in his bosome and vnder his bouldster, as charily as he doth his eies, others enjoy and commaund the better part of them; whilst he pleaseth and flattereth himselfe, with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goeth to wracke, and is lavishly waisted in diuerse corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending,

spending, & in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chafing, fore-sight and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any seely or heedlesse servant do by fortune apply himselfe vnto it, hee is presently made to suspect him: A qualitie on which age doth immediately bite of it-selfe. How manie times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe tolde me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandrie, of the awe he kept his household-in, and of the exact obedience, and regardefull reverence he received of all his familie, and how cleare-fighted he was in his owne busines:

Ter. Adel. act.
4, scen. 2. 9.

Ille solus nescit omnia.

Of all things none but he,

Most ignorant must be.

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his maisterie, and to maintaine his absolutenesse, than he doth; yet is hee cleane false from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I knowe, as most exemplare. It were a matter becomming a scholasticall question, whether it be better so, or otherwise. In his presence all things give place vnto him. This vaine course is ever left vnto his authoritie, that he is never gaine-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleev'd, he is respected his belly-full. Dooth he discharge any boy or servaunt? he presently trusseth vp his packe, then is he gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slowe, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that hee shall live and do his office, a whole yeere in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fitte time or occasion serveth, Letters are procured from farre places, humbly suing, and pittifully complaining, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Dooth the maister make any bargaine, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediately smothered and suppressed, soone after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No foraine Letters being first presented vnto him, hee seeth but such as are fitte for his knowledge. If peradventure they come vnto his handes, as hee that trusteth some one of his men to reade them vnto him, hee will presently devise what hee thinketh good, whereby they often invent, that such a one seemeth to aske him forgiveness, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, hee never lookes into his owne busines, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre vp his choler, moove his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnes. I have scene vnder different formes, many long and constant, and of like effect economies. It is ever proper vnto women, to be readily bent to contradict and crosse their husbands. They will with might & maine hand-over head, take holde of any colour to thwart and withstand them: the first excuse they meete with, serves them as a plenarie justification. I have scene some, that would in grosse steale from their husbands, to the end (as they tolde their Confessors) they might give the greater almes. Trust you to such religious dispensations. They thinke no libertie to have, or managing to possesse sufficient authoritie, if it come from their husbands consent: They must necessarily vsurpe it, either by wilie craft or maine force, and ever injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and authoritie. As in my Discourse, when it is against a poore olde man, and for children, then take they holde of this Title, and therewith gloriously serve their turne and passion, and as in a common servitude, easily vsurpe and monopolize against his government and domination. If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and forward, then they presently suborne, either by threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bailiffe, Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers, and Servants. Such as have neither wife nor children, doe more hardly fall into this mischief: but yet more cruelly and vnworthily. Olde Cato was wont to say. *So many servants, so many enemies.* Note whether according to the distance, that was betweene the puritie of his age, and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warne vs, that *Wives, Children, and Servants are to vs so many enemies.* Well fittes-it decrepitude to store vs with the sweete benefite of ignorance and vnperceiving facilitie wherewith we are deceived.

If we did yeeld vnto it, what would become of vs? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any sutes in law or matters to be decided before judges, both Lawyers and Iudges, will commonly take part with, and favour our childrens causes? Against vs, as men interested in the same? And if I chance not to spie, or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozoned and beguiled,

beguiled, I must of necessitie discover in the end, how I am subject and may be cheated beguiled, and cozoned. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expresse the vnualueable worth of a friend, in comparision of these civil bondes? The lively image and Idea whereof, which so vnspotted I perceive to be amongst beastes. Oh with what religion doe I respect & observe the same! If others deceive mee, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capable, & of power to looke vnto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe vnto it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and cunny-catching in mine owne bosome, not by an vnquiet, and tumultuary curiositie, but rather by a diversion and resolution. When I heare the state of any one reported or discoursed-of, I amuse not my selfe on him, but presently cast mine eyes on my selfe, and call my wits together, to see in what state I am, & how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me. His fortunes forewarne me, and summon vp my spirites that way. *There is no day nor houre, but we speake that of others, we might properly speake of our selves, could we as well enfolde, as we can unfold our consideration.* And manie Authours doe in this maner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rashly running against that, which they take hold-of, thirling such dartes at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of *Mon-luc*, late one of the Lord Marshals of *France*, having lost his sonne, who dyed in the Island of *Madera*, a worthy, forward and gallant yong Gentleman, and truly of good hope; amongst other his griefes and regrets, did greatly moove me to condole, the infinite displeasure and hartes-forrow that he felt, in asmuch as hee had never communicated and opened himselfe vnto him: for, with his austere humor, and continuall endeavoring to holde a grimme-sterne-fatherly gravitie over him, he had lost the meanes, perfectly to find & throughly to know his Sonne, & so to manifest vnto him, the extreame affection he bare him, & the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. Alas (was he wont to say) the poore lad, saw never anie thing in mee, but a severe-furly-countenance, full of disdaine, and happilie was possessed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me, to whom did I reserve, to discover that singular and loving affection, which in my soule I bare vnto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintaine this vaine maske, and have vtterly lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithall his good will, which surely was but faintly-cold towards me, forsomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of me, and never felt but a tyrannicall proceeding in me towards him. I am of opinion, his complaint was reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so sweete in the losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tels vs, we never omitted to tell them every thing, and expostulate all matters vnto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell me my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His griefe doth both comfort and honour me. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life, for ever to make the obsequies thereof? Can there be any pleasure worth this privation? I doe unfold and open my selfe as much as I can to mine owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judgement toward them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to produce and present my selfe, for I would have no man mistake me, in what part soever. Amongst other particular customes, which our ancient Gaules had, (as *Cesar* affirmeth) this was one, that children never came before their fathers, nor were in anie publicke assembly seene in their company, but when they beganne to beare armes; as if they would inferre, that then was the time, fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would never bee induced to acquaint or impart vnto their children, that share or portion, which by the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: Nay, some there are, who after their death bequeath & commit the same aucthoritie, over them and their goods, vnto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have knowne a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived vnto it) was to inherite above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necessitie and want, and was runne so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposed dyed for very need; whilst his mother in hir extreame decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue

of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere foure score yeares. A thing (in my conceite) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is able to live of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about to marry a wife, that must have a great joynter out of his lands, assuredly there is no other debt, that brings more ruine vnto houses then that. My predecessours have commonly followed this counsell, and so have I, and all have found good by it. But those that dissuade vs from marrying of rich wives, lest they might proove over disdainfull and peevish, or lesse tractable and loving, are also deceived, to make vs neglect and for-goe a reall commoditie, for so frivolous a conjecture. To an vnreasonable woman, it is all one cost to hir, whether they passe vnder one reason, or vnder another. *They love to be where they are most wronged.* Injustice doeth allure them; as the honour of their vertuous actions enticeth the good. And by how much richer they are, so much more milde and gentle are they: as more willingly and gloriously chaste, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their goods and affaires vnto mothers, whilst their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the Lawes to manage the charge of them: And ill hath their father brought them vp, if he cannot hope, that comming to years of discretion, they shall have no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, then his wife, considering the weakenesse of their sexe. Yet truely were it as much against nature, so to order things, that mothers must wholly depend of their childrens discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided, wherewith to maintaine their estate, according to the qualitie of their house and age: because *neede and want is much more vnseemely and hard to be endured in women, than in men*: And children rather then mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the country. The Lawes have better thought vpon them then we: And better is it to let them erre in their election, then for vs rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without vs, and by a civill prescription, they are appoynted to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should bee a great and most apparant cause to induce vs to take from one, and barre him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Iustice hath called him vnto: And that against reason wee abuse this liberty, by futing the same vnto our private humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath bene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented mee with any occasions, that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawfull ordinance. I see some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. *A word ill taken defaceth the merite of tenne yeeres.* Happy he, that at this last passage is readie to sooth and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deede. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with apples and rodeles, to gratifie or chastize everie action of those who pretend any interest therevnto. It is a matter of overlong pursuite, & of exceeding consequence, at everie instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. Wee somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a rediculous eternity vnto our names. We also over-weigh such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirites give-vs. It might peradventure have bene deemed injustice, to displace me from out my ranke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the vnwillingest, and most leadden-pated to learne my lesson or any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countrey; were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie to trie anie extraordinarie conclusions vpon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the destinies corrected, in the choise they have made of our heires, with so much more apparance, may it bee done in consideration of some remarkable and enorme corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to vs, great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of *Plato* the lawe-giver, with his cittizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their ende to approach, shall wee not dispose of that, which is our owne, to whom and according as we please? Oh Gods what crueltie is this? That it shall not be lawfull for vs, to give or bequeathe more or lesse according to our fantasies, to such as have served

served vs, and taken paines with vs in our sickenneses, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the law-giver answereth in this manner; my friends (saith he) who doubtles shall shortly die, it is a hard matter for you, both to knowe your selves, and what is yours, according to the *Delphike* inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your selves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your families and your goods are the common wealths: Wherefore, least any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of sicknes, or any other passion, should vnadvisedly induce you to make any vnlawfull conveyance or vnjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especiall respect both to the vniversall interest of your Cittie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceive and confesse, that *a particular commoditie ought to yeelde to a publike benefit*. Followe that course merely, whereto humane necessitie doth call you. To me it belongeth, who have no more regarde to one thing then to another, and who as much as I can, take care for the generall, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, me thinkes, we seldome see that woman borne, to whom the superioritie or majestie over men is due, except the motherly and naturall; vnles it be for the chastisement of such, as by some fond, febricitant humor have voluntarily submitted themselves vnto them: But that doth nothing concerne old women, of whom we speake here. It is the apparance of this consideration, hath made vs to frame, and willingly to establish this lawe (never seene else where) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, & there are few principalities in the world, where it is not aleaged, as wel as here, by a likely & apparant reason, which authoriseth the same. But fortune hath given more credit vnto it in some places, then in other some. It is dangerous to leave the dispensation of our succession vnto their judgement, according to the choyse they shall make of their children, which is most commonly vnjust and fantastical. For, the same vnrule appetite, and distasted relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they at all times in their minds. They are commonly seene to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or such (if they have any) that had more neede to sucke. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed, where natures impressions are most single, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their yong-ones, then they are sucking. Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew vnto vs, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine, we daily take mothers owne children from them, and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not often procure ~~them~~ to bequeathe their children to some fond, filthie, sluttish, and vnhealthie nurse, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goate, not onely forbidding them to nurse and feede their owne children (what danger soever may betide them) but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow, and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby we soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vehement then the naturall, and to be much more tender and carefull for the wellfare and preservation of other mens children, then for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goates, is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the cuntry women, when they have not milke enough to feede their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goates to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lackeis wating vpon me, who except it were eight daies never suck't other milke then Goates; They are presently to come at call, and give yong infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they heare them crie, they runne forthwith vnto them. And if by chance they have any other childe put to their teates, then their nursing, they refuse and reject him, and so doth the childe a strange Goate. My selfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a Goate, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verely thinke, of mere hunger. *Beasts as well as we doe soone alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection*. I beleeeve, that in that, which *Herodotus* reporteth of a certaine province of *Libia*, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith, that men doe indifferently vse, and as it were in common frequent women;

Goates sucked

And that the childe as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct findeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first adresse his steeps vnto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duely consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves. It seems there is another production coming from vs, and which is of no lesse recommendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruites of our courage, sufficiency, or spirit, are brought forth by a farre more noble part, then the corporall, and are more, our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: Such fruites cost vs much dearer, and bring vs more honour, and chiefly if they have any good or rare thing in them. For, the value of our other children, is much more theirs, then ours. The share we have in them is but little; but of these, all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and resemble vs much more lively then others. *Plato* addeth moreover, that these are immortall issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and deifie them, as *Licurgus*, *Solon*, and *Minos*. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amisse to set downe some choyse-one of this kind. *Heliodorus* that good Bishop of *Triqua*, loued rather to losse the dignitie, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelateship, then to for-goe his daughter, a yong woman to this day commended for hir beautie, but happily somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked-vp then beseeemed the daughter of a churchman and a Bishop, and of over-amorous behavior. There was one *Labiennus* in *Rome*, a man of great worth and authoritie, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all manner of learning, who (as I thinke) was the sonne of that great *Labiennus*, chiefe of all the captaines that followed and were vnder *Cesar* in the warres against the *Gaules*, and who afterward taking great *Pompeys* part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him vntill *Cesar* defeated him in *Spain*. This *Labiennus* of whom I speake, had many that envied his vertues; But aboue all (as it is likely) courtiers, and such as in his time were favored of the Emperors, who hated his franknes, his fatherly humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie, wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently pursued him before the Magistrate of *Rome*, and prevailed so farre, that many of his workes which he had published were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practise, which after continued long in *Rome*, and was executed on diuers others, to punish learning, studies, and writings with death and consuming fire. There were neither meanes enough, or matter sufficient of crueltie, vnlesse we had entermingled amongst them things, which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufferance; as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall mischiefs vnto disciplines & monuments of the Muses. Which losse *Labiennus* could not endure, nor brooke to suruiue those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues: And therefore caused himselfe to be caried, and shut vp alive within his auncestors monument, where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to shew any more vehement fatherly affection, than that. *Cassius Severus*, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his Bookes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same sentence hee should therewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee still bare, and kept in minde, what they contained in them. A like accident happened to *Geruntius Cordus*, who was accused to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius* in his Bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthe of a farre worse maister then *Tiberius*, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire. And he was pleased to accompany them in their death; for, he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meate. That notable man *Lucane*, being adjudged by that lewd varlet *Nero* to death; at the latter end of his life, when al his blood was well-nigh spent from out the veines of his arme, which by his Phisician he had caused to be opened, to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the vttermost parts of his limbes, and approach his vitale spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the *Pharsalian* warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yeelded vp the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that, but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farewell which he tooke of his children? representing the last

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a Roman w
that Bishop
had writ

last adewes, and parting imbracements, which at our death we give vnto our deereſt iſſues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that laſt extremitie puts in minde of thoſe things, which in our life-time we have held deareſt and moſt precious? Shall we imagine that *Epicurus*, who (as himſelfe ſaid) dying tormented with the extreame paine of the chol-like, had all his comfort in the beautie of the doctrine, which hee left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne, and better-bred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choiſe, to leave behinde him, either a counterſeite, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a fooliſh, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world beſides of like learning and ſufficiencie, would much rather have choſen, to incurre the former then the latter miſchiefe. It might peradventure be deemed impietie, in Saint *Auguſtine* (for example-ſake) if on the one parte one ſhould propoſe vnto him, to burie all his bookes, whence our religion receiveth ſo much good, or to interre his children (if in caſe he had any) that he would not rather chuſe to bury his children, or the iſſue of his loynes, then the fruits of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my ſelfe ſhould not much rather deſire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped, and excellently-qualified infant, by the acquaintance of the Muſes, then by the copulation of my wife. Whatſoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as it pleaſe, I give it as purely and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporall children. That little good which I have done him, is no longer in my diſpoſition. He may know many things, that my ſelfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my ſelfe: and which (if neede ſhould require) I muſt borrow of him as of a ſtranger. If I be wiſer then he, he is richer then I. There are few men given vnto Poetrie, that would not eſteeme it for a greater honor, to be the fathers of *Virgils Aeneidos*, then of the goodlieſt boy in *Rome*, and that would not rather endure the loſſe of the one then the perishing of the other. For, according to *Ariſtole*, *Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the moſt amorous of his productions and conceited of his Labours*. It is not eaſie to be believed, that *Epaminondas*, who wanted to leave ſome daughters behinde him, which vnto all poſteritie, ſhould one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the *Lacedemonians*) would ever have given his free conſent, to change them, with the beſt borne, moſt gorgeous, and goodlieſt damſells of all *Greece*: or that *Alexander*, and *Ceſar*, did ever wiſh to be deprived of the greatneſſe of their glorious deedes of warre, for the commoditie to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how abſolutely-perfect, and well accompliſhed ſoever they might be. Nay, I make a great queſtion, whether *Phidias* or any other excellent ſtatuary, would as highly eſteeme, and dearly love the preſervation, and ſucceſſe-ful continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and matchleſſe-wrought image, that with long studie, and dilligent care he had perfected according vnto arte. And as concerning thoſe vicious and furious paſſions, which ſometimes have enflamed ſome fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their ſonnes; the very ſame, and more partially-earnest is alſo found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Witneſſe that which is reported of *Pigmalion*, who having curiouſly framed a goodly ſtatue, of a moſt ſingularly-beauteous woman, was ſo ſtrange-fondly, and paſſionately ſurpriſed with the luſtfull love of his owne workemanſhip, that the Gods through his raging importunitie were faine in favour of him to give it life.

Tentatum molleſcit ebur, poſitoq; rigore

Subſidit digitis.

As he aſſaid it, th'yvorie ſoftned much,

And (hardnes left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

*Ovid. Metam.
lib. 10. 283.*

The ninth Chapter.

Of the Parthians Armes. 2

IT is a vicious-fond faſhion of the nobilitie and gentrie of our age, and full of nice-tenderneſſe, never to betake themſelves to armes, except vpon ſome vrgent and extreame neceſſities:

Sayeth
Liv. dec. l. l. 10.

sitie; and to quit them as soone as the perceive the least hope or apparance, that the danger is past: Whence ensue many disorders, and inconveniences: For, every one running and calling for his armes when the alarume is given, some have not yet buckled their cuirace, when their fellowes are already defeated. Indeepe our forefathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets, and Shields carried, but so long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave-off their other pieces. Our troopes are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and baggage, of carriages, of lackies, and foote-boyes, which because of their maisters armes they carry, can never leave them. *Titus Livius*, speaking of the French, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vix arma humeris gerebant*. Their bodies most impatient of labour could hardly beare armour on their backs. Diverse nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres, without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence; but were all naked and bare.

Virg. Æn. l. 7.
742

Tegmina queis caput raptus de subere cortex.

Whose caske to cover all their head,

Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea'd.

Alexander the most daring and hazardous Captaine that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe: And those which amongst vs neglect them, doe not thereby much empaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscary with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuff are bruised, or otherwise defeated. For in truth, to see the vnweyldie weight of our and their thickeesse, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged then covered by them. We have enough to do, to endure the burthen of them, and are so engined and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shooke or brunt of our armes: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as they to shield vs. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of warre of our ancient Gaules, so armed, onely to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. *Lucullus* seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of *Tigranes* armie, heavily and vnweildely armed, as in an yron-prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeate them, and beganne to charge them first, and got the victorie. And now that our muskettiers, are in such credite, I thinke wee shall have some invention found to immure vs vp, that so wee may be warranted from them, and to traine vs to the warres in skonces and bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of *Scipio* the yoonger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers, because they had scattred certaine Calthrops vnder the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might fallie out vpon him, saying; *that those which assailed, should resolve to enterprise and not to feare*: And had some reason to feare, that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancie asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he saide to a yoong man, that shewed him a faire shield he had; Indeepe good youth, it is a faire one, but a Roman souldier ought to have more confidence in his right hand, than in his left. It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable vnto vs.

Ariosto Orl.
can. 12. Stan. 30

L'usbergo in desso haveano, & l'elmo in testa,

Due di quelli guerrier de i quali io canto.

Ne notte o di dopo ch'entraro in questa

Stanza, gl'havean mai messi da canto,

Che facile da portar come la vesta

Era lor, perche in usol havean tanto.

Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,

And caske on head, of whome I make report,

Nor day, nor night, after they entred there,

Had they them laide aside from their support:

They could with ease them as a garment weare,

For long time had they vsde them in such fort.

The Emperor *Caracalla* in leading of his army was ever wont to march afoot armed at all assayes. The Roman footemen carried not their morions, sword, & target only; as for other arms (saith *Cicero*) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered them

them no more then their limbs: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicunt*: for they say armor and weapons are a soldiers limbs. But therewithal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes, to make their rampards or palisadoes with; so much as weighed three score pound weight. And *Marius* his souldiers thus loden, marching in battell-array, were taught to march five leagues in five houres, yea sixe if need required. Their military discipline was much more labor some then ours: So did it produce far different effects. *Scipio* the yonger, reforming his army in *Spain*, appointed his souldiers to eate no meate but standing, and nothing sodden or roasted. It is worth the remembrance how a *Lacedemonian* souldier being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed, because hee was once seene to seeke for shelter vnder a house: They were so hardened to endure all manner of labor & toyle, that it was counted a reprochful infamie for a souldier to be seen vnder any other rooffe then that of heavens-vault, in what wether soever: Were we to do so, we should never leade our men far. *Marcellinus* a man well trained in the Roman warres, doth curiously observe the maner, which the *Parthians* vsed to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more, by how much it was farre different from the Romans. They had (saith hee) certaine armes so curiously enter-wrought, as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, then hurt them (they be the skales our ancestors were so much wont to vse.) In another place, they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thicke hides, and themselves armed from head to foote, with massie yron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had beene men made of yron: For they had pieces so handsomely fitted, and so lively representing the forme and partes of the face, that there was no way to wounde them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinckes about their nostrils, by which they hardly drew breath.

*Flexilis inductis hamatur lamina membris,
Horribilis visu, credas simulacra moveri
Ferreæ, cognatoq; viros spirare metallo.
Par Vestitus equis, ferrata fronte minantur,
Ferratoq; movent securi vulneris armos.*

*Gland. in Ruff.
l. 2. 358.*

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,
Fearefull to sight, Steele images seem'd ledde,
And men to breathe in mettall with them bredde.
Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,
They threat, and safe from wound,
With barr'd limbs tread the ground.

Loe-heere a description, much resembling the equipage of a compleate French man-at-armes, with all his bardes. *Plutarke* reporteth that *Demetrius* caused two armours to be made, each one weighing fixe score poundes, the one for himselfe, the other for *Alcimus*, the chiefe man of warre, that was next to him, whereas all common armours weighed but three score.

The tenth Chapter.

Of Bookes. 7

I Make no doubt but it shall often befall me to speake of things, which are better, and with more truth handled by such as are their crafts-maisters. Here is simply an Essay of my naturall faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And hee that shall taxe mee with ignorance, shall have no great victorie at my handes; for hardly could I give others reason for my discourses, that give none vnto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after knowledge, let him seek it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse.

These are but my fantasies, by which I endeavour not to make things knownen, but my selfe. They may haply one day beknownen vnto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifested. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembring. I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice, how farre the knowledge I have of it, dooth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be survaied, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments, to beautifie and set forth the invention, which ever comes from mee. For, I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasie, but as it best falleth out) what I can not so well expresse, either through vnskill of language, or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to prevaile, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all of so famous and ancient names, that me thinkes they sufficiently name themselves without me. If in reasons, comparisons and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Authour, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of these hastie censures, that are so headlong cast vpon all manner of compositions, namely yoong writings, of men yet living; and in vulgare, that admitte all the worlde to talke of them, and which seemeth to convince the conception and publike designe alike. I will have them to give *Plutarch* a bobbe vpon mine owne lippes, and vex themselves in wronging *Seneca* in mee. My weakenesse must be hidden vnder such great credites. I will love him that shall trace, or vnfeather me; I meane through clearenesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautie of my Discourses. For my selfe, who for want of memorie, am ever to seeke, how to trie and refine them, by the knowledge of their countrie, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my soyle is no way capable, of some over-pretious flowers, that therein I find set, and that all the fruites of my encrease could not make it amends. This am I bound to answer-for, if I hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie, or fault in my Discourses, that I perceive not, or am not able to discerne, if they be shewed me. For, many faults doe often escape our eyes; but the infirmitie of judgement consisteth in not being able to perceive them, when another discovereth them vnto vs. Knowledge and truth may be in vs without judgement, and we may have judgement without them: Yea, the acknowledgement of ignorance, is one of the best and surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde. I have no other Sergeant of band to marshall my rapsodies, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites present them-selves, so I shuffle them vp. Sometimes they prease out thicke and three-folde, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace seene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters, that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect vnderstanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not laboriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selfe about, no not for Science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be of. I doe not search and tosse over Bookes, but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I studie, I only endeavor to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the know-ledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well, and how to live well.

Propert. l. 4. el.
1. 70.

Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.
My horse must sweating runne,
That this goale may be wonne.

If in reading I fortune to meete with any difficult points, I fret not my selfe about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod vpon them I should loose both time and my selfe; for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it, if I opinionate my selfe vpon it. I do nothing without blithnesse; & an over-obstinate continuation, & plodding contention, doth dazle, dull, and wearie the same: My sight is thereby confounded, and diminished. I must therefore withdraw-it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet, we are taught to cast our eyes over-it, in running it over by divers glances, so daime glimpses, and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious vnto me, I take another, which I follow not with

with any earnestnes, except it be at such houres as I am idle, or that I am wearie with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new bookes, because ancient Authors are in my judgement more full and pithie: nor am I much adicted to Greeke bookes, forasmuch as my vnderstanding cannot well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne bookes meereley pleasant. I esteeme *Bocace* his *Decameron*, *Rabelais*, and the kisses of *John* the second (if they may be placed vnder this title) worth the paines taking to reade them. As for *Amadis* and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and heauie-pased minde of mine, will no more be pleased with *Aristotle*, or tickled with good *Ouid*: his facilitie, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now adaeies scarcely entertaine me. I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceede my sufficiencie, and that no-way I hold to be of my iurisdiction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I find my selfe distasted of *Platoes Axiochus*, as of a forceles worke, due regarde had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleeeve it selfe: It is not so fond-hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and maisters, and with whome hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficiall sense, being vnable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lustre. He is pleased onely to warrant himselfe from trouble and vnruines: As for weaknes he acknowledgeth and ingeniously auoweth the same. He thinkes to give a just interpretation to the apparances which his conception presents vnto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of *Aesopes* fables have diuers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which *Mithologize* them, chuse some kind of coluor well-futing with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other then the first and superficiall glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essentiall and more internall, into which they could never penetrate; and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course; I have ever deemed that in Poesie, *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Catullus* and *Horace*, doe doubtles by farre hold the first ranke: and especially *Virgil* in his *Georgikes*, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished piece of worke of Poesie: In comparison of which one may easily discern, that there are some passages in the *Eneidos*, to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fift booke wherof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love *Lucane*, and willingly reade him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth, and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good *Terence*, I allow the quaintnes and grace of his Latin tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often, but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Those that lived about *Virgils* time, complained that some would compare *Lucretius* vnto him. I am of opinion, that verely it is an vnequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion, whensoever I find my selfe entangled in some notable passage of *Lucretius*. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond-hardie and barbarous stupiditie of those which now adaeies compare *Ariosto* vnto him? Nay what would *Ariosto* say of it himselfe?

O saeculum insipiens & infacetum!

O age that hath no wit,

And small conceit in it.

Catull. epig. 40.
8.

I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that blushed not to equall *Plantus* vnto *Terence* (who makes more shew to be a gentleman) then *Lucretius* vnto *Virgil*. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of *Terence*, that the father of the Romane eloquence, of men of his qualitie doth so often make mention of him; and the censure, which the chiefe judge of the Romane Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come vnto my minde, how such as in our daies give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happie in them) employ three or foure arguments of *Terence* and *Plantus* to make vp one of theirs. In one onely comedie they will huddle vp five or sixe of *Bocaces* tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiencie, and that they are not able to vndergoe

Virgills 5th book

Terence

dergoe so heaue a burthen with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves: and wanting matter of their owne wherewith to please vs, they will have the storie or tale to busie and amuse vs: where as in my Author it is cleane contrarie: The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make vs neglect and loose the longing for his subiect. His quaintnes and grace doe still retaine vs to him. He is every-where pleasantly conceited,

Hor. lib. 2. epist.
2. 120.

Liquidus puroque similis amni,
So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,
As he a fine-pure river were.

Mart. pref. l. 8.

and doth so replenish our minde with his graces, that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration drawes me somewhat further. I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectation and enquest, not onely of fantastically, new-fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchistickall elevations, but also of more sweete and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the poetickall workes of succeeding ages. Yet is there no competent judge, that findeth them wanting in those ancient ones, and that doth not much more admire that smoothly-equall neatenes, continued sweetnes, and flourishing comelines of *Catullus* his Epigrams, then all the sharpe quippes, and wittie girds, wherewith *Martiall* doth whet and embellish the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake-of erewhile, as *Martiall* of himselfe. *Minus illi ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat.* Hee needed the lesse woork with his witte, in place whereof matter came in supplie; The former without being moved or pricked cause themselves to bee heard lowd enough: they have matter to laugh-at every where, and neede not tickle themselves; where as these must have foraine helpe: according as they have lesse spirit, they must have more body. They leape on horsebacke, because they are not sufficiently strong in their legges to march on foote. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schooles, because they are vnfit to represent the porte and decencie of our nobilitie, endeavor to get commendation by dangerous loftie trickes, and other strange tumbler-like frisks and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are divers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, then in some dances of state and gravitie, where they neede but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an vnaffected carriage, and their ordinarie grace; And as I have also seene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownes attired in their ordinarie workie-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, affoord vs all the pleasure that may be had from their art: Prentises and learners that are not of so high a forme, to besineare their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfet strange visages and antickes, to enduce vs to laughter. This my conception is no where better discerned, then in the comparison betweene *Virgils Aeneidos*, and *Orlando Furioso*. The first is seene to soare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, alwaies distrusting his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end

Virg. Aen. lib.
4. 194.

Excursusque breves tentat
Out-lopes sometimes he doth assay,
But very short, and as hee may.

Loe. here then, concerning this kinde of subjects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profite with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions, and addresse my conditions; the Bookes that serve mee thereunto, are *Plutarke* (since he spake French,) and *Seneca*; Both have this excellent commoditie for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them, is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that whosoever readeth them is not tied to plod long vpon them, whereof I am vn-capable. And so are *Plutarques* little workes, and *Senecaes* Epistles, which are the best and most profitable partes of their writings. It is no great matter to drawe mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For, they succede not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and sute together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the worlde in one age. Both were tutors vnto two Romane Emperours: Both were strangers, and came from farre countries; both rich and mightie in the common-wealth, and in credite with their maisters. Their instruction is the prime and

creams

Plutarke
or
Seneca

creame of Philosophie, and presented with a plaine, vnaffected, and pertinent fashion. *Plutarke* is more vniforme and constant; *Seneca* more waving and diuerse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weakenes, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a manner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe vpon his garde. *Plutarke* opinions are Platonicall, gentle and accommodable vnto ciuill societie: *Senecaes* Stoicall and Epicuriane, further from common vse, but in my conceit, more proper particular, and more solide. It appeareth in *Seneca*, that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyranny of the Emperors which were in his dayes; for, I verely beleeeve, it is with a forced judgement, he condemneth the cause of those nobly-minded murtherers of *Cesar*. *Plutarke* is every where free & open-hearted; *Seneca*, full-fraught with points and fallies, *Plutarke* stufte with matters. The former doth mooue and enflame you more; the latter, content, please, & pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for *Cicero*, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which best serue my turne, and square with my intent. But boldly to confesse the trueth, (For, *since the barres of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away*) his maner of writing seemeth very tedious vnto me, as doth all such-like stufte. For, his prefaces, definitions, diuisions, and etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Workes; whatsoeuer quicke, wittie and pithie conceit is in him is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and farre-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or iuice I haue drawne from him, for the most parte, I finde nothing but winde and ostentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith I seeke-after. These Logicall and Aristotelian ordinances are not auailable for me, who onely endeavour to become more wise and sufficient, and not more wittie or eloquent. I would haue one beginne with the last point: I vnderstand sufficiently what death and voluptuousnes are: let not a man busie himselfe to anatomize them. At the first reading of a Booke, I seeke for good and solide reasons, that may instruct me how to sustaine their assaults. It is neither gramaticall subtilities, nor logicall quiddities, nor the wittie contexture of choise wordes, or arguments, and syllogismes, that will serue my turne. I like those discourses that give the first charge to the strongest parte of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish every where. They are good for Schooles, at the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where wee may slumber; and though wee wake a quarter of an houre after, wee may finde and trace him soone enough. Such a manner of speech is fitt for those Iudges, that a man woulde corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the common people, vnto whome a man must tell all, and see what the event will be. I would not haue a man goe about, and labour by circumloquutions, to induce and winne me to attention, and that (as our Herolds or Criers do) they shall ring out their wordes. Now heare mee, now listen, or ho-yes. The Romanes in their religion were wont to say, *Hoc age*; which in ours we say, *Sursum corda*. They are so many lost words for me. I come ready prepared from my house. I neede no allurements nor sawces; my stomacke is good enough to digest rawe meate: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste, or stirre my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the priuiledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnes, to deeme *Platoes* Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to vtter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloquutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that vse sciences, and not after such as institute them. The twoo first, and *Plinie*, with others of their rancke, haue no *Hoc age* in them, they will haue to do with men, that haue forewarned themselves; or if they haue, it is a materiall and substantiall *Hoc age*, and that hath his bodie apart. I likewise love to reade the Epistles and *Atticums*, not onely because they containe a most ample instruction of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descry his private humours. For (as I haue saide else-where) I am wonderfull curious, to discover and know, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to iudge their sufficiencie. and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings. Which they sette forth

Cicero disliked

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forth on this worlds Theatre. I have forrowed a thousand times, that ever we lost the booke, that *Brutus* writ of Virtue. Oh it is a goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as vnderstand the practise well. But forsomuch as the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher an other: I love as much to see *Brutus* in *Plutarke*, as in himselfe. I would rather make choise to know certainly, what talke he had in his tent with some of his familiar frinds, the night fore-going the battel, then the speach he made the morrow after to his army: & what he did in his chamber or closet, then what in the Senate or market place. As for *Cicero*, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning, there was no exquisite excellencie in him: He was a good Citizen, of an honest-gentle nature, as are commonly fat and burly men; for so was he: But to speake truly of him, full of ambitious vanitie, and remisse nicenesse. And I knowe not well howe to excuse him, in that he deemed his Poesie worthy to be published. It is no great imperfection, to make bad verses, but it is an imperfection in him, that he never perceived how vnworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verely beleve, that none shall ever equall it. *Cicero* the yoonger, who resembled his father in nothing, but in name, commaunding in *Asia*, chaunced one day to have many strangers at his boorde, and amongst others, one *Castius* sitting at the lower end, as the maner is to thrust-in at great mens tables: *Cicero* enquired of one of his men what he was, who tolde him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answer his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because hee would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to knowe him better. It is, saide he, the same *Castius*, of whome some have tolde you, that in respect of his owne, maketh no accompt of your fathers eloquence: *Cicero* being sodainely mooved, commaunded the saide poore *Castius*, to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo-heere an vncivill and barbarous host. Even amongst those, which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable, others there have beene, who have not spared to note some faultes in it: As great *Brutus* said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoynted, *fractam & clumbem*: *Incoherente and innotlesse*. Those Orators that lived about his age, reprooved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his clausfes, and noted these wordes, *esse videatur*, which he so often vseth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like Tambikes: yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is feldome: I have especially observed this one place. *Ego verò me minus diu senem esse mallet, quam esse senem, antequam essem.* But I had rather, not be an olde man so long as I might be, than to be olde before I should be. Historians are my right hand; for they are pleasant and easie: and therewithall, the man with whome I desire generally to be acquainted, may more lively and perfectly be discovered in them, than in any other composition: the varietie and truth of his inward conditions, in grose and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now those that write of mens lives, forsomuch as they amuse and busie themselves more about counsells than events, more about that which commeth from within, than that which appeereth outward; they are fittest for mee: And that's the reason why *Plutarke* above all in that kinde, doth best please mee. Indeepe I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of *Laertij*, or that hee is not more knowne, or better vnderstooode: for, I am no lesse curious to know the fortunes and lives of these great maisters of the world, than to vnderstand the diversitie of their decrees and conceits. In this kinde of studie of Historie, a man must, without distinction, trosse and turne over all sorts of Authors, both olde and new, both French and others, if hee will learne the things they so diversly treat-of. But me thinkes that *Cesar* above all doth singularly deserve to be studied, not onely for the vnderstanding of the Historie, as of himselfe; so much perfection and excellencie is there in him more than in others, although *Salust* be reckoned one of the number. Verily I reade that Author with a little more reverence and respect, than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes: sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times waighing the puritie and inimitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as *Cicero* saith) hath not onely exceeded all Historians, but happily *Cicero* himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours, wherewith he goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition. I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be

Cicero eloquent

Cic. de Senect.

Cesar praised

be found fault-with: and that he hath bin over-sparing to speake of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, vnlesse hee had putte more of his owne vnto them, than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either very simple, or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde vnto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever comes vnto their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register al things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgement more entire, and better satisfied.

Such amongst others (for example sake) plaine and well-meaning Froisard, who in his enterprize, hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some oversight, he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor affraide to correct the same, wheresoeuer hee hath either notice or warning of it: and who representeth vnto vs the diversitie of the newes then currant, and the different reports, that were made vnto him. The subject of an history should bee naked, bare, and formelesse, each man according to his capacite or vnderstanding may reape commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiencie to cull and chuse that, which is worthie to bee knowne, and may select of two relations, that which is most likely: of the condition of Princes, and of their humors, therby they conclude their counsels, and attribute convenient words vnto them: they have reason to assume authoritie vnto them, to direct and shapen our beliefe vnto theirs. But truely that belongs not to manie. Such as are between both (which is the most common fashion) it is they that spoile all; they will needs chew our meate for vs, and take vpon them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and encline the story according to their fantasie; for, where the judgement bendeth one way, a man cannot chuse but wrest and turne his narration that way. They vndertake to chuse things worthy to be knowne, and now & then conceale either a word, or a secret action from vs, which would much better instruct vs: omitting such things as they vnderstand not, as incredible: and happily such matters, as they know not how to declare, eyther in good Latin, or tolerable French. Let them boldly enstale their eloquence, and discourse: Let them censure at their pleasure, but let them also give vs leave to judge after them: And let them neither alter nor dispeuce by their abridgements and choise, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all his demensions vnto vs. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed vnto base, ignorant, and mecannicall kinde of people, only for this consideration, that they can speake wel; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them; and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, & publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choise and quaint words, and wyre-drawn frazes they huddle vp, and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports, which they gather in the market-places or such o. her assemblies. *The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded or were employd themselves in weighty affairs, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie.* Such in a maner are all the Græcians and Romans. For, many eie-witnesses having written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times, when Greatnesse and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or oversight have passd them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and vpon some doubtfull accident. *What may a man expect at a Phisitions hand, that discourseth of war, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Princes secret designs?* If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we neede no other example: *Asinius Polio* found some mistaking or oversight in *Cæsars* Commentaries, wherinto he was false, only because he could not possibly oversee all things with his owne eyes, that happened in his army, but was faine to relie on the reports of particular men, who often related vntruths vnto him; or else because he had not beene curiously advertised, and distinctly enformed by his Lieutenants and Captaines, of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be seene, that *nothing is so hard, or so uncertaine to be found-out, as the certainty of a truth,* sithence no man can put any assured confidence concerning the truth of a battell, neither in the knowledge of him, that was General or commanded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought, of any thing, that hath hapned amongst them; except after the maner of a strict point of law, the severall witnessses are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters bee nicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trialls of the successe of every accident. Verily the knowledge wee have of our owne affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this hath sufficiently beene

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Guicciardine

Phill: de Comines

handled by *Bodine*, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to ayde the weakenesse of my memory, and to assist his great defects; for it hath often beene my chance to light vpon bookes, which I supposed to be new, and never to have read, which I had notwithstanding diligently read and runne-over many yeares before, and all bescribed with wy notes: I have a while since accustomed my selfe, to note at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so, it may at least, at another time represent vnto my mind, the aire and generall Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Coppy of some of mine anotations, and especially what I noted vpon my *Guicciardine* about tenne yeares since: (For what language so ever my bookes speake vnto me, I speak vnto them in mine owne) He is a diligent Historiographer, and from whom in my conceipt, a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath bin an Actor of most parte of them; and in very honourable place. There is no signe or apparance, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour or vanitie; whereof the free and imparciall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had bin advanced or employed in his important charges, as of Pope *Clement* the seaventh, beareth vndoubted testimonie. Concerning the partes wherewith he most goeth about to prevaile, which are his digressions and discourses, manie of them are verie excellent, and enriched with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himself in them: for, endeavoring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and large a subject, and almost infinit, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a taste of a kinde of scholasticall tedious babling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes and effects he judgeth-of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsells, that he relateth, he never referrieth any one vnto vertue, religion or conscience: as if they were all extinguished and banished the world: and of all actions, how glorious so ever in apparance they be of themselves, he doeth ever impute the cause of them, to some vicious and blame-worthie occasion, or to some commoditie and profit. It is impossible to imagine, that amongst so infinite a number of actions whereof he judgeth, some one have not beene produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so vniversally, but that some one must of necessitie escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some distast or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortun'd, that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my *Philip de Comines*, there is this: In him yov shall finde a pleasing-sweete, and gently-gliding speech, fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and vnaffected, and wherein the Authours vnspotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affection or envy speaking of others: his discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a well-meaning zeale, and meere verity, then with any labored and exquisit sufficiency, and all-through, with gravitie and auctority, representing a man well-borne, and brought vp in high negotiations. Vpon the memories and historie of Monsieur du *Bellay*: It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to see matters written by those, that have assaide how, and in what maner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied, but that in both these Lordes, there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free liberty of writing, which clearely shineth in ancient writers of their kinde: as in the Lord of *Ionuille*, familiar vnto Saint *Lewis*, *Eginard*, Chancellor vnto *Charlemaine*; and of more fresh memory in *Philip de Comines*. This is rather a declamation or pleading for King *Francis* against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, then an History. I will not believe, they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omitte whatsoever they supposed, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their maisters life: they have made profession of it: witnesse the recoylings of the Lordes of *Memorancy* and *Byron*, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as finde the name of the Lady of *Estampes* mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and happily hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceale that, which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say unpardonable oversight. To conclude, whosoever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King *Francis* the

the first, and of the things happened in his time, let him addresse himselfe elsewhere, if hee will give any credite vnto mee. The profite he may reape here, is by the particular deduction of the battels and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some priue conferences, speeches or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practises managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of *Langeay*, in whom doubtlesse are very many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and diuers discourses not vulgare.

The eleauenth Chapter.

Of Crueltie. 6

ME thinks vertue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations vnto goodnesse, which in vs are ingendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions represent the same visage, that the vertuous doe. But vertue importeth, and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, then by an happy complexion, gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawne, to follow reason. He that through a naturall facilitie, & genuine mildnes, should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation: But he who being toucht & stung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blinde desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeeld himselfe maister over-it, should doubtlesse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously: the one action might be termed goodnesse, the other vertue. For it seemeth, that the very name of vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferreth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemy. It is peradventure the reason why we call God, good, mighty, liberall and iust, but wee terme him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntary, vnforced and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but also Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common-receiued opinion, which is false, whatsoever the nimble saying or witty quipping of *Archeilaus* implieth, who answered the man that vpbraided him, how diuers men went from his schole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him: I easilie beleeve-it (saide he) for, *Of cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cocke of a capon.* For truly, in constancy, and rigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no sort yeeld to the stoicke. And a stoicke acknowledging a better faith, then those disputers, who to contend with *Epicurus*, and make sport with him, make him to inferre and say what hee never ment, wresting and wyre-drawing his wordes to a contrary sense, arguing and filogizing by the Grammarians priuledge, another meaning, by the maner of his speech, and another opinion, then that they know he had, either in his minde or maners, saith, that he left to bee an Epicurian, for this one consideration, amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be over-high and inaccessible: *et ij qui φιλόδοξοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι & φιλοδίναιοι omnesque virtutes & colunt & retinent.* And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of honestie and iustice, and doe both reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.) Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are diuers, who have judged, that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, wel ordered and well disposed vnto vertue; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourse beyond all the affronts and checks of fortune; but that moreover, it was very requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it: They will diligently quest and seeke out for paine, smart, necessitie, want and contempt, that so they may combate them, and keepe their minde in breath: *Multum sibi adiicit virtus lacessita. Vertue provoked addes much to it selfe.* It is one of the reasons why *Epaminondas* (who was of a third sect) by a very lawfull way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his handes, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist poverty, in which want and extremity he ever continued after.

Socrates did in my mind more vndantedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevish frowardnes of his wife, then which no essay can be more vex-full,

and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. *Metellus* of all the *Romane* senators (he onely having vnderaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of *Saturninus Tribune* of the people in *Rome*, who by maine force went about, to have a most vnjust law passe in fauour of the comunaltie: by which opposition, having incurred all the capitall paines, that *Saturninus* had imposed on such as should refuse it) entertained those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That to doe euill was a thing very easie, and too demissely base; and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing; but to doe well, where was both perill and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of *Metellus* doe clearly represent vnto vs, what I would have verified; which is, that vertue reiecteth facilitie to be hir companie. And that an easfull, pleasant and declining way, by which the regular steppes of a good inclination of nature, are directed, is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough and thornie way; She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of *Metellus*) by whose meanes fortune hir selfe is pleased to breake the roughnes of his course; or inward encombances, as the disordinate appetites & imperfections of our condition bring vnto hir. Hitherto I have come at good ease; but at the ende of this discourse, one thing commeth into my minde, which is, that the soule of *Socrates*, which is absolutely the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my account, prove a soule deservng but little commendation: For, I can perceive no manner of violence or vicious concupiscence in him: I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I knowe his reason so powrefull, and so absolute mistris over him, that she can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breede in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raised as his is, I can perswade nothing. Me thinkes I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his meanes it attaineth to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous *Epicurian* voluptuousnes, that makes account, effeminately to pamper vertue in hir lappe, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for hir recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I presuppose, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently vndergoing paine, by tolerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out of his place if; for a necessarie object, I appoint her sharpenes and difficultie; what shall become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despise all manner of paine, but rather rejoyceth at it, and when a strong fit of the collike shall assaile it to cause it selfe to be tickled; as that is, which the *Epicurians* have established, and whereof divers amongst them, have by their actions least most certaine proofes vnto vs? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the very rules of their discipline; witnes *Caro* theyonger; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleeeve, that at that time, he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble, or free from vexation: I cannot imagine, he did onely maintaine himselfe in this march or course, which the rules of the stoike sect had ordained vnto him, settled, without some alteration or motion, and impassibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulness, and youthfulness to stay there. I verily beleeeve, he felt a kinde of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, then in any other, he ever performed in his life. *Sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet.* So departed he his life that he reioysed to have found an occasion of death. I doe so constantly beleeeve it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exployte taken from him. And if the goodnes which induced him to embrace publicke commodities more then his owne, did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding vnto fortune, to have put his vertue vnto so noble a triall, and to have favored that robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his countrie vnder foote. In which action me thinkes I reade a kinde of vnspeakable joy in his minde; and a motion of extraordinarie pleasure, joynd to a manlike voluptuousnes, at what time it beheld the worthines, and considered the generositie and haughtines of his enterprife,

Hor. l. 1. od. 37.
29. *Cleopatra.*

Deliberata morte ferocior.

Then most in fiercenes did he passe,
When he of death resolved was.

not

Caro's death
XP

not urged or set-on by anie hope of glorie; as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe in it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the wardds thereof, sawe much more clearer, and in it's perfection, then we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorable an action, had beene vndecently placed in any other life, then in *Catoes*; and that onely vnto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his sonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for themselves. *Catonumque incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, samque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset, semperque in proposito consilio permanisset: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus erat.* Whereas nature had afforded Cato an incredible gravitie, and he had strengthened it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die then behold the Tyrants face. Each death should be such as the life hath beene. By dying we become no other then we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shal tell me of any one vndanted in apparence, joyned vnto a weake life; I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and futable to his life. The case therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those, that have their spirites touched, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine *Socrates*, onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his emprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoycing in his last behaviour, and discourses? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feeleth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equall glee and joy in his soule, for being ridde of his former incommodities, and entring into the knowledge of things to come? *Cato* shall pardon me (if he please) his death is more tragicall, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. *Aristippus* answered those, that bewailed the same; when I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceive in the mindes of these two men, and of such as imitate them (for I make a question whether ever they could be matched) so perfect an habitude vnto vertue, that it was even converted into their complexion. It is no longer a painefull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reason, for the maintaining of which their minde must be strengthened: It is the very essence of their soule; it is hir naturall and ordinarie habite. They have made it such, by a long exercise and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted vpon a faire and rich nature. Those vicious passions, which breede in vs, finde no entrance in them. The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth suppress and extinguish all manner of concupiscences, so soone as they but beginne to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an vndaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, & for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the very seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; then by maine force to hinder their progresse; and having suffred himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their course and to suppress them: And that this second effect be not also much fairer, then to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnes and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For, this third and last manner, seemeth in some sort, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous: free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere vnto imperfection and weaknes, that I knowe not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The very names of goodnes and innocencie, are for this respect in some sorte names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobrietie and temperance, may come vnto vs by meanes of corporall defects and imbecillitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, patience in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seene in men, for want of good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeede. Lacke of apprehension and stupiditie, doe sometimes counterfet vertuous effects. As I have often seene come to passe, that some men are commended, for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice & disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their conceptions

ons was so great, that they foresawe such dangers and accidents as might betide them so farre-off, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their saftey, yea before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so wary and subtile, went further; and that before we could be frighted with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feele it with our hands, and that even then we had no more holde: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on their heades. It was peradventure but in jest, that hee spake-it, yet is it most true, that in the arte of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, then afterward when they have seene and endured the first shöcke, and are better trained in the schoole of perils.

— *haudignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis,
Et prae dulce decus primo certamine possit.*
Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,
And sweetest honor, in first conflict weighs.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and thoroughly obserue the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wisdom in me, which was but meere fortune; and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience, that was advantage of judgement and opinion: and to attribute one title for another vnto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so farre from attaining vnto that chiefe and most perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second, I have made no great triall. I have not greatly strived to bridle the desires, wherewith I have found my selfe vrged and pressed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I beene borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had beene very pittifull, and it would have gonne hard with me: for, I could never perceive any great constancie in my soule, to resist and vndergoe passions, had they beene any thing violent. I cannot foster quarels, or endure contentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding vnto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

Hor. l. i. sat. 6.
65.

— *si vitis mediocribus, & mea paucis
Mendosa est natura, aliqui recta velut si
Egregio in persos reprehendas corpore nanos.*
If in a few more fault's my nature faile,
Right otherwise: as if that you would raile
On prettie moles well placed, on body seemely graced.

I am more endebted to my fortune, then to my reason for it: She hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a very good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humors have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples, and good institution of my infancie have insensibly set their helping hand vnto it; or whether I were otherwise so borne:

Hor. l. 2. od. 17
17.

*Seu libra, seu me scorpius aspici
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis hora, seu tyrannus
Hesperia Capricornus vnde.*
Whither the chiefe part of my birth-houre were
Ascendent *Libra*, or *Scorpius* full of feare,
Or in my *Horoscope* were *Capricorne*,
Whose tirannie neere western Seas is borne.

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe, I abhorre and detest all maner of vices. The answer of *Anisthenes* to one, that demanded of him, which was the best thing to be learned: *To un-learn evill*, seemeth to be fixed on this image or to have an ayme at this. I abhorre them (I say) with so naturall, and so innated an opinion, that the very same instinct and impression, which I sucked from my nurse, I have so kept, that no occasions could ever make mee alter the

the same: No, not mine owne discourses, which because they have bin somewhat lavish in noting or taxing something of the common course, could easily induce mee to some actions, which this my natural inclination makes me to hate. I wil tel you a wonder; I wil tel it you indeed: I therby find in many things, more stay and order in my maners, then in my opinion: and my concupiscence lesse debauched, then my reason. *Aristippus* established certaine opinions to bold, in favour of voluptuousnesse and riches, that he made al Philosophie to mutiny against him. But concerning his maners, *Dionysius* the tyrant, having presented him with three faire yong Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answered he would chuse them, all three; and that *Paris* had very ill successe, forsomuch as hee had preferred one above his fellows. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of mony after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his maister commanded him, to cast so much thereof away, as troubled him. And *Epicurus*, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life very laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of cheefe, against the time hee was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to bee perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, natural and vniversal proprietie, without law, reason and example? The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe engaged, are not (God bee thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe, then in another. But that is all: as for the rest I applie but little resistance vnto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the Ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from being commixt with others, which (if a man take not good heed vnto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and enterchaine themselves the one with the other. As for mine, I have as much as it hath laine in my power, abridged them, and kept them as single, and as alone as I could:

— nec ultra

Errorem foveo. —

Nor doe I cherish any more,

The error which I did before. *breed*

For, as touching the Stoickes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, hee worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than others (to which purpose the limilitude of mans body might, in some sorte, serve their turne; for, the action of choller cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set-to their helping-hand, although choller be prædominant) if thence they will drawe alike consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he dooth it with all the vices together. I doe not so easily beleeeve them, or else I vnderstand them not; for, in effect, I feele the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilities, and without substance, about which Philosophie dooth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shunne; but other some I eschew as much as any Saint can do. The Peripathetikes doe also disavow this connexitie, and indissoluble knitting together. And *Aristotle* is of opinion, That a wise and iust man may be both intemperate and incontinent. *Socrates* avowed vnto them, who in his Physiognomie perceived some inclination vnto vice, that indeede it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friendes of the philosopher *Stilpo* were wont to say, that being borne subject vnto wine and women, he had, by study, brought him selfe to abstaine from both. On the other side, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth: I have it neither by lawe nor prescription, nor by any apprenticeship. The innocencie that is in me, is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or arte. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate moore, than crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extreamest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-heartednes, that if I see but a chickens necke pulld off, or a pigge stickt, I cannot choose but grieve, and I cannot well endure a feely dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is seized vpon by the howndes; although hunting be a violent sport. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnes, doe willingly vse this argument, to shew, it is altogether vicious and vnreasonable: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, shee doth so over-sway vs, that reason can have no access vnto vs, and for a further triall, alleadge the experience we feele and have

of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

Lucr. l. 4. 1097.

—cum iam prasagit gaudia corpus

Atque in eo est Venus, ut muliebria conserat arua.

When now the body doth light-joyes fore-knowe,

And Venus set the womans fields to sowe.

Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport vs beyond our selves, that our Discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholly ravished in the gulfes of sensualitie, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I knowe it may be otherwise: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even vpon the very instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedefully pursued: I knowe a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found Venus to be so imperious a goddesse; as many, and more reformed than my selfe witnes hir to bee. I thinke it not a woonder, dooth the Queene of Navarre, in one of the Tales of her *Heptameron* (which respecting the subject it treateth-of, is a very prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie, for a man to weare-out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in company of a faire mistress, long time before sued-vnto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses & plaine touching. I am of opinion, that the example of the sporte in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprising, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the leasure to prepare her selfe against it: when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth sodainely start, or rowze vp before vs, and happily in such a place, where we least expected the same. That sodaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnes of shewing, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing in our eares, would make it very hard for those, who love that kinde of close or chamber-hunting, at that verie instant, to withdrawe their thoughts else-where. And Poets make Diana victoriously to triumph both over the firebrand and arrowes of Cupid.

Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet

Hec inter obliviscitur?

While this is doing, who doth not forget

The wicked cares wherewith Love hearts doth fret?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have a very feeling and tender compassion of other mens afflictions, and should more easily weepe for company sake, if possibly for any occasion whatsoever, I could shed teares. There is nothing sooner mooveth teares in mee, then to see other weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever, whether truely or forcedly. I doe not greatly waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waile and moane the dying. The Canibales and savage people do not so much offend me with roasting and eating of dead bodies, as those, which torment and persecute the living. Let any man be executed by law, how deseruedly soever, I cannot endure to beholde the execution with an vnrelenting eye. Some one going about to witnes the clemencie of *Iulius Caesar*; He was (saith he) tractable and milde in matters of revenge. Having compelled the Pirates to yeelde themselves vnto him, who had before taken him prisoner, and put him to ranzome, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kinde of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. *Philomon* his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him, then an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alledge, the onely killing of those, by whom a man hath beene offended, it may easily be guessed, that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as *Romane Tyrants* brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meere crueltie*: And especially amongst vs, who ought to have a regardfull respect, that their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intollerable tortures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A Souldier, not long since, being prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were busie at worke to erect a skaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching vp and downe for something to make himselfe away, found nothing but an olde rustie carte-naile, which fortune presented

ted him with; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throte, but seeing it would not ridde him of life, he then thruste it into his belly vp to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers comming-in vnto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood, and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastened to pronounce sentence against him: which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, & tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Iudges for his vn hoped gentle condemnation: And tolde them, that for feare of a more shapely-cruell, and intolerable death by lawe, he had resolved to prevent-it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had scene the Carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death, onely by the change of it. Were I worthie to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keepe the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminall malefactors: For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, parboyled, and quartred, might happily touch the common sorte as much, as the paines, they make the living to endure: howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, & postea non habent quod faciant.* Those that kill the body, but have afterwards no more to doe: And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevaile, yea and above death,

Luke 12.4.

*Hec reliquias semiaſſi regis, denudatis ossibus,
Per terram sanie delibutas ſæde divexarier.*

Cic. Tuscul. qu. 1.1

O that the reliques of an halfe-burn't King, bones bared,
On earth besmeared with filth, should be so fouly marred.

It was my fortune to be at Rome, vpon a day that one *Catena*, a notorious high-way thief, was executed: at his strangling no man of the company seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blowe that was not accompanied with a pitteous voyce, and heartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages, and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like vnto this, did *Artaxerxes* assuage and mitigate the sharpenes of the ancient lawes of *Persia*, appoynting that the Lordes, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled-off, they should onely have their hatte taken off. The *Ægyptians* so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Iustice, in sacrificing painted and counterfet hogges vnto it: An over-hardy invention, to goe about with pictures and shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnes of our civill and intestine warres: And reade all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall finde none to equall those, wee daily see practised. But that hath nothing made mee acquainted with it. I could hardly bee perswaded, before I had scene it, that the worlde could have afforded so marbie-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murder would commit-it; then cut, mangle, and hacke others members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wittes, to invent vnused tortures and vnheard-off torments; to devise new and vnknowne deathes, and that in colde blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine, or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pittifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deepe-fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extreamest point whereunto the crueltie of man may attaine. *Vt homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectatur occidat.* That one man should kill another, neither being angrie, nor afeard, but onely to looke on. As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and griefe, to see a poore, filly, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmeles and voide of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly happneth, that when the Stagge begins to be embosst, and findes his strength to faile-him; having no other remedie left

left him, doth yeelde and bequeath himselfe vnto vs that pursue him, with teares suing to vs for mercie,

—— *questuque cruentus*

Atque implorantis similis:

With blood from throte, and teares from eyes,

It seemes that he for pittie cries.

was ever a grievous spectacle vnto me. I seldom take any beast alive, but I give him his libertie. *Pythagoras* was wont to buy fishes of fishers, & birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

*Ovid. Metam.
lib. 15. 106.*

—— *primoque à cade ferarum*

Incaluisse puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.

And first our blades in blood embrude I deeme

with slaughter of poore beasts did reeking seeme. t

Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-minded towards harmeles beasts, winnes a naturall propension vnto crueltie. After the ancient Romanes had once enured themselves without horror to beholde the slaughter of wilde beasts in their shoues, they came to the murder of men and Gladiators. Nature (I feare me) hath of hir owne selfe added vnto man a certaine instinct to humanity. No man taketh delight to see wilde beasts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them tugge, mangle and enter-teare one another. And lest any body should jeast at this simphathie, which I have with them, Divinitie it selfe willet vs to shewe them some favoure: And considering, that one selfe-same maister (I meane that incomprehensible worldes-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his woondrous pallace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his household: I say, it hath some reason to enioyne vs, to shew some respect and affection towards them. *Pythagoras* borrowed *Metempsychosis* of the Egyptians, but since, it hath been received of divers nations, and especially of our *Druides*:

158.

Morie carent anima, semperque priore relicta

Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitantque recepta.

Our death-lesse soules, their former sects restrained,

In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place, from one body to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had beene with *Alexander*, they said, that God appointed-it another body to dwell-in, either more or lesse painfull, and futable to hir condition.

*Claud. in Ruff.
lib. 1. 482.*

—— *muta ferarum*

Cogit vincla pati, trunculentos ingerit ursoris,

Pradoneſq; lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.

Atque ubi per varios annos per mille figuras

Egit letheo purgatos flumine tandem

Rursus ad humane revocat primordia forme.

Dumbe bandes of beastes he makes mens soules endure,

Blood-thirsty soules he doth to Beares enure,

Craftie to Foxes, to Woolves bent to rapes;

Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,

He hath them driv'n in *Lethe* lake at last,

Them purg'd he turn's to mans forme whence they passit.

491.

If the soule had bin valiant, they placed-it in the body of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a swine; if faint-harted, in a stagge or a hare; if malicious, in a foxe, and so of the rest, vntill that being purified by this punishment, it reassumed and tooke the bodie of some other man againe.

*Ovid. Metam.
lib. 15. 106.*

Ipsc ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli

Panthoides Euphorbus eram.

When *Troy* was wonne, I, as I call to mind,

Euphorbus was, and *Panthus* sonne by kind.

As touching that alliance betweene vs and beastes, I make no great account of-it, nor do I greatly admit it; neither of that which divers nations, and namely of the most ancient and noble

noble; who have not onely received beastes into their societie, and company, but allowed them a place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming them to bee familiars and favored of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence, more then humane, and others acknowledging no other God, nor no other Divinitie, then they. *Bellua à barbaris propter beneficium consecrata.* Beasts by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefite.

Cic. Nat. Deor.
lib. 1.

————— *crocodilon adorat*
Pars hac, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin,
Effigies sacri hic nitet aurea Cercopitheci.
This country doth the Crocodile adore
That feares the Storke glutted with serpents goare,
The sacred Babion here,
In gold shape doth appeare.

Juven. sat. 15. 26

————— *hic piscem fluminis, illic*
Oppida tota canem venerantur.
A fish here, whole Townes reverence most,
A Dogge they honor in that coast.

7.

And the very same interpretation, that *Plutarke* giveth vnto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he saith, that (for example-sake,) it was neither the Cat nor the Dog, that the Egyptians adored; but that in those beastes, they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this, patience and vtility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours, the Borgonians, with all *Germany*) the impatience to see themselves shut-yp: Whereby they represented the liberty, which they loved and adored, beyond all other divine facultie, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meete with some discourses, that goe about and labour to shew, the neere resemblance betweene vs and beastes, and what share they have in our greatest Priviledges, and with how much likely-hood they are compared vnto vs, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary Soveraigntie, that some give and ascribe vnto vs above all other creatures. If all that, were to be contradicted, yet is there a kinde of respect, and a general duty of humanitie, which tieth vs, not only vnto brute beastes that have life and sense, and are Sensitives, but vnto trees and plants, which are but Vegetatives. *Vnto men we owe Iustice, and to all other creatures, that are capable of it, grace and benigneitie.* There is a kinde of enter-changeable commerce, and mutuall bond betweene them and vs. I am not ashamed nor afraide to declare the tenderesse of my childish Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reject my Dog, if hee chance (although out of season) to fawne vpon me, or begge of mee to play with him. The Turkes have almes, and certaine Hospitalls appoynted for brute beastes. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancie their Capitoll had beene saved. The Athenians did precizely ordaine, that all maner of Mules, which had served or bin employed about the building of their Temple, called *Hecatompeden*, should be free, and suffered to feede wheresoever they pleased, without any let or empeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome, seriously and solemnly to bury al such beastes, as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merite; speciall dogs; choyse or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence, which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar vnto them, appeared also most notable in the stately sumptuousnes, and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and beene maintained in pride and state. The Egyptians were wont to bury their Woolues, their Dogges, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to weare mourning weedes for them. *Cymon* caused a stately-honourable toombe to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olimpike games. Ancient *Xantippus* caused his Dog to be entered vpon a hill by the sea shoare, which ever since hath bin named by him. And *Plutarke* (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles, that had served him a long time.

This chapter containeth 100
pages & makes very little men=
tion of Raymond Sebond.
It notably shewes ye weaknes
of mans reason & ye dect=
tiness of his senses wth
infinite different opinions
of ye old Philosophers

The twelfth Chapter.

An Apologie of Raymond Sebond.

Knowledge is without all contradiction, a most profitable and chiefe ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their sottishnes: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate, as some have done; namely *Herillus* the philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicitie vpon it, and held that it lay in her power to make vs happy and wise: which I can not beleeve, nor that which others have saide, that *Knowledge is the mother of all vertue*, and that *all vice proceedeth of ignorance*. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house hath long since ever stooode open to men of vnderstanding, and is very well knowne to many of them: for, my father, who commaunded the same fiftie yeeres and vppward, set on fire by that new kinde of earnestnes, wherewith king *Francis* the first embraced Letters, and raised them vnto credite, did with great diligence, and much cost, endeavour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men: receiving & entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdom; collecting their sentences and discourses, as if they had beene Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard, by how much lesse authoritie he had to judge of them: for, hee had no knowledge of Letters, no more than his predecessors before him. As for me, I love them indeede, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, *Peter Burel* (a man in his time, by reason of his learning, of high esteeme) having sojourned a few dayes at *Montaigne* with my father, and others of his coate, being ready to departe thence, presented him with a booke entituled *Theologia naturalis; seu liber creaturarum magistri Raimondi de Sebona*. And forsomuch as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar vnto him, and that the booke was written in a kinde of latinized Spanish, whereof diuerse wordes had Latine terminations; he hoped, that with little ayde, he might reape no small profite by it, and commended the same very much vnto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the dayes in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new-fangles of *Luther* beganne to creepe in favor, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleife. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason foresaw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For, the vulgar many, wanting the facultie to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune, and led-on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions, which tofore it held in awefull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soone and easily admit an equall vncertainty in all other partes of their beleife, as they that had no other grounded auethoritie or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakened, and immediately reject (as a tyrannicall yoke) all impressions, they had in former times received by the auethoritie of lawes, or reverence of ancient custome,

Lucr. l. 5. 1150.

Nam cupide conculcatur nimis ante metutum

That which we fear'd before too much,
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

He translated
Sabundy

vndertaking thenceforward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few dayes before his death, lighting by chance vpon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such auethors, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard & dangerous, to vndertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancie of the language, namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue. It was a strange taske, and new occupation for me: but by fortune being then at leisure, and vnable to gaine say the commandement of the best father that ever was; I came ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it: wherein he tooke singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his decease performed. I found the conceits

conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his Project full of pietie. Now forasmuch as diverse amuse themselves to reade-it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath often beene my hap to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principall objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous; for, he vndertaketh by humane and naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I finde him so resolute and so happy, as I deeme it a thing impossible to doe better in that argument, and thinke that none equaleth him. Which booke seeming to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written by an author, whose name is so little knowne, and of whom, all we know, is, that he was a Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Physicke in *Thoulouse*. I demanded once of *Adrianus Turnebus* (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence, extracted from out *Saint Thomas Aquinas*: For, in good truth, onely such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtiltie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the authour or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from *Sebonde*) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reproved for, in his Booke, is, that *Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beleefe upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God*. Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of pietie; by reason whereof we ought with so much more mildenes and regarde, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and futable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Neverthelesse I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine & high, and so much exceeding all humane vnderstanding, as is this Veritie, wherewith it hath pleased the goodnes of God to enlighten vs, it is most requisite, that he affoorde and lend vs his helpe. And that, with an extraordinarie and priviledged favour, that so we may the better conceive and entertaine the same: For, I suppose that meanes meerely humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were, so many rare and excellent mindes, and so plenteously stored with naturall faculties, as have beene in times past, would never by their discourse, have mist the attaining of this knowledge. *It is faith onely, which lively and assuredly embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion*. And no man can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprise, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the naturall helps and humane implements which God hath bestowed vpon-vs. And no question is to be made, but that it is the most honourable employment we can put them vnto; and that there is no occupation or intent more worthy a good Christian, than by all meanes, studies and imaginations, carefully to endeavour, how to embellish, amplifie and extend the trueth of his beleefe and religion. *It is not enough for us to serve God in spirite and soule, we owe him besides, and wee yeelde vnto him a corporall worshipping; we applie our limmes, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him*. The like ought to be done, and we should accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of-vs, and that all our strength and arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seize vpon vs, and as it were enter into vs by an extraordinarie infusion: And vnlesse it also enter into vs, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verely I feare therefore, that except this waie, we should not enjoy-it. Had we fast-holde on God, by the enterposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by vs; had wee a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter-vs, as they have. Our holde would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of novelties; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our beleefe. We should not suffer the same to be troubled at the will and pleasure of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and vnmoooveable constancie:

*Illis fluctus rupes, ut vasta refundit,
Et variis circum latrantes dissipat undas*

Z

*Virg. En. l. 7.
587.*

Mole

*The design
of Sabundus*

*The first Obie-
ction.*

—*Mole sua.*

As huge rocks doe regorge th'investive waves,
 And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,
 Which these gainst those still bellowe out,
 Those being big and standing out.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch vs; it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceede from vs, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchles brightnes. We should blush for shame, that in humane sects, there was never any so factious, what difficultie or strangeness soever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life vnto it: Whereas so diuine and heavenly an institution never markes christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our maners vnto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeeld vnto them: Whereas in respect of our religions superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, *Are they so iust, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians.* All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdome. *The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertue;* As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint *Lewis* in the right, when that *Tartarian* king, who was become a Christian, intended to come to *Lions*, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie, he hoped to find in our lives and maners, presently to divert & dissuade him from it, fearing lest our dissolute maners, and licentious kind of life, might scandalize him, and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to Rome and there viewing the dissoluteness of the Priests and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed in our religion; considering with himself what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions, and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. *Had we but one onely graine of faith, wee should then be able to remoove mountaines from out their place,* saith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meereely humane, but even as our beleefe containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vite honeste beatę, sicredas. The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleefe.* Some make the worlde beleefe, that they beleefe the thing they never do. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as vnable to conceive what it is to beleefe. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to floate so strangely, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing vnto it but our owne. Iustice, which is on the one side, is vsed but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeede alleadged, but nor received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. God oweth his extraordinarie assistance vnto faith and religion, and not to our passions. Men are but directors vnto-it, and vse religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule, to drawe so many contrary shapes. When was this better seene than now-a-daies in France? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand; Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fitte the same to their violent and ambitious enterprises, proceede vnto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnes & injustice, that they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtfull, and hard to be believed, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline, more vnited and alike customes and fashions to proceede? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tesse divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported vs from place to place. This so solemne proposition; *Whether it be lawfull for a subiect, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince:* Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one parte; the negative was the maine-vnderproppe of the other: And listen now from whence cometh

meth the voice and instruction of one and other : and whether armes clatter and clang lesse for this, than for that cause: And we burne those men, which say, that trueth must be made to abide the yoke of our neede: And how much worse doth *France*, than speake it? Let vs confesse the trueth; he that from out this lawfull army should cull out, first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection, than such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince; whether hee could ever erect a compleate company of armed men. How comes-it to passe, that so few are found, who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes, as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action? And the same men, now by their violence and rashnesse, and now through their slownes, demissnes and heavines, to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casuall motives, and particular considerations, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? *I plainly perceive, we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions.* There is no hostilitie so excellent, as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, crueltie, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him vnto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. *Our religion was ordained to roote out vices, but it shrowdeth, fostreth and provoketh them.* As commonly we say, *We must not make a foole of God.* Did we believe in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple believe, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but believe and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions, we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and vnspeakable beauty that is, and shines in him: Had he but the same place in our affections, that riches, pleasures, glory and our friends have: The best of vs doth not so much feare to wrong him, as he doth to injurie his neighbour, his kinsman, or his maister. Is there so simple a minde, who on the one side having before him the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full viewe, perfect knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meere contempt: for, what *divine* draws vs to blaspheming, vnlesse it be at all adventures, the envy it selfe of the offence? The Philosopher *Antisthenes*, when he was initiated in the mysteries of *Orpheus*, the priest, saying, vnto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, if thou believe-it, why dost thou not die thy self? *Diogenes* more roughly (as his manner was,) and further from our purpose, answered the priest, who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come vnto, and attaine the happinesse of the other world: Wilt thou have me believe, that those famous men *Agessilaus* and *Epaminondas*, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an asse, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be happy, because thou art a Priest? Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessednes with like authoritie, as we do a philosophicall discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have:

Lucr. l. 3. 630

*Non iam se moriens dissolvi conquereretur,
Sed magis ire foras, vestemq; relinquere ut anguis
Gauderet, praelonga senex aut cornua cervus.*

He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,

But rather more rejoyce, that now he is forth-flying,

Or as a Snake his coate out-worne,

Or as olde Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be free, would we say, and be with *Iesus Christ*. The forcible power of *Platoes* discourse, of the immortallitie of the soule, provoked diverse of his Schollers vnto death, that so they might morespeedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. Al which is a most evident token, that we receive our religion, but according to our fashion, & by our own hands, & no other-wise than other religions are received. We are placed in that countrie, where it was in vse; either we regarde her antiquitie, or the authoritie of those who have maintained the same; let vs either feare the menices, wherewith she threatneth all mis-beleevvers, or let vs followe her promises. These considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as Subsidiaries: they be humane bondes. Another countrie, other testimonies, equal promises:

mises : alike menaces, might seemably imprint a cleane contrary religion in vs : we are christians by the same title, as we are either Perigordins or Germans. And as *Plato* saith, *There are few so confirmed in Atheisme, but some great danger will bring vnto the knowledge of Gods diuine power.* This parte doth not touch or concerne a good Christian : It is for mortall and worldly religions, to be received by a humane convoy. *What faith is that like to be, which cowardnesse of heart doth plant, and weakenesse establish in vs?* A goodly faith, that believes that which it beleeveth, onely because it wanteth the courage not to ~~un~~beleeeve the same. A vicious passion, as that of inconstancie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our mindes or soules? They establish (saith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction; but the occasion to make triall of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenesse doth sommon them to death : the terrour of the same, through the horror of their future condition, dooth then replenish them with an other kinde of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearefull, hee by his lawes, inhibiteth all instruction of such threats, and the perswasion, that any evil may come vnto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he falleth into it. They report of *Bias*, that being infected with the Atheismes of *Theodorus*, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize vpon him, he yeelded vnto the extreamest superstitions : As if the Gods would either be remooved, or come againe, according to *Bias* businesse. *Plato* and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleeeve in God, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition, as vnnaturall and monstrous as it is harde and vneasie to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and vnruely soever hee may be. Many have beene scene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession onely in countenance : who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to lift-vp their joyned hands to heaven, give them but a stoccado on their breast : and when feare shall have suppressed, or sickenesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discretely to be perswaded, to give credite vnto true beleefe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficiall impressions another, which, bredde by the dissolutenesse of a loose spirite, do rashly and vncertainly floate vp and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The error of Paganisme, and the ignorance of our sacred trveth, was the cause of this great soules-fall; but onely great in worldely greatnes, also in this next abuse, which is, that children and olde men, are found to be more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bredde and had her credite from our imbecilitie. *The bond which should binde our iudgement, tie our will, enforce and ioyne our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doublings and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authoritie and grace of God.* Now our heart being ruled, and our soule commaunded by faith, reason willet, that shee drawe all our other partes to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vast worldes-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and having coherencie with the woorkeman that wrought and framed them. Hee hath left imprinted in these high and mysterious workes, the characters of his divinitie : and onely our imbecilitie is the cause, wee can nor discover, nor reade them. It is that which himselfe telleth vs, *That by his visible operations, hee dooth manifest those, that are invisible to vs.* *Sebond* hath much travelled about this woorthie studie, and sheweth vs, *That there is no parcell of this worlde, that either believeth or shameith his Maker.* It were a manifest wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this vniverse did not consent and sympathize with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule; yea all things-else, conspire and agree vnto it : onely the meanes how to make vse of them must be found out : They will instruct vs sufficiently, be wee but capable to learne and apt to vnderstand. For, *this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought,*
there

there to beholde statues and images, not wrought by mortall hand, but such as the secret thoughts of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible vnto vs. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paule) doe evidently appeare by the creation of the worlde, indging of his eternall Wisedome and Diuinitie by his workes.

*Atque adeo faciem cœli non invidet orbi,
Ipse deus, vultusq; suos corpusq; recludit,
Semper voluendo: seq; ipsum inculcat & offert
Vt bene cognosci possit, doceatq; videndo
Qualis eat, doceatq; suas attendere leges.*

Manil. l. 4. 840.

God to the world doth not heav'ns face envie,
But by still mooving it doth notifie
His face and essence, doth himfelfe applie,
That he may well be knowne, and teach by seeing,
How he goes, how we should marke his decreeing.

Now our reason and humane discourse, is as the lumpish and barren matter, and the grace of God is the forme thereof. T'is that, which giveth both fashion and worth vnto it. Even as the vertuous actions of *Socrates* and *Cato*, are but frivolous and vnprofitable, because they had not their end, and regarded not the loue and obedience of the true creator of all things; and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imaginations and discourse; they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, vnlesse faith and the grace of God be joyned therevnto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre vnto *Sebond's* arguments, makes them the more firme and solide: They may well serue for a direction and guide to a yong learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sorte fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by meanes whereof our beliefe is afterward atchieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought vp in letters, who confessed vnto me, that he was reclaimed from out the errors of mis-beleeving by the Arguments of *Sebond*. And if it happen, they bee dispoiled of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantazies, yet to combate those, that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error, and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, euen then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may bee opposed against them. So that wee shall stand vpon termes to say vnto our parties,

Si melius quid habes, accorse, vel imperium fer.

Hor. l. i. epist. 5.
6.

If you have any better, send for me,
Or else that I bidde you contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, or shew vs some others, vppon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a maner vnawares halfe engaged my selfe in the second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for *Sebond*. Some say his Arguments are weake, and simple to verifie what he woulde, and vndertake to front him easily. Such fellows must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious then the first. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in himfelfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Atheisme. He with his owne Venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some pre-occupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish, and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of *Sebond*. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them, if they have free libertie to combate our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they beholde hir in hir Majestie, full of auethoritie and commaundement. The meanes I vse to suppress this frenzie, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to bruze, to crush, and trample this pride and fiercenesse of man vnder-foote; and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason, to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, vnder the auethoritie and reverence of Gods Majestie. Only to hir belongeth science and wisdome, it is she alone can judge of hir selfe; and from her wee steale whatsoeuer we repute, value, and count our selves to be.

the second objection.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονέειν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλοι ἢ ἐαυτοῦ.

to make them feele and perceave the inamitie, the vanitie, and fondnes of man:

Of greater, better, wiser mind than he,
God can abide no mortall man should be.

Pro. 3. 24. 4. 6
1. Pet. 5. 5.

Let vs suppress this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit: *Deus super his resistit: humilibus autem dat gratiam.* God resisteth the proude, but giveth grace to the humble. Plato saith, That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men. Meane-while it is a great comfort vnto a Christian man, to see our mortall implements, and fading tooles, so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortall and fading subjects of their Nature, they are never more forcible, nor more joyntlie appropriated vnto them. Let vs then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then *Sebondes*, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, Saint *Augustine*, pleading against these kind of men, because he would vpbraide them with their injustice, in that they hold the partes of our beleefe to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may bee, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes; He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knowen and vndoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing; which hee doth, as all things else, with a curious and ingenious search. More must be done, and they must be taught, that to convince the weakenesse of their reason, we neede not goe farre to cull out rare examples: And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facilitie so cleare, that is cleare enough vnto hir; that easie and vneasie is all one to hir; that all subjects equally, and Nature in Generall disavoweth hir jurisdiction, and interposition. What preacheth truth vnto vs, when it biddeth vs flie and shunne worldly philosophie; when it so often telleth vs, that *al our wisdom is but felty before God; that of al vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who presumeth of his knowledge, doth not yet know what knowledge is: and that man, who is nothing, if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe?* These sentences of the Holy-Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would-maintaine, as I should neede no other prooffe against such as with all submission and obedience would yeeld to his authoritie. But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it self. Let vs now but consider man alone, without other help, armed but with his owne weapons, & vnprovided of the grace & knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let vs see what hold-fast, or free-hold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Let him with the vtmost power of his discourse make me vnderstand, vppon what foundation, hee hath built those great advantages and ods, he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who hath perswaded him, that this admirable mooving of heavens-vaults; that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head; that the horror-movng and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so manie ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as maister of himselfe, exposed and subject to the offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Maister and Emperour of this Vniverse? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much lesse to commaund the same. And the priviledge, which he so fondly challengeth, to be the only absolute creature in this huge worlds-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and severall partes thereof, and that hee is onely of power to yeeld the great Architect thereof, due thanks for it, and to keep account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him this patent? Let him shew vs his letters of priviledge, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthie of so extraordinarie a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shal we beleve him; *Quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium, quae ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii & homines, quibus profecto nihil est melius.* For whose cause then shall a man say, that the worlde was made? In sooth, for those creatures sake, which have the use of reason: Those are Gods and men, then whom assuredly nothing is better. We shal never sufficiently baffle the impudency of this conjoining. But seely wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To consider the incorruptible life of the celestiaall bodies, their beautie, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course:

Mans imbecility

Cic. nat. Deo. l. 2

Lucr. l. 5. 1214

— cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi

Templa

*Templa super, stellisque micantibus Ethera fixum,
Et venit in mentem Luna Solisque viarum.*

When we of this great world the heavenlie-temple see
Above-vs, and the skies with shine- starres fixt to be,
And marke in our discourse,
Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power and domination, these bodies have, not onely vpon our lives, and condition of our fortune.

Facta etenim & vitas hominum suspendit ab astris.

Manil. astron.
lib. 3. 58.

For on the stars he doth suspend
Of men, the deedes, the lives, and end.

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wills, which they rule, provoke, and moove at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason findes and teacheth vs.

— *speculatiue longè*

Manil. astron.
lib. 1. 62.

Deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra.

Et totum alterna mundum ratione moveri,

Fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.

By speculation it from farre discern's,
How star's by secret laws do guide our sterns,
And this whole world is moov'd by entercourse
And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only, But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this world below is mooved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

Quantaque quàm parvi faciant discrimina motus:

Manil. astron.
lib. 4. 93.

Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imperat ipsis.

How little motions make, how different affection:

So great this kingdome is, that hath Kings in subjection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiencie and knowledge, and the same discourse wee make of the power of the Planets, and the comparison betweene them and vs, commeth as our reason judgeth by their meane and through their favour.

— *fuit alter amore,*

Manil. astron.
lib. 4. 78.

Et pontum tranare potest & vertere Troiam,

Alterius fors est scribingis legibus apta:

Ecce patrem nati perimunt, natiq; parentes,

Mutuâq; armati coeunt in vulnera fratres,

Non nostrum hoc bellum est, coguntur tanta movere,

Inque suas ferri poenas, lacerandaque membra,

Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere fatum.

One with love madded, his love to enjoy,

Can crosse the seas, and over-terne all Troy;

Another's lot is to set lawes severe.

Loe sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,

Brothers for mutuall woundes their armes doe beare,

Such warre is not our owne, for't are we to-it,

Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbes to teare;

Fates so t'observe t'is fatal, we must doe-it,

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can she make vs equall vnto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions vnto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies doth affright vs: *Quæ molitio, quæ ferramenta, qui vestes, quæ machina, qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt?* What workmanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What Masons and Carpenters, were to so great a worke? Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or knowne any vnmoueable or insensible stupiditie in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say, we have seene the vse of a resonable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seene any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable vnto it? And doth he

Cic. Nat. Deo.
l. 1.

Sen. ira. lib. 2.
cap. 9.

Sen. epist. 65.

leave his moving, because his equall is no where to be found? If that which we have not scene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfully abridged? *Qua sunt tanta animi angustia? What narrownes of any heart is such?* Be they not dreames of humaine vanitie, to make a celestially earth, or world of the Moone? As *Anaxagoras* did? And therein to plant worldly habitations, and as *Plato* and *Plutarke* doe, erect their colonies for our vse? And to make of our knowne earth a bright-shining-planet? *Inter cetera mortalitatis incommoda, & hoc est caligo mentium: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor.* Among other discomforts of our mortalitie this is one, there is darkenes in our mindes, and in vs not onely a necessitie of erring, but a love of errors. *Corruptibile corpus aggrauat animam, & deprimit terrana inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem.* Our corruptible body doth ouer lode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighes downe our sence, that is set to thinke of many matters. Presumption is our naturall and originall infirmitie. Of all creatures, man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainefullest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst the filth and mire of the world, fast tide and nailed to the worst, most senceles, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens-coape, with those creatures, that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe about the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven vnder his feete. It is through the vanitie of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth diuine conditions vnto himselfe, that he selecteth & separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeeres, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and alloteth them what portion of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his vnderstanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to vs doth he conclude the brutishnes, he ascribeth vnto them? When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she haue more sporte in dallying with me, then I haue in gaming with hir? We entertaine one another with mutuall apill trickes, If I haue my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. *Plato* in setting forth the golden age vnder *Saturne*, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities, and differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute vnderstanding and perfect wisedome, whereby he led a happier life, then we can doe. Can we haue a better prooffe to iudge of mans impudencie, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinion, that in the greatest part of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, she hath onely respected the vse of the prognostications, which in his daies were thereby gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and vs, why may it not as well be in vs, as in them? It is a matter of diuination to guesse in whom the fault is, that we vnderstand not one another. For, we vnderstand them no more then they vs. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme vs beasts, as we them. It is no great marvell if we vnderstand them not: no more doe we the cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet haue some boasted that they vnderstood them, as *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Melampus*, *Tiresias*, *Thales* and others. And if it be (as *Cosmographers* reporte) that there are nations, who receive and admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine interpretation to his voice and moving. We must note the paritie that is betweene vs. We haue some meane vnderstanding of their senses, so haue beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune vpon vs, they threat, and entreate vs, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceiue, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not onely those of one same kinde vnderstand one another, but even such as are of different kindes,

Lucr. l. 3. 1269.

Et muta pecudes, & denique secla ferarum

Diffimiles fuerunt voces variâsq; cluere

Cum metus aut dolor est, aut cum iam gaudia gliscunt.

Whole heard's (though dombe) of beasts, both wilde and tame

Vse diuers voices, different sounds to frame,

As joy, or griefe, or feare,

Vpspringing passions beare.

By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the Horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice of his, he is nothing dismaide. Even in beasts, that haue no voice at all, by the recipocall kindnes,

kindenes, which we see in them, we easily inferre, there is some other meane of entercommuni-
cation: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

Non alia longè ratione atque ipsa videtur

Proirahere ad gestum, pueros infantia lingue.

26. 1040.

No otherwise, then, for they cannot speake,

Children are drawne by signes their mindes to breake.

And why not, as well as our dombe-men dispute, argue, and tell histories by signes? I
have seene some so readie, and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to
have their meaning perfectly vnderstoode. Doe we not daily see lovers with the lookes and
rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreate,
and thanke one another, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

El silentio ancor suole

Hauer prieghi & parole.

Silence also hath a way,

Words and praies to conuay.

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreate, promise and performe, call
men vnto us, & discharge them, bid them far well, and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny,
refuse, demaund, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, be ashamed, doubt, instruct,
commaund, encite, encourage, sweare, witnes, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise,
desie, despight, flatter, aplaude, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew-
gladnes, rejoyce, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry-out, forbid, declare
silence and astonishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if
they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not envite and call to-vs,
discharge and fend away, avowe, disavowe, be-lie, welcome, honour, worship, disdaine, de-
maund, direct, rejoyce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, submit,
brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What do we with our eye-lids?
And with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor jesture, that doth not speake,
and speakes in a language, very easie, and without any teaching to be vnderstoode: nay,
which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing
the varietie, and severall vse it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the pro-
per and peculier speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessitie in time of neede,
doth particularly instruct and sodainely teach such as neede-it; and the alphabets vpon
fingers, and grammars by jestures; and the sciences, which are onely exercised and expres-
sed by them: and the nations: *Plinie* reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador
of the Cittie of *Abdera*, after he had talked a long time vnto *Agis* King of *Sparta*, said thus
vnto him: O King, what answer wilt thou that I beare backe vnto our cittizens? Thus (an-
swered he) that I have suffred thee to speake all thou wouldest, and as long as thou pleasedst,
without ever speaking one word. Is not this a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be vn-
derstoode? And as for other matters; what sufficiencie is there in vs, that we must not ac-
knowledge from the industrie and labors of beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better
ordred policie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more constantly entertained, and
better maintained, then that of Bees? Shall we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their
actions, and manning of their vacations, have so proporcioned and formall a conduct
without discourse, reason and forecast?

His quidam signis atque hæc exempla sequunt,

Esse apibus partem divina mentis, & haustus

Ethereos dixere.

Some by these signes, by these examples moved,

Said that in Bees there is and may be proved

Some taste of heav'nly kinde,

Parte of celestiaall minde.

Virg. Georg.
lib. 4. 219.

The Swallows, which at the approach of spring-time, we see to prie, to search, and ferret al
the corners of our houses; is it without judgement they seeke, or without discretion, they
chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them, to build their nests and lodge
in? And in that prettie-cunning contexture, and admirable framing of their houses, would
birds rather fit themselves with a round, then a square figure, with an obtuse, then a right
angle,

*How we ex-
press our mind
by signes*

angle, except they knewe both the comodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water, and then clay, vnlesse they guessed that the hardnes of the one is softned by the moistnes of the other? Would they floore their pallace with mosse or downe, except they fore-sawe, that the tender partes of their yong-ones, shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormie weather, and builde their cabbins toward the East, vnlesse they knew the different conditions of windes, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them, then some others? Why doth the Spider spin hir artificiall webbe thicke in one place, and thin in another? And now vseth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginarie kinde of deliberation, fore-thought and conclusion? We perceiue by the greater part of their workes, what excellencie beafts haue over-vs, and how weake our art and short our cunning-is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grossest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the vttermost of hir skill and forces in them: why should we not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by arte, vnto a kinde of vnknowne, naturall and seruill inclination? Wherein vnawars, we give them a great advantage over-vs, to inferre, that nature, led by a certaine loving-kindnes, leadeth and accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) vnto all the actions and comodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth vs to the hazard of fortune; And by art to quest, and finde-out those things, that are behoouefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth vs the meanes, to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit, to the naturall sufficiencie of brute beafts: So that their brutish stupiditie, doth in all comodities exceede, whatsoeuer our diuine intelligence can effect. Verely, by this accoumpt, we might haue just cause and great reason, to terme hir a most iust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policie is not so deformed and disordered. *Nature hath generally embraced all hir creatures:* And there is not any, but she hath amply stored with all necessarie meanes for the preservation of their being: For, the daily plaintes, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceites, doth sometimes raise them above the clowdes, and then headlong tumble them downe, even to the *Antipodes*) exclaiming, that man is the onely forsaken, and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast-bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himselfe withall, but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures; some with shelles, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristels, with hides, with mosse, with fethers, with skales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their qualitie might neede, or their condition require: And hath fenced and armed them, with clawes, with nailes, with talents, with hooves, with teeth, with stings, and with hornes, both to assaile others, and to defend themselves: And hath more-over instructed them in every thing fit and requisit for them, as to swim, to runne, to creepe, to flie, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: where as man onely (Oh silly-wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shift, nor feede himselfe, vnlesse it be to whine and weepe onely, except he be taught.

Lucr. lib. 5. 322

*Tum porro, puer ut sevis proiectus ab undis
Nauta, nudus humi iacet infans, indigus omni
Vitali auxilio, cum primum in luminis oras
Nexibus ex alvo matris natura profudit,
Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut aquum est
Cui tantum in vita restet transire malorum:
At varia crescunt pecudes, armenta, feraeque,
Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est
Alma nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela:
Nec varias querunt vestes pro tempore cali:
Denique non armis opus est, non manibus altis.
Quae sua tumentur, quando omnibus omnia largè
Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque dædala rerum.
An infant, like a shipwracke ship-boy cast from Seale,
Lies naked on the ground, and speechlesse, wanting all
The helpes of vitall spirit, when nature with small ease*

Of

Of throw's, to see first light, from hir wombe lets him fall,
Then, as is meete, with morn' full cries he filles the place,
For whom so many ills remaine in his lives race.
But diuers heards of tame and wilde beasts foreward spring,
Nor neede they rattles, nor of nurces cockring-kinde
The flattring-broken speech their lullaby neede sing.
Nor seeke they diuers coats, as diuers seasons binde.
Lastly no armor neede-they, nor high-rear'd wall
Whereby to garde their owne, since all things vnto all
Worke-maister nature doth produce,
And the earth largely to their vse.

Such complaints are false: There is a greater equalitie, and more vniforme relation in the policie of the world. Our skinne is as sufficiently provided with hardnes against the injuries of the wether, as theirs: Witnes diuers nations, which yet never knew the vse of clothes. Our ancient Gaules were but slightly appareled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbors, in so colde a climate: Which we may better judge by our selues; for, all those parts of our body, we are pleased to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experience found able to endure-it: If there be any weake part in vs, which in likelyhooe should seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomake, where digestion is made: Our forefathers vsed to haue it bare, and our Ladies (as daintie-nice as they be) are many times seene to go open-breasted, as lowe as their navill. The bandles and swathes about our children are no more necessarie: And the mothers of *Lacedemonia*, brought vp theirs in all libertie and loosenes of moving their limmes, without swathing or binding. Our whining, our puling and our weeping is common to most creatures, and diuers of them are often seene to waile and grone a long time after their birth, forsomuch as it is a countenance fitting the weaknes wherein they feele themselves. As for the vse of eating, and feeding, it is in vs, as in them, naturall and without teaching.

Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit abuti.

For every one soone-vnderstanding is
Of his owne strength, which he may vse a misse.

Ibid. 1043.

Who will make question, that a child having attained the strength to feede himselfe, could not quest for his meate, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labor or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall neede. And if not at all times, no more doth she vnto beasts; witnes the provision, we see the Antes and other silly creatures, to make against the cold and barren seasons of the yeare. The nations, that have lately bin discovered, so plenteously stored with all maner of naturall meate and drinke, without care or labor, teach vs, that bread is not our onely foode: And that without toying, our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored vs with whatsoever should be needefull for vs, yea, as it is most likely, more richly, and amply, then now a daies she doth, that we have added so much art vnto it:

*Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetaque leta
Sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creauit,
Ipsa dedit dulces fetus, & pabula leta,
Qua nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,
Conterimusque boves & vires agricolarum.*

Lucr. l. 2. 1166

The earth it selfe at first of th' owne accord
Did men rich vineyards, and cleane fruite affoord:
It gave sweete of-springs foode from sweeter soyle
Which yet scarce greater growe for all our toyle;
Yet tire therein we doe,
Both plowmens strength and Oxen too.

The gluttonous excesse, & intemperate lavishnes of our appetite exceeding al the inventions, we endeavor to finde-out, wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more, that be naturall vnto vs, then the greatest part of other beasts: We have more severall motions of limbs, and naturally, without teaching: We reape more serviceable vse of them, then they do: Those which are trained vp to fight naked, are seene headlong to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excell vs in
this

this advantage, we exceede many others: And the industrie to enable, the skill to fortifie, and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificiall meanes, we have it by a kinde of naturall instinct and teaching. Which to prove; the Elephant doth whet and sharpen his teeth, he vseth in warre (for he hath some he onely vseth for that purpose) which he heedfully spareth, and never puts them to other service: When Bulls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feete, cast the dust about them: The wilde Boare whets his tuskes; when the *Ichneumon* is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his bodie in the mire, then lets the same drie and harden vpon him, which he doth so often, that at last the same becomes as hard and tough as any well compact crust, which serveth him in steade of a Cuirace. Why shall we not say, that it is as naturall for vs to arme our selves with wood and yron? As for speech, sure it is, that if it be not naturall, it is not necessarie. I beleeve nevertheless, that if a child, bred in some vncouth solitarines, far from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kinde of words to expresse, and speach to vtter his conceits: And it is not to be imagined, that nature hath refused vs that meane, and barred vs that helpe, which she hath bestowed vpon many and diuers other creatures: For, what is that facultie, we see in them, when they seeme to complaine, to reioyce, to call one vnto another for help, and bid one another to loving copulation (as commonly they doe) by the vse of their voice, but a kinde of speech? And shall not they speake among themselves, that speake and vtter their minde vnto vs, and we to them? How many waies speake we vnto our Dogges, and they seeme to vnderstand and answer vs? With another language, and with other names speake we vnto, and call them, then we doe our Birds, our Hogges, our Oxen, our Horses, and such like; and according to their different kindes we change our Idiome.

*Cosi per entro loro schiera bruna
S'ammusa l'una con l'altra formica,
Forse à spiare lor via, & lor fortuna.
So Ants amidst their sable-colored band
One with another mouth to mouth conferre,
Hap'ly their way, or state to vnderstand.*

Me seemeth that *Lactantius* doth not onely attribute speech vnto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of tongues, which according to the diversitie of countries is found amongst vs, is also found amongst beasts of one same kinde. *Aristotle* to that purpose alleageth the diuers calles or putres of Partridges, according to the situation of their place of breeding:

Euch. l. 5. 1068.

— *variaeque volucres*
*Longè alias alio iaciunt in tempore voces,
Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus unâ
Raucifonos cantus.*
And diuers birds, send forth much diuers sound's
At diuers times, and partly change the grounds,
Of their hoarse-sounding song,
As seasons change a-long.

But it would be knowne, what language such a child should speake: and what some report by divination, hath no great likelihood. And if against this opinion, a man would alleage vnto me, that such as are naturally deafe, speake not at all: I answer, that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the word by their eares, but rather, in as much as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinitie with that of speaking, both which with a naturall kinde of ligament or seame, hold and are fastned together: In such sort, as what we speake, we must first speake it vnto our selves, and before we vtter and send the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly to sound vnto our eares. I have saide all this, to maintaine the coherencie and resemblance, that is in all humane things, and to bring vs vnto the generall throng. We are neither aboue nor vnder the rest: what ever is vnder the coape of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law and followeth one fortune.

Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vinculis.
All things enfolded are,
In fatall bonds as fits their share.

Ibid. 885.

Some

Some difference there is, there are orders and degrees; but all is vnder the visage of one same nature.

— *res quaque suo ritu procedit, & omnes*

Fœdere naturæ certo discrimina servant.

Ibid. 932.

All things proceede in their course, natures all
Keepe difference, as in their league doth fall.

Man must be forced, and marshalled within the listes of this policie. Miserable man with all his wit cannot in effect goe beyond it: he is imbarred, and engaged, and as other creatures, of his rancke are, he is subjected in like bondes, and without any prerogative, or essentiall pre-excellencie; what ever Priviledge he assume vnto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which is given by opinion or fantasie hath neither body nor taste. And if it be so, that he alone, above al other Creatures, hath this liberty of imagination, and this licence of thoughts, which represent vnto him, both what is, and what is not, and what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth; it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath little reason to glorie: For thence springs the chiefe source of al the mischiefs that oppresse him, as sinne, sickenesse, irresolution, trouble and despaire. But to come to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no likely-hood, we should imagine, that beastes doe the very same things by a naturall inclination, and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne free-wil and industrie. Of the very same effects we must conclude alike faculties; & by the richest effects infer the noblest faculties, and consequently acknowledge, that the same discourse and way, wee hold in working, the very same, or perhappes some other better, doe beastes hold. Wherefore shal we imagine that natural compulsion in them, that prove no such effect our selves? Since it is more honourable to be addressed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by and through a naturall and vnaoideable condition, and most approaching to Divinitie, then regularly to worke, and act, by, and through a casuall and rash libertie, and it is safer to leave the reignes of our conduct vnto nature, then vnto our selves. The vanitie of our presumption maketh vs rather to be beholding, and as it were endebted vnto our owne strength, for our sufficiency, then vnto hir liberalitie; and enrich other creatures with naturall giftes, and yeeld those vnto them, that so we may en-noble and honour our selves with gifts purchased: as me thinketh, by a very simple humour: For, I would prize graces, & value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and naturall vnto me, as much as I would those, I had begged, and with a long prentishippe, shifted. for. *It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation, then to be favored both of God and Nature.* By that reason, the Foxe, which the inhabitants of Thrace vse when they will attempt to march vpon the yce of some frozen river, and to that end let hir go loose afore them, should we see hir running alongest the river side, approach hir care close to the yce, to listen, whether by any farre or neere distance, she may heare the noyse or roaring of the water, running vnder the same, and according as she perceiveth the ice thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth hir head, as in like case it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating-reason and consequence, drawn from naturall sense? *Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth; whatsoever moveth, is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen, is liquide; whatsoever is liquide, yeelds under any weight?* for to impute that only to a quicknes of the sense of hearing, without discourse or consequence, is but a fond conceipt, & cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles, and inventions, wherewith beastes save themselves from the snares, and scape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpose, that it is in our power to seize vpon them, to employ them to our service, and to vse them at our pleasure; it is but the same oddes we have one vpon another. To which purpose wee have our slaves or bond-men; and were not the Climacides, certaine women in Syria, which creeping on al foure, vpon the ground, served the Ladies in steed of footstoles or ladders to get vp into their coches? Where the greater part offree men for very slight causes, abandon both their life and being, to the power of others. The wives and Concubines of the Thracians strive and contend, which of them shalbe chosen, to be flaine over hir husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-plusse, or supererogation have added this necessity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hostes of men have thus tyed themselves vnto their Capitaines. The tenor of the oath ministred vnto

*Beastes have
discours*

Xp. lxx. lxx.

the schollers. that entered and were admitted the rude schoole of Roman Gladiators, emplied these promises: which was this. We vow and sweare, to suffer our selves, to be enchained, beaten, burned and killed with the sword, and endure whatsoever any lawfull fencer ought to endure for his maister: most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the vse of his service:

Tibul. l. i. el. 9
21.

*Vre meum si vis flamma caput, & pete ferro
Corpus, & intorto verbere terga seca.*

Burne tyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire, with sword
My body strike, my backe cut with hard-twisted cord.

Was not this a very strict covenant? Yet were there some yeares ten thousand found, that entered and lost themselves in those schooles. When the Scythians buried their King, they, strangled over his dead body, first, the chiefeft and best beloved of his Concubines, then his Cup-bearer, the Master of his hors, his Chamberlaine, the Vsher of his Chamber, & his maister cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horses, mounted with fifty Pages, whom before, they had slaine with thrusting sharpe stakes into their fondament, which going vp along their chine-bone, came out at their throte. Whom thus mounted; they set in orderly ranckes about the tombe. The men that serve vs, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, then wee vse vnto birdes, vnto horses, and vnto dogges. What carke and toyle, apply we not our selves vnto for their sakes? Me thinkes, the vilest & basest servants, will never doe that so willingly for their Maisters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beastes. *Diogenes* seeing his kinsfolkes, to take care how they might redeeme him out of thraldome; they are fooles (said he) for, it is my Maister, that governeth, keepeth feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beastes, may rather say they serve them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never Lyon was seene to subject himselfe vnto another Lyon, nor one Horfe vnto another Horfe, for want of hart. As we hunt after beastes, so Tygres and Lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one vpon another: the Hounds over the Hare; the Pike or Luce over the Tench; the Swallowes over the Grasse-hoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes over Blacke-birds and Larkes.

Iuue sat. 14. 74.

Serpente ciconia pullos

*Nutrit, & inventa per devia rura lacerta,
Et leporem aut capream famula Iovis, & generosa
In salu venantur aves.*

The storke hir yong-ones feedes with serpents pray,
And lyzerts found somewhere out of the way.
Ioves servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,
In forrests hunt, a hare or kidde to finde.

We share the fruites of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meede of their paine and reward of their industry. As about *Amphipolis* in *Thrace*, faulknrs, and wilde hawks divide their game equally: And as about the *Meotide-fennes*, if fishers doe not very honestly leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the Woolves that range about those coasts, they presently runne and teare their nets. And, as we have a kinde of fishing, rather managed by sleight, then strength, as that of hooke and line about our angling roddes, so have beastes amongst themselves. *Aristotle* reporteth, that the Cuttle-Fish, casteth a long gut out of hir throte, which like a line shee sendeth forth, and at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according as she perceiveth some little Fish to come neere hir, who being close-hidden in the gravell or stronde, letteth him nibble or bite the end of it, and then by little and little drawes it in vnto hir, vntill the Fish be so neere, that with a sodaine leape she may catch-it. Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to so many wrongs and injuries as man: He neede not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde beaft, of which one alone is of power to defeate a great number of men: seely lice are able to make *Sylla* give over his Dictatorship: The hart and life of a mighty and triumphant Emperour, is but the break-fast of a seely-little Worme. Why say we, that skill to discerne, and knowledge to make choyse (gotten by art, and acquired by discourse) of things good for this life, and availefull against sicknesse, and so distinguish of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of Reubarbe, qualitie of Oake fenne, and operation of Polipodie, is only peculiar vnto man?

When

When we see the Goates of *Candia*, being shotte with an arrow, to choose from out a million of simples, the hearbe Dittamy or Garden-ginger, and therewith cure themselves; and the Tortoise having eaten of a Viper, immediatly to seek for Origan, or wild Marjeran, to purge himselfe: the Dragon to run and cleare his eies with fenel: the Cranes with their bills to minister glisters of sea-water vnto themselves; the Elephants to pul out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their maisters (witnesseth that of King *Parus*, whom *Alexander* defeated) such javelines or dartes; as in fight have beene thirled or shot at them; so nimbly & so cunningly, as our selves could never do it so easily, and with so little paine: Why say wee not likewise that that is science, and prudence in them? For, if to depresse them, some would alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know-it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them; it is rather to ascribe it vnto them, then to vs, for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistres. *Chrysippus*, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his Maister, whom hee had lost, or in pursuite of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously betakes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dogge must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe. *I have followed my Maisters footing hitherto; hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.* And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee vseth his sense no more, nor soundes-it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be carryed through-it. This meere logicall trick, and this vse of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by *Trapezontius* his logicke? Yet are not beastes altogether vnapt to be instructed after our maner. We teach Blacke-birds, Starlines, Ravens, Piots, and Parots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive in them, to lend vs their voyce so supple, and their wind so tractable, that so wee may frame and bring-it to a certaine number of letters and syllables, witnesseth, they have a kind of inward reason, which makes them so docile, and willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloid and wearied, which seeing so many apish and mimicke trickes, that juglers teach their Dogges, as the dances, where they misse not one cadence of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but the divers turnings, and severall kinds of motions, which by the commandement of their bare wordes they make them performe: But I wonder not a little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst vs; and that is, the dogs which blinde men vse, both in Cittie and Country: I have observed, how sodainly they will stoppe when they come before some dores, where they are wont to receive almes; how carefully they will avoyde the shooke of Cartes and Coaches, even when they have roome enough to passe by them selves. I have seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a plaine and even path, and take a worse, that so they might draw their Maister from the ditch. How could a man make that dog conceive, his charge was only to look to his maisters safetie, and for his service to despise his owne commoditie and good? And how should he have the knowledge, that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blinde man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what *Plutarke* affirmeth to have seene a dog in *Rome* doe, before the Emperour *Vespasian* the father, in the Theatre of *Marcellus*. This Dogge served a jugler, who was to play a fiction of many faces, and sundry countenances, where he also was to act a part. Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfet and faine himselfe dead, because he had eaten of a certaine drugge: having swallowed a peece of bread, which was supposed to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake, as if he had beene giddie, then stretching and laying himselfe along, as stiffe as if hee were starke-dead, suffered himselfe to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were rouzed out of a dead slumber, then lifting vp his head, hee looked and stared so gastly, that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of *Susa* were taught to water them, and to draw water out of deepe Welles, turned certaine great wheelles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of *Languedoke* is commonly seene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred turnes a day, they

were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which talke ended they would sodainly stoppe. Wee are growne striplings before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately beene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others, then to be taught. And omitting what *Democritus* judged and proved, which is, that beastes have instructed vs in most of our arts: As the spider to weave and sew, the swallow to build, the swanne, and the nightingale Musicke, and divers beastes, by immitating them, the Arte of Physike: *Aristotle* is of opinion, that Nightingales teach their yoong-ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it foloweth, that those which we keep tame in cages, and have not had leasure to goe to their parents schoole, loose much grace in their singing. Wherby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that runne wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Ech one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacitie. And so jealous are they in their prentise-ship, that to excell one another, they will so stoutly contend for the maistry, that many times, such as are vanquished, die; their winde and strength sooner failing, then their voyce. The yong-ones will very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene laboring how to imitate certaine song-notes: The Scholler listeneth attentivelie to his Maisters Lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall holde his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faultes, and how the elder striveth to reprove the yoongest. *Arrius* protesteth to have seene an Elephant, who on every thigh having a cimball hanging, and one fastned to his truncke, at the sound of which, all other Elephants daunced in a round, now rising aloft, then lowting full lowe at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmonie. In the great shews of *Rome*, Elephants were ordinarily seene, taught to moove and daunce at the sound of a voyce, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, enter-changes, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and practise their lessons, vsing much studie and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their maisters. But the tale of the Piott is very strange, which *Plutarke* confidently witnesseeth to have seene: This Iay was in a Barbers shop of *Rome*, and was admirable in counterfaying with hir voyce whatsoever she heard: It fortun'd one day, that certaine Trumpeters staid before this shop, and there sounded a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piott beganne to be very sadde, silent, and melancholie, whereat all men marvelled, and surmized that the noyse or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied her, and that with her hearing she had also lost her voyce. But at last they found, shee was but in a deepe studie, and dumpish retracting into her selfe, exercising her minde, and preparing her voyce, to represent the sound, and expresse the noyse of the Trumpets shee had heard: And the first voyce she vttered was that, wherein she perfectly expressed their straines, their clozes, and their changes; having by her new prentiship altogether quitte, and as it were, scorned what-ever she could prattle before. I will not omit to aleadge another example of a dogge, which *Plutarke* also saith to have seene (as for any order or methode, I know very well I do but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples, than I doe in all the rest of my businesse) who being in a ship, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexitie how to get some oyle out of a deepe pitcher, which by reason of its narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, gotte him presently some pibble-stones, and put so many into the jarre, that he made the oyle come vp so neare the brimme, as hee could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very subtile spirite? It is reported, that the Ravens of *Barbarie* will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too lowe. This action doth somewhat resemble that, which *Iuba* a king of that nation relateth of their Elephants; that when through the wiles of those who chase them, any one chanceth to fall into certaine deepe pittes, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reedes, shrubbes, and boughs, his fellows will speedily with all diligence bring great store of stones and peeces of timber, that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinitie with mans sufficiencie, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference found betweene such and such a man, than betweene such a beast and such a man. An Elephants keeper in a private house

of *Siria*, was wont every meale to steale away halfe of the allowance which was allotted him; it fortuned one day, his maister would needes feede him himselve, and having poured that just measure of barley, which for his allowance he had prescribed him, into his manger: the Elephant sternely eying his maister, with his truncke divided the provender in two equall partes, and laide the one aside, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who to encrease the measure of his provender, was wont to mingle stones with it, came one day to the pot which with meate in it for his keepers dinner was seething over the fire, and filled it vp with ashes. These are but particular effects; But that which all the world hath seene, and all men knowe, which is, that in all the armies that came out of the East, their chiefest strength consisted in their Elephants, by whom they reaped, without comparifon, farre greater effects, than nowadayes we doe by our great ordonance, which in a manner holdes their place in a ranged battell (such as have any knowledge in ancient Histories may easily guesse it to be true)

— *si quidem Tyrio servire solebant*
Annibali, & nostris ducibus, regiꝝ, Molosso
Horum maiores, & dorso ferre cohortes,
Partem aliquam belli, & eunt in praelia turmam.

Iuv. Sat. 12. 107

Their elders vsde great *Hannibal* to steede
 Our Leaders, and *Molossian* Kings at neede,
 And on their backe to beare strong-guarding Knights,
 Part of their warre, and troupes addrest to fights.

A man must needes rest assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discouise, yeelding the front of a battell vnto them; where the least stay they could have made, by reason of the hugeness and weight of their bodies, and least amazement that might have made them turne head vpon their owne men, had bin sufficient to loose all. And few examples have bin noted, that ever it fortuned they turned vpon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long throng one vpon another, and so are put to rowe. They had charge given them, not onely of one simple mooving, but of many and severall parts in the combat: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the *Indias*, to whom they gave wages, and imparted their booties; which beasts shewed as much dexteritie in pursuing, and judgement in staying their victorie, in charging, or retreating, and as occasion served in distinguishing their friends from their enemies, as they did earnestnesse and eagernesse: wee rather admire and consider strange than common things: without which I should never so long have amused my selfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement, he that shall neerely checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that live amongst vs, shall in them finde as wonderfull effects, as those, which with so much toile are collected in farre countries, and passed-ages. It is one same nature, which still doth keepe her course. He that thoroughly should judge her present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen, and what is past. I have seene amongst vs, men brought by sea from distant countries, whose language, because we could in no wise vnderstand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of vs did not deeme them brutish and savage? who did not impute their mutenesse vnto stupiditie or beastlines; and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the handes, of our low-lowting curtesies, of our behavioir and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatsoever seemeth strange vnto vs, and we vnderstand not, we blame and condemne. The like befalleth vs in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours: from which, we may comparatively drawe some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar vnto them, what know wee what they are? Horses, Dogges, Oxen, Sheepe, Birdes, and the greater number of sensitive creatures that live amongst vs, knowe our voyce, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which *Crassus* had, and came to him when he called it; so do the Eeles that breede in *Arethusaes* fountaine. And my selfe have seene some fish-pondes, where, at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would presently come to shoare, where they were wont to befed.

— *nomen habent, & ad magistri*
Vocem, quisque sui venit citatus.

Mart. l. 4. epig.
306.

They have their propre names, and every one
Comes at his maisters voyce, as call'd vpon.

By which we may judge, and conclude, that Elephants have some apprehension of religion, forsomuch as after diuerse washings and purifications, they are seene to lift vp their truncke, as we doe our armes, and at certaine houres of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accorde, holding their eies fixed towardes the Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation: yet, because we see no such apparance in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that they are altogether voyde of religion, and may not take that in payment, which is hidden from vs. As we perceiue something in that action, which the philosopher *Cleanthes* well observed, because it somewhat drawes neere vnto ours. Hee sawe (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets go from their nest, bearing amongst them the bodie of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets nest, from which many other Ants came, as it were to meete them by the way to parlie with them, who after they had continued together awhile, they which came last, returned backe, to consult (as you may imagine) with their fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly come to any capitulation; they made two or three voyages to and fro: In the end, the last come, brought vnto the other a worrne from their habitation, as for a ranfome of the dead, which worrne the first company tooke vpon their backs, and carried it home, leaving the dead body vnto the other. Loe-heere the interpretation that *Cleanthes* gave it: Witnesing therby, that those which have no voice at all, have neverthelesse mutuall commerce, and enterchangeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault; and therefore doe we fondly to censure it. Many holde opinion, that in the last and famous sea-fight, which *Antonie* lost against *Augustus*, his Admirall-gallie was in her course staied by that little fish, the Latines call *Remora*, and the English a Sucke-stone, whose propertie is, to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe vnto. And the Emperour *Caligula*, sailing with a great fleete along the coast of *Romania*, his owne gally was sodainly staied by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the keele, moodily raging, that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and windes, and the violence of all his oares, onely with her bill sticking to his gallie (for it is a kind of shel-fish) and was much more amazed when he perceived the fish, being brought aboard his ship, to have no longer that powerfull vertue, which it had, being in the Sea. A certaine citizen of *Cyzique*, whilom purchased vnto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematician, because he had learn't the qualitie of the hedge-hogge, whose propertie is to build his hole or denne, open diuerse wayes, and toward several windes, and fore-seeing rising storms, he presently stoppeth the holes that way; which thing the foresaide citizen heedefully observing, would in the Cittie foretell any future storme, and what winde should blowe. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein hee is. The fish called a Pourcontrell, or Many-feete, changeth himselfe into what colour he list, as occasion offereth it selfe; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh-for. In the Cameleon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pourcontrell a change in action; we our selves do often change our colour, & alter our countenance, through sodaine feare, choler, shame and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces: but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the Cameleon. The jandise hath power to make vs yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our willes. The effects we perceiue in other creatures, greater than ours, witnesse some more excellent facultie in them, which is concealed from vs; as it is to be supposed, diuerse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apparance or knowledge commeth to vs. Of all former prædictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawne from the flight of birdes: we have nothing equall vnto it, nor so admirable. The rule of fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute so wondrous effects, to any naturall decree, without the knowlege, consent, or discourse of him, that causeth & produceth them, & is a most false opinion: Which to prove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benumme & astonish, not only the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, she doth transmit and convey a kind of heauie-numming into the handes of those that sturre or handle the same: Moreover, it is auerred, that if any matter be cast vpon them, the astonish-
 ¶ Now they also produce other effects, that greatly exceede our capacitie, which we ment are so far from reaching unto by imitation, that we can not so much as conceaue them by imagination.

ment is sensible felt to gaine vpward vntill it come to the handes, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether vnprofitable for the Cramp-fish, shee both knowes and makes vse of it: for, to catch the prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselfe vnder the mudde, that other fishes swimming over her, stricken and benumbed with her exceeding coldenesse, may fall into her clawes. The Cranes, Swallowes and other wandering birdes, changing their abode, according to the seasons of the year, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining facultie, and often put the same in vse. Hunters assure vs, that to chuse the best dogge, and which they purpose to keepe from out a litter of other yong whelpes, there is no better meane than the damme her selfe: for, if they be remooved from out their kennell, him that she first brings thither againe, shall alwayes proove the best; or if one but encompassse her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelpes she first seeketh to save, is vndoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth, they have a certaine vse of prognosticating, that we have not; or els some hidden vertue, to judge of their yoong-ones, different and more lively then ours. The maner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, mooving, living and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their mooving-causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way departe from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Phisitions propose the example of beasts manner of life, and proceeding vnto vs: for this common saying is alwayes in the peoples mouth:

*Tenez chauds les pieds & la teste,
Au demeurant vivez en beste.
Keepe warme (t's meete) thy head and feete:
In all the rest, live like a beast.*

Ionb. err. pep.

Generation is the chiefeft naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members, fittest for that purpose; neverthelesse, they bidde vs range our selves vnto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectually

—more ferarum,

Lucr. l. 4. 1256.

*Quadrupedumq; magis ritu, plerumque putantur
Concipere uxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,
Pectoribus positis, sublati semina lumbis.*

And reject those indiscreete and insolent motions, which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and vse of beastes of their sexe, as more modest and considerate.

*Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque repugnat,
Clunibus ipsa viri Veneremsi lata retractet,
Atque exossato ciet omni pectore fluctus.
Ejcit enim sulci recta regione viâque
Vomerem, atque locis avertit seminis iclum.*

Med. 1260.

If it be justice to give every one his due, beasts which serve, love & defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kind of equalitie in dispensing of what they have to their yong-ones. Touching frendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively, and shew it more constantly, then men. *Hircanus* a Dogge of *Lyfimachus* the King, his maister being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corpes was removed thence, he followed it, and lastly flung himselfe into the fire, where his maister was burned. As did also the dogge of one called *Pyrrhus*, who after hee was dead, would never bouge from his maisters cowch, and when he was remooved, suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his maister was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection, which without counsell of reason arise sometimes in vs, proceeding of a casual temerity, which som call *Sympathie*: beasts as well as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kind of acquaintance one of another, so that often, travelling by the high-way, or feeding together, wee have much adoe to keepe them asunder, wee see them bend and applie their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were vpon a certaine visage; and when they meete with any such, with signes of joy, and demonstration of good-will, to joine and accost them, and to hate and shunne some other formes and colours. Beastes, as well as wee, have choise in their loves, and are

*To chuse a
whelp*

very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether void of our extreame and vnapeasable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either naturall, and necessary, as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither necessary nor naturall: Of this last kinde are almost all mens: For, they are all superfluous and artificiall. It is wonderfull to see with how little, nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for vs to be desired. The preparations in our kitchins, doe nothing at all concerne hir lawes. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one Olive a day. The delicacie of our wines, is no parte of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing, which we adde vnto our litcherous appetites.

Hor. ser. li. i. sat.
2.30.

neque illa

Mugno prognatum despoicit consule cunnum.

These strange lustfull longings, which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion have possesse vs with, are in number so infinite, that in a maner they expell all those which are naturall: even as if there were so many strangers in a Cittie, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or vtterly suppress their ancient power and authoritie, and absolutely vsurping the same, take possession of it. Brute beastes are much more regular then we; and with more moderation containe themselves within the compasse, which nature hath prescribed them: yet not so exactly, but that they have some coherencie with our riotous licentiousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings and vnntaurall desires, which have provoked men vnto the love of beastes, so have diverse times some of them beene drawne to love vs, and are possessed with monstrous affections from one kinde to another: witnesse the Elephant, that in the love of an hearb-wife, in the Cittie of *Alexandria*, was corivall with *Aristophanes* the Grammarian; who in all offices pertaining to an earnest woer and passionate suter, yeelded nothing vnto him: For, walking through the fruite-market, hee would here and there snatch-yp some with his truncke, and carry them vnto her: as neere as might be he would never loose the sight of her: and now and then over her band put his truncke into hir bosome, and feele her breasts. They also reporte of a Dragon, that was exceedingly in love with a yong maiden; and of a Goose in the Cittie of *Asope*, which dearly loved a yong childe: also of a Ramme that belonged to the Musitian *Glausia*. Do we not dayly see Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beastes given to love the males of their owne sexe? *Oppianus* and others reporte some examples, to shew the reverence and manifest the awe, some beastes in their marriages, beare vnto their kindred: but experience makes vs often see the contrary:

Ovid. Metam.
li. 10. 325.

— nec labeitur turpe iuvence

Ferre patrem tergo: sit equo sua filia coniux:

Quasquo creavit, imit pecudes caper: ipsaque cuius

Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.

To beare her Sire the Heifer shameth not:

The Horse takes his owne Fillies maidenhead:

The Goate gets them with yong, whom he begot:

Birds breede by them, by whom themselves were bred.

Touching a subtiler pranke and wittie trick, is there any so famous as that of *Thales* the Philosophers Mule, which, laden with salte, passing through a river chanced to stumble, so that the sackes she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salte (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, as soone as she came neere any water, together with her load to plunge herselfe therein, vntill her maister, being aware of her craft, commanded hir to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier; the Mule finding her selfe deceived, vsed her former policie no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the visage of our avarice, who with a greedy kind of desire endeavour to surpris whatsoever comes within their reach, and though they reape no commoditie, nor have any vse of it, to hide the same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceede vs, not onely in foresight to spare, and gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging therevnto. As the Ants, when they perceive their corne to grow mustie, and graine to be sowre, for feare it should rot and putrifie, spread the same abroad before their neastes, that so it may aire and drie. But the caution they vse in gnawing, and prevention they imploy in paring their graines

graines of wheate, is beyond all imagination of mans wit : Because wheate doth not alwaies keepe drie nor wholesome, but moisten, melt and dissolve into a kinde of whey, namely when it beginneth to bud, fearing it should turne to seede, and loose the nature of a store-house, for their sustenance, they pare and gnawe off the end whereat it wants to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest and most glorious of all humane actions, I would faine know, if we will vse it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecilitie and imperfection, as in truth, the science wee vse to defeate and kill one another, to spoile and vtterly to overthrow our owne kinde, it seemeth, it hath not much to make it selfe to be wished-for in beastes, that have it not.

— quando leonis

Ioven. sat. 15.
160.

Fortior eripuit vitam leo, quo nemore unquam

Expiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?

When hath a great lion dammified

A lions life? in what wood ever di de,

A bore by tusks and gore,

Of any greater bore?

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it : witnesse the furious encounters of bees, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

— saepe duobus

Virg. Georg. 1.4
67.

Regibus incessit magno discordia motu,

Continuòq; animos vulgi & trepidantia bello

Corda licet longè præsciscere.

Of times twixt two no great Kings great dissention

With much adoe doth set them at contention;

The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,

And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

I never marke this divine description, but mee thinkes I reade humane foolishnesse and worldly vanitie painted in it. For, these motions of warre, which out of their horror and astonishment breede this tempest of cries, and clang of sounds in vs:

Fulgur ubi ad cælum se tollit, totaq; circum

Lucr. 1.2.326.

Aere remidescit tellus, subterq; virum vi

Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamoreq; montes

Illi reieclant voces ad sidera mundi.

Where lightning raifeth it selfe to the skies,

The earth shines round with armour, soundes doerise

By mens force vnder feete, wounded with noyse

The hilles to hea'v'n reverberate their voyce.

This horror-causing aray of so many thousands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and vndaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions it is raised and set on fire, and by what light meanes it is againe suppressed and extinct.

— Paridis propter narratur amorem

Hor. 1.1. epist. 2.
6.

Gracia Barbaria diro collisa duello.

For Paris lustfull love (as Stories tell)

All Greece to direfull warre with Asia fell.

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure, a familiar suspect, or a jealousie; causes, which ought not to moove two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleeeve them that are the principall authors and causes thereof? Let vs but hearken vnto the greatest and most victorious Emperour, and the mightiest that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and wittily he plaies, at so many battells and bloody fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand souls, which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of two partes of the world consumed and drawne drie for the service of his enterprises:

Quod fuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi penam

Mart. 1.11.6.
pag. 21.

Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.

Fulviam ego uti futuam? quid si me Manius ores

Pedicem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.

Aus

*Aut futue, aut pugnemus, ait: quid si mihi vita
Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.*

(I use my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is with that leave which you have given mee,) This vaste huge bodie hath so many faces and severall motions, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

*Virg. Æn. l. 7.
717.*

*Quam multi Lybico voluntur marmore fluctus
Sævus ubi Orion hybernis conditur undis:*

Vel cum sole novo dense torrentur arista,

Aut Hermi campo, aut Lycia flaventibus arvis,

Scuta sonant, pulsusq; pedum tremat excita tellus.

As many waves, as rowle in Affricke marble-soundes,

When fierce Oryon hides in Winter waves his head:

Or when thicke-eares of Corne are parch't by Sunne new-spredd.

In Hermus fruitfull fields, or Lyciaes yellow grounds,

With noyse of shields and feete, the trembling earth so soundes.

This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-raging-monster, is man; wretched, weake and miserable man: whom if you consider well, what is he, but a crawling, and ever-moving Antes-neat?

*Virg. Æn. l. 4.
404.*

It nigrum campis agmen:

The fable-coloured band,

Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of a flight of Ravens, the false pafe of a Horse, the casuall flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist, an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overwhelme, and able to pul him to the ground. Let the Sunne but shine hote vpon his face, he faintes and swelters with heate: Cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our ensignes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to route: (For as I remember it was he whom Sertorius vanquished in Spaine, with all these goodly armes,) which also served Eumenes against Antigonus, and Surenas against Crassus:

*Virg. Georg. l. 4.
86.*

Hi motus animorum, atq; hæc certamina tanta,

Pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescent.

These stomake-motions, these contentions great,

Calm'd with a little dust, strait loofe their heate.

Let vs but vncouple some of our ordinary flies, and let loose a few gnats among them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to consume him. The Portugalls not long since beleagring the City of Tamby, in the territory of Xiatine, the inhabitants thereof, brought great store of Hives, (whereof they have plentie) vpon their walls: And with fire drove them so forcibly vpon their enemies, who as vnable to abide their assaults, and endure their stings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of helpe was the liberty of the Towne gained, and victory purchased; with so happy successe, that in their retreating, there was not one townes-man found wanting. The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mold. Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are mooved, stirred and remooved in their motions, by the same springs and wardes, that we are in ours. The same reason that makes vs chide and braule, and fall out with anie of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes vs whippe or beate a lackey, maketh a Prince (if he apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more. Alike desires perturb both a skinne-worme, and an Elephant. Touching trust and faithfulnessse, there is no creature in the worlde so treacherous as man. Our histories report the earnest pursuite and sharpe chase, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King Pirrhus finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and vnderstanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred, & took the Dog along with him. It fortun'd one day (as Pirrhus was surveying the Generall Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murthered his maister, loud-barking, and with great rage ranne furiously vpon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his maisters revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge be-
longing

longing to *Hesiodus*, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of *Ganister* of *Nau-pacta*, of the murder committed on his Maisters Person. Another Dogge being appoynted to watch a temple in *Athens*, having perceived a sacrelegious theefe, to carry away the fairest jewels therein, barked at him so long as he was able, and seeing he could not awaken the Sextons or Temple-keepers, followed the theefe, whither-soever he went; daie-light being come, he kept himselfe a loofe-off, but never lost the sight of him: if he offered him meate, he vtterly refused it; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with wagging his taile, and tooke whatever they offered him; If the theefe staid to rest himselfe, he also stayed in the same place: The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple-keepers, they as they went along, enquiring of the Dogges haire and colour, pursued his tracke so long, that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the City of *Cromion*, whom they brought backe to *Athens*, where for his offence he was severely punished. And the judges in acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Citties charge appoynted him for his sustenance a certaine dayly measure of corne, and enjoyned the Priestes of the Temple, carefully to looke vnto him. *Plutarke* affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have happened in his time. Touching gratitude and thankfulnessse, (for me thinks we had neede to further this word greatly) this onely example shall suffice, of which *Appion* reporteth to have beene a spectator himselfe. One day (saith he) that the Senate of *Rome*, (to please and recreate the common people) caused a great number of wild beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, it so fortun'd, that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and stately carriage, of his vnmatched strength, of his great limmes, and of his loude, and terror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze vpon him. Amongest other slaves, that in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beastes, there chanced to be one *Androdus* of *Dafu*, who belonged vnto a Roman Lord, by office a Confull. This huge Lyon, having eyed him a farre off, first made a sodaine stoppe, as stricken into a kinde of admiration, then with a mylde and gentle countenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached vnto him: Which done, and resting assured he was the man he tooke him for, begunne fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that fawne vpon their new-found maisters, and lickte the poore and miserable slaves handes, and thighs, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. *Androdus* at last taking hart of grace; and by reason of the Lyons myldenesse having rouzed vp his spirits, and wishly fixing his eies vpon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, and blandishments, ech endeavored to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raising a loud crie, and by their shouting and clapping of handes seeming to be much pleased; the Emperour willed the slave to bee brought before him, as desirous to vnderstand of him the cause of so strange and feld-seene an accident: Who related this new, and wonderfull story vnto him.

My maister (saith he) being Procoufull in *Affrica*, forsomuch as he caused me every day to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being weary of my life, to runne away: And safely to scape from so imminent a person, and who had so great authoritie in the countrie, I thought it best to get me into the desert, and most vnfrequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compasse the meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my selfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extreemly hote, and the scorching heate thereof intolerable, I fortun'd to come vnto a wilde-vnhanted cave, hidden amongst crags, and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever beene; therein I hid my selfe: I had not long beene there, but in comes this Lion, with one of his pawes fore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall, I was much dismaide, but he seeing mee lie close-cowering in a corner of his denne, gently made his approaches vnto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and seemed with shewing the same humbly to sue, and suppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I, moved with ruth, taking it into my hand, pulled out a great splint, which was gotten into-it, and shaking-off all feare, first I wrung and crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter, which therein was gathered, to come forth; then, as gently as for my hart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and dried the same. He feeling some ease in his griefe, and his paine to cease, still holding his foote betweene my hands, begunne to sleepe and take some rest. Thence forward hee and I lived

*Androdus &
a Lyon*

"no doubt

lived together, the full space of three yeares in his denne, with such meate as he shifted-for: For, what beastes he killed. or what prey soever he tooke, hee ever brought home the better parte, and shared-it with me, which for want of fire, I rosted in the Sunne, and therewith nourished my selfe all that while. But at last wearied with this kinde of brutish life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having wandred vp and downe three dayes, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from *Africa* brought me into this Cittie to my maister againe, who immediately condemned me to death, & to be deuoured by wilde beasts. And as I now perceiue, the same Lion was also shortly after taken, who as you see hath now requited me of the good- turne I did him, and the health which by my meanes he recovered. Behold here the historie, *Androdus* reported vnto the Emperour, which after he caused to be declared vnto all the people, at whose generall request, he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his punishment, and by the common consent of all, had the Lion bestowed vpon him. *Appion* saith further, that *Androdus* was dayly seene to leade the Lion vp and downe the streetes of *Rome*, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, receive such money ^{as} was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and strowed with flowers, all over and over, many saying when they met him: yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste, and yonder is the man that is the Lions Phisitian. We often mourne and weepe, for the losse of those beastes we love, so doe they many times for the losse of vs.

Arg. Æn. l. II.
89.

Post bellator equus positus insignibus Æthon

It lacrimans, guttisque humedat grandibus ora.

Next, *Æthon* horse of warre, all ornaments laide downe,

Goes weeping, with great drops bedewe's his cheekes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne; so have some beastes; yet some there are, that observe their marriages, with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of neede helpe one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other beastes being hurtt by vs, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to ayde him, and in his defense will joine all together. The fish, called of the Latines *Escara*, having swallowed the fishers hooke, his fellowes will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in sunder; and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellowes turning his head away, will put his taile in at the necke of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave him, vntill they have pulled him out. The barble fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged, will set the line against their backs, and with a finne they have, toothed like a sharpe saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which wee for the benefit of our life, draw one from another, many like examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly believed, that the Whale never swimmeth, vnlesse she have a little fish going before her, as her vangard, it is in shape like a gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it the Whales-guide; for, she doth ever follow him, suffering her selfe, as easily to be led and turned by him, as a ship is directed and turned by a stearne: for requitall of which good turne, whereas all things else, be it beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible *Chaos* of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and deuoured, this little fish, doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepe very quietly, and as long as hee sleepe, the whale never stirres; but as soone as he awaketh and goeth his way, wherever hee takes his course she alwayes followeth him, and if she fortune to loose him, she wanders here and there, and often striketh vpon the rocks, as a ship that hath no mast nor rudder. This, *Plutarke* witnesseth to have seene in the Iland of *Anticyra*. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren, and the Crocodill: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to so great a monster: And if the *Ichneumon*, which is his mortall ennemie approach to fight with him, the little birdlet, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the scraps, and feedeth vpon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mammoakes of flesh as sticke betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he dooth first warne him to be gone, faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The shell.

shell-fish called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnothere, which is a little creature like vnto a Crabfish, and as his porter or vsler waites vpon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keepes gaping, vntill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, vntill hee makes him close his shell, and so they both together fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the maner of the Tunnies life, may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the Mathematickes. First for Astrologic, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: For, wheresoever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there do they stay themselves, & neuer stirre till the next Equinoctium, and that is the reason why *Aristotle* doth so willingly ascribe that arte vnto them: Then for Geometrie and Arithmetike, they alwayes frame their shole of a Cubike figure, every way square: and so forme a solide, close and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of six equall sides. Thus orderly marshaled, they take their course and swim whither their jorney tends, as broad and wide behind as before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one ranke, may easily number all the troope, for so much as the number of the depth is equall vnto the bredth, and the bredth vnto the length. Touching magnanimitie and haughtie corage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rarer patterne, then that of the Dog, which from *India* was sent vnto *Alexander*: to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no accompt of them, and would not so much as remoove out of his place for them, but when he saw a Lion; he presently rowzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast worthy to enter combat with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging of faults committed, it is reported, that an Elephant having through rage of choller slaine his governor, conceived such an extreame inward grieffe, that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffered himselfe to pine to death. Touching clemencie, it is reported of a Tigre (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all) who having a Kid given her to feede vpon, endured the force of gnawing hunger, two dayes together, rather then she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength brake the cage, wherein she was kept-pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding; as one vnwilling to seize vpon the feely Kid her familiar & guest. And concerning privileges of familiaritie and sympathie, caused by conversation, is it not oft seene, how some make Cats, Dogs and Hares so tame, so gentle & so milde, that without harming one another they shal live and continue togither? But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of *Sicilie*, of the qualitie & condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some call it Alcedo or kings-fisher, exceeds all mans conceit. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much preferre both their hatching, sitting, brooding and birth? Poets faine, that the Iland of *Deles*, being before wandring and fleeing vp and downe, was for the delivery of *Latona* made firme and settled. But Gods decree hath beene, that all the watry wildernesse should be quiet and made calme, without raigne, wind or tempest, during the time the *Halcyon* sitteth and bringeth forth hir yoong-ones, which is much about the Winter *Solstitium*, and shortest day in the yeare: By whose Priviledge even in the hart & deadeft time of Winter we have seyn calme dayes, and as many nightes to saile without any danger. Their Hennes know no other Cocke but their own: They never forsake him al the dayes of their life; and if the Cocke chaunce to be weake and crazed, the Henne will take him vpon hir neck, and carry him with hir, wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even vntill death. Mans witte could never yet attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the *Halcyon* useth in contriving of her nest, no, nor devise what it is of.

Plutarke, who hath seene and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compacts, and conjoyneth together, enterlasing some long, and some crosse-ways, adding some fouldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kinde of vessell, readie to floate and swim vpon the water: which done she carrieth the same where the Sea-waves beate most; there the Sea gentlie beating vpon it, shews her how to daube and patch vp the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribbes, that are not fast, but stirre with the Sea-waves: And on the other side, that which is closely wrought, the Sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoine together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loosen, divide or break the same, except with great violence; and what is most to be wondred at, is the proportion and figure of the con-

The Halcyon

cavities within; for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it can receive or admit no manner of thing, but the Bird that built it; for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and hard, that nothing can possibly enter in: no, not so much as the Sea-water. Lo, here a most plaine description of this building, or construction taken from a very good Author: yet methinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve vs of the difficultie in this kinde of Architecture. Now from what vanitie can it proceede, we should so wilfully contemne, and disdainfully interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive? But to follow this equalitie or correspondencie betweene vs and beasts somewhat further; the priviledge whereof our soule wants to bring to hir condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs vnto it, to marshall those things, which she deemeth worthy hir acquaintance, to disrobe and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as superfluous and base garments, thicknes, length, deapth, weight, colour, smell, roughnes, smoothnes, hardnes, softnes and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appropriate them to hir immortall and spirituall condition: so that *Rome* and *Paris*, which I have in my soule; *Paris* which I imagine; yea I imagine and conceive the same without greatnes and place, without stone and morter, and without wood: Then say I vnto my selfe, the same priviledge seemeth likewise to be in beasts: for, a Horse accustomed to heare the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom wee see to snort, to startle, and to neigh in his sleepe, as he lyes a long vpon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly; it is most certaine, that in his minde he apprehends the sound of a drum without any noyse, and an armie without armes or bodie.

Lucr. l. 4. 802.

*Quippe videbis equos fortes, cum membra iacebunt
In somnis, sudare tamen, spirareque saepe,
Et quasi de palma summas contendere vires.
You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleepe
Their limbs lie, yet sweate, and a snorting keepe,
And stretch their utmost strength,
As for a goale at length.*

That Hare, which a grey-hound imagineth in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we see him bay, quest, yelp and snort, stretch out his taile, shake his legges and perfectly represent the motions of his course; the same is a Hare without bones, without haire.

16. 986.

*Venantiumque canes in molli saepe quiete,
Iactant crura tamen subito, vocisque repente
Mittunt, & crebras reducunt naribus auras,
Ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:
Expergeturque, sequuntur inania saepe
Cervorum simulacra, fugae quasi dedita cernant:
Donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se.
Of times the hunters dogs in easie rest
Stir their legs, sodainly, open, and quest,
And send from nostrils thicke-thicke snuffing sent,
As if on traile they were of game full-bent:
And wakned so, they follow shadows vaine
Of deere in chase, as if they fled amaine:
Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.*

Those watching. Dogs, which in their sleepe we sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to startle sodainly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arrive: that stranger which their minde seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived, without any demension, colour, or being:

16. 993

*Consuetudine domi catulorum blanda propago
Degere, saepe levem ex oculis volucrumque soporem
Discutere, & corpus de terra corripere instant,
Proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tueantur.*

The fawning kinde of whelpes, at home that liv's,
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv's,
And from the ground their starting body hie,

As if some vnknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about hir description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie is either in nature or in generall, since we give so many, and attribute so diuers formes to humane beautie, yea and to our beautie: Of which if there were any natural or lively description, we should generally knowe it, as we doe the heate of fire. We imagine and faine hir formes, as our fantasizies leade vs.

Turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.

A Dutch-froes collour hath no grace,

Scene in a Romane Ladies face.

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy, with blabberd-thicke lippes, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they loade with great-gold-rings hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather-lippes with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chinnes, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the rootes. In Peru, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie, they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seene in a province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them great, and so to loade them with heaue jewels, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other nations, who endeavor to make their teeth as blacke as jet, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of Baske, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven; and which is strange, in some of the northerly frozen-countries, as *Plinie* affirmeth. Those of *Mexico*, esteeme the littlenes of their foreheads, as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their body besides, by artificiall means they labor to nourish and make it growe onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great duges, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth ilfavordnes. The Italians proportion-it big and plum; The Spaniards spynie and lanke, and amongst vs one would have hir white, another broune, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie: some desire wantonnes and blithnes, and other some sturdines and majestie to be joyned with it. Even as the preheminance in beautie, which *Plato* ascribeth vnto the Sphericall figure, the Epicurians refferre the same vnto the Pyramidall and square; and say they cannot swallow a God made rounde like a bowle. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more priviledged vs in that, then in other things, concerning common lawes. And if we imparcially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde, that if there be any creature or beaste lesse favored in that, then we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath beene more favorable then to vs. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur. We are excelled in comelines, By many living creatures:* Yea of terrestriall creatures, that live with vs. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in collour, in neatenes, in smoothnes and in disposition, we must give place vnto them: which in all qualities we must likewise do to the airy ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeeld vnto our vpright stature, looking towards heaven whence hir beginning is,

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,

Os homini sublime dedit, calumque videre

Iussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,

A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie

On heav'n, rais'd his high count'nance to the skie.

is meere poetical, for there are many little beasts, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and vpright, then ours. What beasts have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly opposit, as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in *Plato* and in *Cicero* cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward apparence and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!

Bb 2

Proper. l. 2. d. 18
36.

Beautie

Ouid Metam.
l. 184.

Cic. Nat. Deo. l.
1. Emi.

An

An Ape, a most ill-favored beast,

How like to vs in all the rest?

As for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truly, when I consider man all naked (yea be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednes, then any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more then vs; with their beauties to adorne vs, and vnder their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of fethers, and of silke to shroude vs. Let vs moreover observe, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne fellowes, and he alone that in naturall actions must withdrawe and sequester himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthie consideration, that the skilfullest maisters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venereian passions, a free and full survey of the body which one longeth and seekes after: and that to coole the longing and aswage the heate of friendship, one neede but perfectly view and thoroughly consider what he loveth.

Ovid. repu. Am.
lib. 2. 33.

Ille quod obscenas in aperto corpore partes

Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, haesit amor;

The love stode still, that ranne in full careere,

When bare it sawe parts that should not appeare.

And although this remedie may happily proceede from a squeamish and cold humor: yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecillitie, that the vse and knowledge should so make vs to be cloyd one of another. It is not bashfulnes so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and vnwilling to let vs come into their closets before they are fully readie, and thoroughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves;

Lucr. l. 4. 1176.

Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit, quod magis ipsa

Omnia summopere hos vitæ post scæna celant,

Quos retinere volunt adstrictoque esse in amore.

Our Mistresses knowe this, which maketh them not disclose

Parts to be plaid within, especially from those

Whom they would servants hold, and in their love-bands close.

Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, & pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements & ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seene to shine amongst vs, even as starres vnder a corporall and terrestriall vaile. Moreover that part of nature's favors, which we impart vnto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous vnto them. We ascribe vnto our selves imaginarie and fantastick goods, future and absent goods; which humane capacitie can no way warrant vnto hir selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falcely ascribe vnto our selves; as reason, honor and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the maneagable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart vnto vs. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if *Heraclytus* and *Pherecydes* could have changed their wisdom with health, and by that meanes; the one to have rid himselfe of the dropsie, and the other of the slow sicke-evil, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done it: whereby they also yeelde so much more honor vnto wisdom, by comparing and counterposing the same vnto health, then they doe in this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if *Circes* had presented *Ulysses* with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, then have beene pleased, that *Circes* should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdom hir selfe would thus have spoken vnto him: *Meddle not with me, but leave me rather then thou shouldest place me vnder the shape and body of an Asse.* What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Philosophers contented then, to quit it for a corporall and earthly vaile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse, and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare vnto our beauty, vnto our faire hew, & goodly disposition of limbs,

that

that we reject, and set our vnderstanding at nought, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenuous and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labor to pamper, to be meere fantazies. Suppose, beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiencie of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared vnto a miserable, wretched, and senseles man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of vs, must (as we will shew anon) draw somewhat neere-it. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not long of a true discourse, but of a foolish-hardines, and selfe-prefuming obstinacie, we prefer our selves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose, we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, vncertainty, sorrow, superstition, carefulnes for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnes, jelousie, envie, inordinate, mad and vntamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthie discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readines to judge, or capacite to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are vncessantly enthralled. If we be not pleased (as *Socrates* is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath prescribed them certaine seasons, and bowndes for their naturall lust and voluptuousnes, she hath given vs at all hours and occasions the full reines of them. *Vt vinum agrotis, quia prodest raro, nocet sapissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quam, spe dubia salutis in apertam perniciem incurrere: Sic, haud scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem, cogitationis acumen, solertiam, quem rationem vocamus, quoniam pestifera sint multis, admodum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quam tam munificè & tam largè dari.* As it is better not to use wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, then in hope of doubtful health to runne into vndoubted danger; so doe I not knowe, whither it were better that this swift motion of the thought, this sharpenes, this conceitednes, which we call reason, should not at all be given to mankinde (because it is pernicious vnto many, and healthfull to very few) then that it should be given so plentifully and so largely. What good or commoditie may we imagine this farre-vnderstanding of so many things brought ever vnto *Varro*, and to *Aristotle*? Did it ever exempt, or could it at any time free them from humane inconveniences? Were they ever discharged of those accidents that incidently follow a seellie labouring man? Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from logike? And howbeit they knew the humor engendring the same to lodge in the joynts, have they felt-it the lesse? Did they at any time make a covenant with death, although they knew full well that some nations rejoyce at hir comming? as also of Cuckoldship, because they knew women to be common in some countries? But contrariwise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the other among the Græcians, yea and at such times wherein sciences flourished most, we could never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life. Wee see the Græcian hath beene put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that sensuality, and health are more pleasing vnto him that vnderstands Astrologie and Grammar?

*Cic. Nat. Deor.
lib. 3.*

(*Illiteratum minus nervi rigent?*
As stiffe vnlearned sinnewes stand,
As theirs that much more vnderstand.)

or shame and poverty lesse importunate and vexing?

*Scilicet & morbis, & debilitate carebis,
Et luctum, & curam effugies, & tempora vita
Longa tibi posthac fato meliore dabuntur.*

*Juven. sat. 14.
156.*

Thou shalt be from disease and weakenesse free,
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee.
Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

I have in my dayes seene a hundred Artificers, and as many laborers, more wise and more happy, then some Rectors in the vniversity, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinkes Learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glory, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed steade the same; but a far-off, and more in conceipt, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth, than the Cranes and Antes have in theirs. Which

notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintaine themselves. If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessarie for life. Hee that shall number vs by our actions and proceedings, shall doubtlesse finde many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, then among the wiser sorte: I meane in all kinde of Vertues. My opinion is, that ancient *Rome* brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, then this late learned *Rome*, which with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the auncient; for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which happily would draw me further then I would willingly followe: yet this much I will say more, that *onely humilitie and submission is able to make a perfect honest man*. Every one must not have the knowledge of his ducie referred to his owne judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed vnto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecilitie of our reasons, and infinite variety of our opinions, wee might peradventure forge and devise such duties vnto our selves, as would induce vs (as *Epicurus* saith) to endeavor to destroy and deuoure one another. *The first law that ever God gave vnto man, was a Law of pure obedience*. It was a bare and simple commandement, wherof man should enquire & know no further: forasmuch as *to obey is the proper duty of a reasonable soule acknowledging a heavenly and superiour benefactor*. From obeying and yeelding vnto him proceede all other vertues; even as all sinnes derive from selfe-over-weening. Contrary-wise, the first temptation that ever seized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Diuels instigation, whose first poison, so farre insinuated it selfe into vs, by reason of the promises he made vs of wisdom and knowledge, *Eritis sicut discipulos bonum & malum. You shalbe like Gods, knowing both good and evill*. And the Syrens, to deceive *Ulysses*, and allure him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares offer to give him the full fruition of Knowledge. *The opinion of Wisdom is the plague of man*. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our religion recommended vnto vs, as an instrument fitting beleefe, and obedience. *Cavete, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam & inanes seductiones, secundum elementa mundi. Take heed, lest any man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world*. All the Phylosopers of all the sects that ever were, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefeest felicitie or *summum bonum* consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and body: but where shall we find-it?

Genesis c. 3. 5.

Coloss. c. 2. 8.

Hor. li. i. epist.
l. antepen.

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum:
Precipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.*
In summe, who wise is knowne, is lesse then Iove alone,
Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,
Chiefely in health, but when fleagme trouble brings.

It seemeth verely, that Nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition, hath allotted vs no other portion but presumption. It is therefore (as *Epictetus* saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne, but the vse of his opinions. Our hereditary portion is nothing but smoke and winde. The Gods (as saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sickenesse in concept. *Man cleane contrary; possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially*. We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to bee of force: For, all our felicities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunte himselfe. There is nothing (saith *Cicero*) so delightfully and pleasant as the knowledge of Letters; of Letters I say, by whose meanes the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the seas of this vast vniverse, are made knowne vnto vs. They have taught vs religion, moderation, flowtnesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darkenesse, to make her see, and distinguish of all things, the high as well as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supply vs with all such things as may make vs live happily and well, and instruct vs how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly Orator to speake of the Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effectes, a thousand poore seely women in a country towne have lived, and live a life much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant, then ever he did,

— Deus

— Deus ille fuit Deus, inchoate Memmi,

Lucr. 5. 8.

Qui princeps vite rationem invenit eam, que
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillo & tam clara luce locavit:
Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found,
That course of mans life, which now is renown'd
By name of wisdom; who by arte reposde,
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composde,
From so great darkenesse, so great waves opposde.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a slight accident brought this wisemans vnderstanding to a farre worse condition, than that of a simple shepheard: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdom. Of like impudence is the promise of *Democritus* his Booke. *I will now speake of all things*: And that fond title which *Aristotle* gives vs of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of *Chrysippus*, that *Dion* was as vertuous as God: And my *Seneca* saith, he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well, that he hath of himselfe. Like vnto this other, *In virtute verè gloriamur: quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus*. We rightly vaunt vs of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves. This also is *Senecaes*, that the wise man hath a fortitude like vnto Gods; but inhumane weaknesse, wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common, than to meete with such passages of temerity: There is not any of vs that wil be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God, as he will deeme himselfe wronged to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are wee more jealous of our owne interest, than of our Creators. But we must treade this foolish vanitie vnder foote, and boldly shake off, and lively reject those fond-ridiculous foundations, whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes or power of himselfe, so long will he deny, and never acknowledge what he oweth vnto his Maister: he shall alwayes (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: Hee must be stripped into his shirt. Let vs consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. *Possidonius* having long time beene grieved with a painefull-lingering disease, which with the smarting-paine made him to wring his hands, and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne griefe, with exclaiming and crying out against it: *Doe what thou list, yet will I never say that thou arte perill or paine*. Hee feeleth the same passions that my lackey dooth, but hee boasteth himselfe, that at least he conteineth his tongue vnder the lawes of his sect. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem*: It was not for him, to yeelde in deedes, who had so braved it in words. *Archeſilas* lying sicke of the gowt, *Carneades* comming to visite him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had beene angry, was going away againe, but he called him backe, & shewing him his feet and breast, said vnto him, there is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for hee feeleth himselfe grieved with sickenesse, and would faine be ridde of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakened thereby, the other stands vpon his stiffenesse (as I feare) more verball then essentiall. And *Dionysius Heracleores* being tormented with a violent smarting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quitte these Stoicke resolutions.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpenes of those accidents or mischances; that followe and attend vs; doth she any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher *Pyrrho* being at sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing vnto those that were with him in the ship, to imitate but the securitie of an hog which was aboarde, who nothing at all dismayde, seemed to be hold and out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives vs over to the examples of a Wrestler or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceiue much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of griefe, and other inconveniences, and more vndanted constantie, then ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, vnlesse he were borne, and of himselfe through some naturall habitude, prepared vnto it. What is the cause, the tender members of a childe, or limbes of a horse are much more easily, and with lesse paine cut and incised then ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, onely through the power of imagination,

have false into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases, they never felt but in conceit, when essentiall and true maladies faile vs, then Science and Knowledge lends vs his : This colour or complexion (saith she) presageth some rheumatike defluxion will ensue you : This foultring-hot season menaceth you with some febricitant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indisposition. And at last she will roundly addresse her selfe vnto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigor and sodaine joy can not possibly stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischiefe. Compare but the life of a man subject to these-like imaginations, vnto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it : whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily, before he have it in his reins : As if it were not time enough to endure the sickness when it shall come, he doth in his fantasie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meete with it. What I speake of Physicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all maner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers, who placed chiefe felicitie in the acknowledging of our judgements weakenesse. My ignorance affords mee as much cause of hope as of feare : and having no other regiment for my health, then that of other mens examples, and of the events, I see elsewhere in like occasions, whereof I finde some of all sortes : And relie vpon the comparisons, that are most favourable vnto me. I embrace health with open armes, free, plaine and full; and prepare my appetite to enjoy it, by how much more, it is now lesse ordinary and more rare vnto mee : so farre is it from mee, that I with the bitterness of some new and forced kinde of life, trouble her rest, and molest her ease. Beastes doe manifestly declare vnto vs, how many infirmities our mindes agitation brings vs. That which is told vs of those that inhabite *Bresill*, who die onely through age, which some impute to the clearenesse and calmenesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the calmenesse and clearenesse of their mindes, voyde and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and vnpleasant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderfull kinde of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters, or lawes, and without Kings or any religion. Whence comes it (as we dayly see by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes, are more tough-strong, and more desired in amorous executions? And that the love of a Muletier is often more acceptable, then that of a perfumed-quaint courtier? But because in the latter, the agitation of his minde doth so distract, trouble and weary the force of his body; as it also troubleth and wearieth it selfe, who doeth belie, or more commonly cast the same downe even into madnesse, but her owne promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to conclude her proper force? *Whence procedes the subtlest follie, but from the subtlest wisdom?* As from the extreamest friendships proceede the extreamest enities, and from the foundest healths, the mortallest diseases; so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our mindes ensue the most distempered and outrageous frenzies. There wants but halfe a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions, we see how filly folly futeeth and meets with the strongest operations, of our minde. Who knowes not how vnperceivable the neighbourhood betweene folly with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a supreme and extraordinary vertue? *Plato* affirmeth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disciplinable; So are there none more inclinable vnto follie. Diverse spirits are seene to be overthrowne by their owne force, and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted vnto the ayre of true ancient poeie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and selfe-gladnesse, above all other Italian Poets that have bin of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding vnto this his killing vivacitie? vnto this clearenesse, that hath so blinded him? vnto his exact and farre-reaching apprehension of reason, which hath made him voyde of reason? vnto the curious and laborious pursure of Sciences, that have brought him vnto sottishnesse? vnto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited then pittied him, when I saw him at *Ferrara*, in so pitteous a plight, that he survived himselfe misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which vnwitting to him, and even to his face, have beene published both vncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overwhelm him in the darke
pit

pit of idlenesse, and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes, and wallowish to evils, drawes this incommodie after-it, it is also consequently the same, that makes vs lesse sharpe and greedy to the enjoying of good, and of pleasures: It is true, but the miserie of our condition beareth, that wee have not so much to enjoy, as to shun; and that extreame voluptuousnes doth not so much pinch vs as a light smart: *Segnius homines bona quam mala sentiunt.* Men have a duller feeling of a good turne, then of an ill, we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health, as we have of the least sicknesse.

Ibid. 932.

pungit

Ennius.

In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,

Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc inquit unum

Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; cetera quisquam

Vix queat aut sanum sese, aut sentire valentem.

A light stroke that dooth scarfe the top-skinne wound,

Greeves the gall'd body, when in health to be;

Doth scarfe move any: onely ease is found,

That neither side nor foote tormenteth me:

Scarfe any in the rest can feele he's found.

Our being in health, is but the privation of being ill. See wherefore the sect of Philosophie, that hath most preferred sensualitie, hath also placed the same but to indolencie or vnfeeling of paine. To have no infirmite at all is the chiefeft possession of health; that man can hope-for (as Ennius saide:)

Nimium boni est cui nihil est mali.

He hath but too much good,

Whom no ill hath withstood.

Cic. Tus. qv. l. 3

For, the same tickling and pricking, which a man doth feele in some pleasures, and seemes beyond simple health, and indolencie, this active and moving sensualitie, or as I may terme-it, itching and tingling pleasure aymes but to be free from paine, as her chiefeft scope. The lustfull longing which allures vs to the acquaintance of women, seekes but to expell that paine, which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse-vs-with, and desireth but to alay-it, there by to come to rest, and be exempted from this fever; And so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth-vs to have no evil, it also addresseth vs, according to our condition to a most happy estate. Yet ought it not to be imagined so dull and heavie, that it be altogether sensles. And Crantor had great reason to withstand the vnsensiblenesse of Epicurus, if it were so deeply rooted, that the approaching and birth of evils might gaine say-it. I commend not that vnsensiblenesse, which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I wil feele-it. Verely he that should roote out the knowledge of evil, should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnes, & at last bring man to nothing. *Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit inhumanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore.* This very point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befalls not freely to a man, without either inhumanitie in his minde, or senselesnesse in his body. Sicknesse is not amisse vnto man, comming in hir turne: Nor is he alwayes to shunne paine, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it selfe throwes-vs into hir armes, when she findes her selfe busie to make vs strong against the assaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition; to yeeld-vs the bridle, and give-vs leave to throwd our selves in hir lap, and submit our selves vnto her favour, to shelter vs against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth she else, when she perswades vs to withdraw our thoughts from the evils that possesse-vs, and entertaine them with fore-gon pleasures, and steade-vs as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth vs? *Levationes agriudinum in avocatione a cogitanda molestia, & revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit.* Eases of griefes he reposeth either in calling from the thought of offense, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures. Vnlesse it be, that where force failes her she will vse policie, and shew a trick of nimblenesse and turne away, where the vigor both of her body and armes shall faile her. For, not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience feeleth the burning alteration of a hote-fever, what

Cic. ibid.

what current paiement is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargaine.

Che ricordarsi il ben doppia la noia.

For to thinke of our joy,

Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth, onely to keepe forepast felicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt; as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much lesse.

Ci. Fin. l. 2.

Enrip.

Suavis est laborum praeceptorum memoria.

Of labours overpast,

Remembrance hath sweete taste.

What? shall philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands, to fight against fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feete all humane adversities; will she so faint, as to make me like a fearefull cunny creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For, memory representeth vnto vs, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth any thing in our remembrance, as the desire to forget the same: It is a good way to commend to the keeping,

Cic. fin. bon. l. 1.

and imprint any thing in our minde, to sollicite her to loose the same. And that is false. *Est situm in nobis, ut & adversa, quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, & secunda iucunde & suaviter meminerimus.* This is engrafted in vs, or at least in our power, that we both bury in perpetuall oblivion things past against vs, and recorde with pleasure and delight whatsoever was for vs.

Plu. in vite

Them. 1.

And this is true, *Memini etiam quae nolo; oblivisci non possum quae volo.* I remember even those things I would not; and can not forget what I would. And whose counsell is this? his, *Qui se v-nus sapientem profiteri sit ausus.* Who onely durst professe himselfe a wise man.

Lucr. l. 3. 1086.

Epicur.

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes

Præstrinxit stellas, exortus uti aetherius sol.

Who from all mankind bare for wit the prize,

And dimn'd the starres as when skies Sunne doth rise.

To emptie and diminish the memorie, is it not the ready and onely way to ignorance?

Sen. Oed. act. 3.

sc. 17.

Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.

Ofills a remedie by chance,

And very dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous apparances from the vulgar sorte, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient: alwayes provided, they bring vs content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore, they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could possibly adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weakenesse or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept-it.

Mor. l. epist. 5. 14

— potare, & spargere flores

Incipiam, patiârque vel inconsultus haberi.

I will beginne to strew flowers, and drinke free,

And suffer witlesse, thriftlesse held to bee.

There should many Philosophers be found of *Lycas* his opinion: This man in all other things being very temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedlie with his family, wanting of no duty or office both toward his owne household and strangers, very carefully preserving himselfe from al hurtful things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirites, he was so possessed with this fantasticall conceipt or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sportes and the best Commedies of the worlde. But being at last by the skill of Physitions cured of this maladie, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in sute, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

Mor. lib. 1. epi.

2. 138.

— palme occidistis amici,

Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,

Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.

You

You have not sav'd me, friends, but flaine me quite,
(Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,
And error purg'd, which best did please my spright.

Of a raving like vnto that of *Thrasylaus*, sonne vnto *Pythodorus*, who verily believed, that all the ships that went out from the haven of *Pyræ*, yea and all such as came into-it, did onely travell about his businesse, rejoycing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother *Crito*, having caused him to bee cured, and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so voyde of all care and griefe. It is that, which that ancient Greeke verse saith; That not to be so advised brings many commodities with-it:

Εν τῷ ὀρεῖν γὰρ ὑμῶν, ἡδίστος βίος

Soph. Aia. frag.

The sweetest life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

And as *Ecclesiastes* witnesseth: In much wisdom, much sorrow: And who getteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philosophie doeth in generall termes allow this last remedie, which she ordaineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life, which we can not endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunq; vis exi. Pungit dolor? vel fodiat sanè: si nudus es, da ingulum: sin tectus armis vulcanis, id est fortitudine, resiste.* Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? get out as you will: doth griefe pricke you? and let it perce you to: if you be naked, yeeld your throate: but if you be covered with the armour of *Vulcan*, that is, with fortitude, resist. And that saying vsed of the Græcians in their banquets, which they apply vnto it, *Aut bibat, aut abeat: Either let him carouse, or carry him out of the house:* which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoine, then that of *Cicero*, who verily easily doth change the letter B into V,

Ecclesiastes.

Cic. Tusc. que lib. 2.

Cic. ib. lib. 5.

*Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius a quo
Rideat, & pulset lasciva decentius ætas.*

Hor. lib. 2. epist. 2. ult.

Live well you cannot, them that can give place,
Well have you sported, eaten well, dronke well:
'Tis time you part; least wanton youth with grace
Laugh-at, and knoeke you that with swilling swell.

what is it but a confession of his insufficiencie, and a sending one backe not onely to ignorance, there to be shrowded, but vnto stupiditie it selfe, vnto vnseensiblenes and not being?

— *Democritum postquam matura vetustas
Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:
Sponte sua letho caput obvius obtulit ipse.*
When ripe age put *Democritus* in minde,
That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde
His death went willing, and his life resign'd.

Eucr. lib. 3. 1083.

It is that which *Anthistenes* said, that a man must provide himselfe either of wit to vnderstand, or of a halter to hange himselfe: And that which *Chrysippus* alleaged vpon the speech of the Poet *Tyrtæus*,

*De la vertu, ou de mort approcher.
Or vertue to approach,
Or else let death encroch.*

Plut. in Solons life.

And *Crates* said, that love was cured with hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked not these two meanes, by the halter. That *Sextius*, to whom *Seneca* and *Plutarke* give so much commendation, having given over all things else and betaken himselfe to the studie of Philosophie, seeing the progresse of his studies so tedious and slowe, purposed to cast himselfe into the Sea; Ranne vnto death for want of knowledge: Reade here what the law, saith vpon this subject. If peradventure any great inconvenience happen, which cannot be remedied, the haven is not farre-off, and by swimming may a man save himself out of his body, as out of a leaking boate: for, it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keepes a foole joynd to his body. As life through simplicitie becommeth more pleasant, So (as I ere-while began to say) becommeth-it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant (saith

(saith Saint Paul) raise themselves vp to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, with all the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hel. I rely neither vpon *Valentinianus* (a professed enimie to knowledge and learning) nor vpon *Licinius* (both Romane Emperors) who named them the venime and plague of al politike estates: Nor on *Mahomet*, who (as I have heard) doth vtterly interdict all manner of learning to his subiects. But the example of that great *Lycurgus*, and his authoritie ought to beare cheefe sway, and the reverence of that diuine Lacedemonian-policie so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue & felicitie, without any institution or exercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world, which of late hath bin discovered by the Spaniards, can witnes vnto vs, how those nations being without Magistrates or lawe, live much more regularly and formally then we, who have amongst vs more officers and lawes, then men of other professions, or actions.

*Ariosto can. 14
stan. 84.*

*Di citatorie piene & di libelli,
D'esamine di carte, & di procure
Hanno le mani e'l seno, & gran fastelli
Di chiose, di consigli & di letture,
Per cui le facultà de' poverelli
Non sono mai ne le città sicure,
Hanno dietro & dinanzi & d'ambo i lati,
Notai, procuratori, & advocati.*

Their hands and bosoms with writts and citations,
With papers, libells, proxies, full they beare,
And bundels great of strict examinations,
Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there.
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,
Before, behinde, on each sides Advocates,
Proctors, and Notaries hold-vp debates.

It was that, which a Romane Senator said, that *their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomake perfumed with a good conscience*: and contrarie, the men of his times, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweete odours, but inwardly they stunk of all vices: Which in mine opinion, is as much to say, they had much Knowledge & Sufficiencie, but great want of honestie. Incivilitie, ignorance, simplicitie, and rudnes, are commonly joyned with innocencie: Curiositie, suttletie, and knowledge, are ever followed with malice: Humilitie, feare, obedience, and honestie (which are the principal instruments for the preservation of humane societie) require a single docile soule, and which presumeth little of hir selfe: Christians have a peculier knowledge, how *curiositie is in a man a naturall, and originall infirmitie*. The care to encrease in wisdom and knowledge was the first overthrowe of man-kinde: It is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: It is pride, that misleadeth him from common waies; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a stragling troupe, and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erronious sect, and a teacher of falsehood, then a disciple in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and directed by the hand of others in the readie-beaten high way. It is happily that, which the ancient Greeke proverbe implyeth; *ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, καθάπερ πατήρ, τῷ τυφλῷ περὶ δέλει*. *Superstition obayeth pride as a father*. Oh overweening, how much doest thou hinder vs? *Socrates* being advertised, that the God of wisdom, had attributed the name of wise vnto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searhing and rouzing vp himself, and ransaking the very secrets of his heart, found no foundation or ground for his diuine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wise as he, and more eloquent, more faire, & more profitable to their countrie. In fine he resolved, that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, only because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdom a singular foolishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdom. The sacred writ pronounceth then to be miserable in this world, that esteeme themselves. *Dust and ashes* (saith he): *what is there in thee; thou shouldest so much glorie-of?* And in an other place. God hath made man like vnto a shadowe, of which, who shall judge, when the light being gone, it shall vanish away? *Man is a thing of nothing.*

So

So farre are our faculties from conceiving that high Deytie, that of our Creators workes, those beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we vnderstand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleeve, when they chance to meete with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according vnto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according vnto reason, it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo. God is better knowne by our not knowing him.* Saith Saint Augustine: And Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire: It is a course of more holines and reverence, to holde beliefe, then to have knowledge of Gods actions.* And Plato deemes it to be a vice of impietie, over-curiously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem humani universitatis invenire, difficile: & quum iam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas.* Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, it is unlawfull to reveale him to the vulgar: Saith Cicero, wee easily pronounce puissance, truth and justice; they be words importing some great matter, but that wee cannot possibly see-it, nor conceive or apprehend the same, we say that God feareth, that God will be angrie, and that God loveth.

Sa. Augustine.

Tacitus. mor. German.

Cic. univer.

Immortalia mortali sermone notantes,
Who with termes of mortalitie
Note things of immortality.

Lucr. li. 5. 122.

They be all agitations and emmotions, which according to our forme can have no place in God, nor we imagine them according to his. *It only belongs to God to know himselfe, & interpret his owne workes;* and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to vs, that are, and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom besee me him, which is the choyse betweene good and evill, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we vse to com from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Iustice which distributeth vnto everie man, what belongs vnto him, created for the societie and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his Godhead? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, labours and dangers, appertaineth as little vnto him. And therefore Aristotle holdes him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Neque gratia, neque ira teneri potest, quod quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia.* Nor can hee bee possessed with favour and anger; for all that is so, is but weak. The participation which wee have of the knowledge of truth, whatsoever she is, it is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it vs, in that he hath made choyse of the simple, common and ignorant, to teach vs his wonderful secrets. Our faith hath not beene purchased by vs: it is a gift proceeding from the liberalitie of others. It is not by our discourse or vnderstanding, that wee have received our religion, it is by a forraigne authoritie and commaundement. The weakenesse of our judgement, helpes vs more than our strength to compasse the same, and our blindenesse more then our cleare-sighted eyes. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance, then of our skil, that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvaile if our natural and terrestriall means cannot conceive the supernaturall, or apprehend the celestial knowledge: Let vs adde nothing of our owne vnto it, but obedience & subjection: For, (as it is written,) *I will confound the Wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent, where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world.* Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishnesse? For, seeing the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it hath pleased him, by the vanitie of preaching, to save them that beleeve, yet must I see at last, whether it be in mans power to finde what he seeks-for: and if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength, or solide truth. I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse, that al the benefite he hath gotten by so tedious a pursute, hath bin, that he hath learned to know his owne weakenesse. That ignorance which in vs was naturall, we have with long studie confirmed and averred. It hath happened vnto those that are truly learned, as it happeneth vnto eares of corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, vpright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge, with ripe Corne, they begin to humble and droope downeward. So men having tried, and sounded all, and in all this Chaoes, and huge heap of learning and provision of so infinite different things, and found nothing that is substantiall,

There is three things having no access unto him. C c firme

Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. 10.

I. Corin. 19. 20. 21.

finne and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late knownen their naturall condition. It is that, which *Velleius* vp braides *Coita* and *Cicero* withall, that they have learnt of *Philo*, to have learned nothing, *Pherecydes*, one of the seaven wise, writing to *Thales*, even as he was yeelding vp the Ghost; I have (saith he) appoynted my friends, as sone as I shalbe layed in my grave, to bring thee al my writings. If they please thee, and the other Sages, publish them; if not conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor do they any whit satisfie me. My profession is not to know the truth, nor to attaine-it. I rather open, than discover things. *The wisest that ever was, being demaunded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing.* He verified what som say, that the greatest part of what we know, is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we think to know, is but a parcel, yea & a smal particle of our ignorance. We know things in a dreame (saith *Plato*) & we are ignorant of them in truth. *Omnes penè veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecilles animos, brevia curricula vitæ.* Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be knowne, nothing perceived, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our minds are weake, & the race of our life is short. *Cicero* himself, who ought all he had vnto learning, *Valerius* saith, that in his age he beganne to disesteeme letters: And whilst he practised them, it was without bond to any speciall body, following what seemed probable vnto him, now in the one, and now in the other Sect; ever holding himselfe vnder the Academies doubtfulnessse. *Dicendum est, sed ita ut nihil affirmem: queram omnia, dubitans plurimumque, & mihi diffidens.* Speake I must, but so as I avowch nothing, question al things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my selfe. I should have too much a doe, if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in grose: which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth, not by the weight or value of voyces, but by the number. But leave we the common people,

Cic. divin. 1. 1.

1091

Lucret. 3. 1089

Qui vigilans stertit,
Who snoare while they are awake.
Mortua cui vita est, propè iam vivo atque videnti:
Whose life is dead while yet they see,
And in a maner living be.

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his naturall parts idle. I wil take man even in his highest estate. Let vs consider him in this small number of excellent and choyse men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiere and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with studie and with arte, and have brought and strained vnto the highest pitch of wisdom, it may possibly reach vnto. They have fitted their soule vnto all senses, and squared the same to all byases; they have strengthened and vnder-propped it with all forraine helpes, that might any way fitte or steade hir, and have enriched and adorned hir with whatsoever they haue beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for hir awayle: It is in them, that the extreame height of humane Nature doth lodge. They have reformed the worlde with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with artes and sciences, as also by example of their wonderfull manners and life. I will but make account of such people, of their witnes and of their experience. Let vs see how farre they have gone, and what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects, which we shal finde in that colledge, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion, and saith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after-it. Al Philosophie is divided into these three kindes. Hir purpose is to seeke out the truth, the knowledge and the certainty. The Peripathetikes, the Epicurians, the Stoickes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the Sciences that we have, and as of certaine notions have treated of them; *Clitomachus*, *Carneades* and the *Academikes*, have dispaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not bee conceived by our meanes. The end of these, is weakenesse and ignorance. The former had more followers, and the worst Sectaries. *Pyrrho*, and other *Sceptikes*, or *Epechistes*, whose doctrine or manner of teaching, many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne from *Homer*, from the seaven wise men, from *Archilochus* and *Euripides*, to whome they joyne *Zeno*, *Democritus* and *Xenophanes*, say, that they are still seeking after trueth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived, who imagine they have found-it, and that the second degree is over-boldy vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether vnable to attaine vnto it.

For

for, to stablish the measure of our strength, to know & distinguish of the difficulty of things, is a great, a notable and extreame science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

*Nil sciri quisquis putat, id quoq; nescit,
An sciri possit, quo se nil scire facitur.*

Lucr. l. 4. 471.

Who thinke's nothing is knowne, knowes not that, whereby hee,
Grauntes he knowes nothing, if it knowne may bee.

That ignorance, which is knowne, judged and condemned, is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Phyrionians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himselfe. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former; the last, they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation, either of one or other side, be it never so light. *Zeno* in jesture painted forth his imagination vpon this division of the soules faculties: the open and out-stretched hand was apparaunce; the hand halfe-shutte, and fingers somewhat bending, consent: the fist close, comprehension: if the fist of the left-hand were closely clincked together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or consent, leades them vnto their *Ataraxie*; which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from the agitations, which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge, we imagine to have of things; whence proceede, feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, & the greatest number of corporall evils: yea by that means they are exempted from the jealousie of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: They feare nor revenge, nor contradiction in their disputations. When they say, that heavy things descend downward, they would be loath to be believed, but desire to be contradicted, therby to engender doubt, and suspence of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions, but to contend with those, they imagine wee holde in our concept. If you take theirs, then will they vndertake to maintaine the contrary: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they wil argue on the other side, that it is white. If you say it is neither one nor other, they will maintaine it to be both. If by a certaine judgement, you say that you can not tell, they will maintaine that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative axiome, you swear that you stand in some doubt, they will dispute, that you doubt not of it, or that you cannot judge or maintaine, that you are in doubt. And by this extremitie of doubt, which staggreth it-selfe, they seperate and devide themselves from many opinions, yea from those, which divers wayes have maintained both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be graunted then (say they) as to *Dogmatists* or *Doctrine-teachers*, for one to say greene, and another yellow, so for them to doubt? *Is there any thing can be proposed vnto you, eyther to allow or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtful?* And whereas others be carryed either by the custome of their Cuntry, or by the institution of their Parents, or by chaunce, as by a Tempest, without choyse or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such or such another opinion, to the *Stoike* or *Epicurian Sect*, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast-tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: *Ad quamcumq; disciplinam, velut Tempestate, delati, ad eam tanquam ad saxum, adhærescunt.* Being carryed as it were by a Tempest, to any kind of doctrine, they sticke close to it, as it were to a rocke. Why shal not these likewise be permitted, to maintaine their liberty, and consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hoc liberiores, & solutiones, quod integra illis est indicandi potestas.* They are so much the freer and at liberty, for that their power of judgement is kept entire. Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disingaged from necessitie, which brideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspence, then to entangle himselfe in so many errors, that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion, than to meddle with these sedicious and quarrellous divisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth neverthelesse, that all *Dogmatisme* arriveth; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure, but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combate a hundred and a hundred sides? Is it not better to keep out of this confusion? You are suffe-

Scepticks

Cic. *ibid.*

with:

Cic. *dimin. l. 1.*

red to embrace as your honour and life *Aristotles* opinion, vpon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie and contradict whatsoever *Plato* saith concerning that; and shal they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for *Panaecius* to maintaine his judgement about Auruſpices, Dreames, Oracles and Prophecies, whereof the Stoickes make no doubt at all: Wherefore shall not a wiseman dare that in al things, which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his Maisters? Confirmed and established by the Generall consent of the Schoole whereof he is a Sectarie and a Professor? If it be a Childe that judgeth, he wottes not what it is; if a learned man, he is fore-stalled. They have reserved a great advantage for themselves in the combate, having discharged themselves of the care how to throwd themselves. They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe: And all is fish that comes to net with them: If they overcome, your proposition halteth; if you, theirs is lame; if they prove that nothing is knowne, it is very well: If they cannot prove it, it is good alike: *Vt quum in eadem re paria contrarijs in partibus momenti inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque parte assertio sustinatur.* So as when in the same matter the like weight and moment is found on diuers partes, we may the more easilie with-hold avowching on both partes. And they suppose to finde out more easily, why a thing is false, then true; and that which is not, than that which is: and what they believe not, than what they believe. Their maner of speech is, *I confirme nothing*: It is no more so than thus, or neither: I conceive it not; Apparances are every-where alike: The Law of speaking *pro* or *contra* is all one. *Nothing seemeth true, that may not seeme false.* Their Sacramental word is, *ἐπέχω*, which is as much to say, as I withhold and stirre not. Behold the burdons of their songs, and other such-like. Their effect is, a pure, entire and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They vse their reason, to enquire and to debate; and not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetual confession of ignorance, and a judgement vp-right and without stragging, to what occasion soever may chance; That man conceives the true Pyrrhonisme. I expound this fantazie as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authours themselves represent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort. They are lent and applyed to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutions of lawes and customes, and to the tradition of Artes: *Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti voluit.* For God would not have vs know these things, but only use them.

By such meanes they suffer their common-actions to be directed, without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot wel sort vnto this discourse, what is said of *Pyrrho*. They faine him to be stupide and vnmoovable, leading a kind of wyld and vnſociable life, not shunning to be hitte with Cartes, presenting himselfe vnto downefalles, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. He would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discourſing and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall commodities, busying himselfe with, and vsing all his corporall and spirituall partes, in rule and right. The fantastickall and imaginarie, and false priviledges, which man hath vsurped vnto himselfe, to sway, to appoint, and to establish, he hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet is there no Sect, but is enforced to allow hir wise Secter, in chief to follow diuerſe things nor comprized nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if hee take shipping, he followes his purpose, not knowing whether it shalbe profitable or no; and yeeldes to this, that the shippe is good, that the pilote is skillful, and that the season is fit; circumstances only probable; After which he is bound to goe, and suffer himselfe to be remooved by apparances, alwayes provided they have no expresse contrarietie in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses vrge him forward, his mind mooveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that hee perceive hee should not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like vnto this truth: He ceaseth not to direct the offices of his life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there, which professe to consist more in conjecture, than in the science? That distinguish not betweene truth and falshood, but onely follow seeming? There is both truth and false (say they) and there are meanes in vs to seeke it out, but not to stay it when wee touch it. It is better for vs to suffer the order of the world to manage vs without further inquisition. A mind warranted from prejudice, hath a marvellous preferment to tranquility. *Men that censure and controule their iudges, do never duly submit themselves vnto them.* How much more docile and tractable if they faile, they uerifie ignorance; if yow faile, yow uerifie it: tractable

tractable are simple and vncurious mindes found both towards the lawes of religion and politike decrees, then these over-vigilant and nice-wits, teachers of divine and humane causes? There is nothing in mans invention, wherein is so much likelyhood, possibilitie and profite. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weakenesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harbour divine vnderstanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place vnto faith: Neither misbeleeving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant vnto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable, and studious; a sworne enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine & irreligious opinions, invented and brought vp by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God, what form soever it shal please him to imprint therein. *The more we adresse & commit our selves to God, and reiect our selves, the better it is for vs.* Accept (saith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented vnto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vane sunt.* The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are vayne. See how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance; and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is easie to be discerned, that the greatest number have taken the face of assurance; onely because they could set a better countenance on the matter. They have not so much gone about to establish any certainty in vs, as to shew how farre they had waded in seeking out the truth. *Quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt.* Which the learned doe rather conceit than know.

Psal. 93. 11.

Tymæus, being to instruct *Socrates*, of what hee knowes of the Gods, of the world and of men, purposeth to speake of it, as one man to another; and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable as another mans: For, exact reasons are neither in his hands, nor in any mortal man; which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint & fixa, que dixerō: sed, ut homunculus, probabilis coniectura sequens.* As I can, I will explaine them; yet not as *Apollo* giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and sette doune, that I say, but as a meane man, who followes likelyhood by his coniectures. And that vpon the discourse of the contempt of death; a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, vpon *Platoes* very words. *Si forè, de Deorum natura ortuque mundi differentes, minus id quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud erit mirum. Equum est enim meminisse, & me, qui differam, hominem esse, & vos qui indicetis: ut, si probabilis dicentur, nihil ultra requiratis.* It will be no marvell, if arguing of the nature of the Gods and originall of the world, we scarcely reach to that which in our mind we comprehend; for it is meet we remember, that both I am a man, who am to argue, and you who are to iudge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely. *Aristotle* ordinarily hoardeth vs vp a number of other opinions, and other beliefes, that so he may compare his vnto it, and make vs see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes vnto true-likelyhood; For truth is not iudged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did *Epicurus* religiously avoyde to alledge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him, that, to know much, breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often secne, seriously to shelter himselfe vnder so inextricable obscuritie, that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a *Pyrrhonisme* vnder a resolving forme. Listen to *Ciceroes* protestation, who doth declare vs others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est. Hæc in philosophic ratio, contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem apertè indicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcefila, confirmata à Carneade vsque ad nostram viget atatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quedam adiuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in ijs nulla insit certè indicandi & assentiendi nota.* They that would know what we conceit of every thing, vse more curiositie than needes. This course in Philosophie to dispute against all things, to iudge expressely of nothing, derived from *Socrates*, renewed by *Arcefila*, confirmed by *Carneades*, is in force till our time: we are those that averre some falshood entermixt with every truth, and that with such likenesse, as there is no sette note in those things for any assuredly to give iudgement or assent. Why hath not *Aristotle* alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficultie, vnlesse it be to make the vanity of the subiect to prevaile, and to amuse the curiositie of our minde, seeking to feede it, by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? *Clytomachus* affirmed, that he could never vnderstand by the writings of *Carneades*, what opinion he was of. Why hath *Epicurus* interdicted facilitie

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. i.

Cic. Univ. f.

Cic. Nat. deo. l. i.

vnto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath *Heraclitus* beene surnamed *οχρευδης*, a darke mistie clouded fellow? Difficultie is a coine, that wisemen make vse-of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanitie of their arte, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaide.

Luer. l. i. 656.

*Clarius ob obscuram linguam, magis inter inanese
Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.*

For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th'vnwise;
For fooles doe all still more admire and prize,
That vnder words turn'd topsie-turvy lies.

Cicero reproveth some of his friends, because they were wont to bestow more time about *Aströlogie*, *Law*, *Logike*, & *Geometric*, then such Arts could deserve; & diverted them from the devoirs of their life, more profitable & more honest. The *Cyrenaike* Philosophers equally contemned naturall Philosophie and Logicke. *Zeno* in the beginning of his bookes of the Commonwealth, declared all the liberall Sciences to be vnprofitable. *Chrysippus* said, that which *Plato* & *Aristotle* had written of Logike, they had written the same in jest & for exercise sake; & could not believe that ever they spake in good earnest of so vain & idle a subject. *Plutark* saith the same of the *Metaphisikes*; *Epicurus* would have said it of *Rethorike*, of *Grammar*, of *Poesie*, of the *Mathematiks*, & (except naturall Philosophie) of al other sciences: And *Socrates* of all; but of the Arte of civill manners and life. Whatsoever he was demanded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him, to give an accompt of his life, both present and past: which he would seriously examine and judge-of: Deeming all other apprenticeships as subsequents and of superarogation in regard of that. *Parum mihi placeant ea literæ quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt.* That learning pleaseth me but a little, which nothing profiteth the teachers of it vnto vertue. Most of the Artes have thus beene contemned by knowledge it selfe: For they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters, wherein was no profitable soliditie. As for the rest, some have judged *Plato* a Dogmatist, others a Skeptike or a doubter, some a Dogmatist in one thing, and some a Skeptike in another. *Socrates*, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his disputation; yet never concluding, nor ever satisfiing: and saith, he hath no other Science, but that of opposing. Their author *Homer* hath equally grounded the foundations of all Sects of Philosophie, thereby to shew, how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say, that of *Plato* arose ten diverse Sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering, and nothing avouching, if his be not. *Socrates* was wont to say, that when Midwives beginne once to put in practise the trade to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he by the title of wise, which the gods had conferred vpon him, had also in his man-like and mental love shaken off the faculties of begetting: Being wel pleased to afford al help & favor to such as were engendres; to open their nature, to suple their passages, to ease the issue of their womb, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swathe it, & to circumsise it; exercising & handling his wit to the perrill and fortune of others. So is it with most Authors of this third kind, as the auncients have well noted by the writings of *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, and others. They have a maner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring then instructing: albeit here and there, they entrelace their stile with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as wel seene in *Seneca*, and in *Plutark*? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face, and sometimes of another, for such as looke neere vnto it? Those who reconcile Lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one vnto himselfe. *Plato* hath (in my seeming) loved this maner of Philosophizing, Dialogue wise in good earnest, that thereby he might more decently place in sundrie mouths the diversitie and variation of his owne conceits. Diversly to treat of matters, is as good and better as to treat them conformably; that is to say, more copiously and more profitably. Let vs take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall and resolving speech: yet see we, that those which our parlements present vnto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe to this dignitie, especially by reason of the sufficiencie of those persons, which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to them is dayly, and is common to all judges, as much as the debating of diverse, and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will admit.

note

admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein euery one of them findeth himselfe so entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burden? In a suppery and gliding place let vs suspend our beliefe, For as Euripides saith,

Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses

Façons, nous donnent des traverses.

Euripides.

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,

And crosse our workes in divers different fashions.

Like vnto that, which Empedocles was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No no, we feele nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from vs: There is not one, that we may establish, how and what it is: But returning to this holy word. *Cogitationes mortalium timida & incerta ad inventiones nostras, & providentia.* *Wisd. c. 9. 14.* The thoughts of mortal men are feareful, our devices and foresights are uncertaine. It must not be thought strange, if men disparing of the goale, have yet taken pleasure in the chafe of it; studie being in it selfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing, that amid sensualities, the Stoikes forbid also that, which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridle to it, and finde intemperance in over much knowledge. Democritus having at his table eaten some figges, that tasted of honny, began presently in his minde, to seeke out whence this vnusuall sweetness in them might proceede; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide-servant noting this alteration in hir maister, smilingly saide vnto him, that hee should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, shee had laide them in a vessell, where honny had beenes; whereat he seemed to be wroth, in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke vpon. Away (quoth hee) vnto her, thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omitte to finde-out the cause, as if it were naturally so. Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason, for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher dooth evidently represent vnto vs this studious passion, which so doth amuse vs in pursuite of things, of whose obtaining wee dispaire. Plutarke reporteth a like example of one, who would not bee resolved of what hee doubted, because hee would not loose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Phisitian remove the thirst hee felt in his ague, because hee would not loose the pleasure hee tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *Satius est superuacua discere, quam nihil.* *Sen. epist. 89. f.* It is better to learne more then we neede, then nothing at all. Even as in all feeding, pleasure is alwayes alone and single; and all we take that is pleasant, is not ever nourishing and whoiesome: So likewise, what our minde drawes from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: The consideration of nature is a foode proper for our mindes, it raiseth and puffeth vs up, it makes vs by the comparison of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters: the search of hiddden and great causes is very pleasant, yea vnto him that attaines nought but the reverence and feare to iudge of them; These are the very words of their profession. The vaineimage of this crazed curiositie, is more manifestly seene in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mouths. Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatnesse and his beautie, on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus with the price of his owne life would he attaine a Science, whereof both vse and possession shal therewith bee taken from him; and for so sodaine and fleeting knowledge, loose and forgoe all the knowledges he either now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not easily be perswaded, that Epicurus, Plato, or Pithagoras have sold vs their Atomes, their Ideas, and their Numbers for ready payment. They were overwise to establish their articles of faith vpon things so uncertaine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and ignorance of the world, each of these notable men hath endeoured to bring some kinde of shew or image of light; and have busied their mindes about inventions, that might at least have a pleasing and wilie apparance, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: *Vnicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientia vi.* These things are conceited by every man as his wit serves, not as his knowledge stretches and reaches. An ancient Philosopher

being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof, in his judgement hee made no esteeme; answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the naturall curiositie which is in vs. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they would not thoroughly vnfold common opinions, that so they might not breede trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. *Plato* treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law-giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kind of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastickall opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sorte, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt we are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes, that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies; the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusions in mans minde, that it is iniustice not to feede them rather with commodious lies, then with lies either vnprofitable or damageable. He flatly saith in his Common-wealth, that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish, how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition, that often, what offers it selfe vnto our imagination for the likeliest: presents not it selfe vnto it for the most beneficiall vnto our life. The boldest sects, both *Epicurian*, *Pyr rhonian* and new *Academike*, when they have cast their accoumpt, are compelled to stoope to the civill law. There are other subjects, which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one laboring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so secret, whereof they have not attempted to speake, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for a ground-worke, nor to establish a truth, bur for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam id sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materie difficultate videntur voluisse. They seeme not so much to have thought as they said, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter.* And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and vanitie of opinions, which we see to have beene produced by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, *What greater vanitie can there be, then to goe about by our proportions and coniectures to guesse at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacities and lawes? And to vse this small scantlin of sufficiencie, which he hath pleased to impart vnto our naturall condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all hnnaine and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelihood and excuse, which acknowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodnes, all perfection; accepting in good part the honor and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, vnder what visage, name and manner soever it was.*

*Iupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque,
Progenitor, genitrixque.*

Almightie Love, is parent said to be

Of Things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This zeale hath vniverfally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All Policies have reaped some fruite by their devotion: Men, and impious actions have everywhere had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie, order, iustice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefite and instruction, in their fabulous religions: God of his mercy daining peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge, as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames: Not only false, but impious & injurious are those, which man hath forged & devised by his owne invention. And of al religions *Saint Paul* found in credite at *Athens*, that which they had consecrated vnto a certaine hidden and vnknowne divinitie, seemed to be most excusable, *Pithagoras* shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judging that the knowledge of this first cause and *Ens entium* must be vndefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the ex-
tream

treame indeuot of our imagination, toward perfection, every one amplifying the Idea therof, according to his capacitie. But if *Numa* vnderooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joyne the same to a religion meere mentall, without any prefixt object, or materiall mixture; he vnderooke a matter to no vse. *Mans minde could never be maintained, if it were still floating vp and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceiues.* They must be framed vnto hir to some image, according to hir modell. The maiestie of God hath in some sort suffered it selfe to be circumscribed to corporall limits: *His supernaturall and celestiaall Sacraments, beare signes of our terrestriall condition.* His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for, it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments, that are employed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleeeve, that the sight of our Crucifixes, and pictures of that pittifull torment, that the ornaments, and cerimonious motions in our Churches, that the voices accomodated and futed to our thoughts de-votions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly enflame the peoples soules, with a religious passion, of wondrous beneficiall good. Of those, to which they have given bodies, as necessitie required amid this generall blindness; as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshipped the sunne.

——— *la lumiere commune,*
L'œil du monde: & si Dieu au chef porte des yeux,
Les rayons du Soleil sont ses yeux radiens,
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintiennent & gardent,
Et les faicts des humains en ce monde regardent:
Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les saisons,
Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses douze maysons:
Qui remplit l'univers de ses vertus cognues,
Qui d'un trait de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues:
L'esprit, l'ame du monde, ardent & flamboyant,
En la cource d'un iour tout le Ciel tournoyant,
Plein d'immense grandeur, rond, vagabond & ferme:
Lequel tient dessous luy tout le monde pour terme,
En repos sans repos, oyssif, & sans sejour,
Fils aîné de nature, & le pere du iour.

The common light,
 The worlds eye: and if God beare eyes in his cheefe head,
 His most resplendent eyes, the Sunne-beames may be said,
 Which vnto all give life, which vs maintaine and garde,
 And in this world of men, the workes of men regarde.
 This great, this beauteous Sunne, which vs our seasons makes,
 As in twelve houses, he ingresse or egress takes,
 Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this vniverse,
 With one cast off his eyes doth vs all clowdes disperse,
 The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming, burning,
 Round about heav'n in course of one dayes journey turning.
 Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, mooveable and fast:
 Who all the world for boundes beneath himselfe hath pla'ed:
 In rest, without rest, and still more staide, without stay,
 Of Nature th'eldest Childe, and father of the day.

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and matchlesse beautie of his, it is the only glorious piece of this vaste-worlds-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from vs: And by that meane so little knowne, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence of it. *Thales*, who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, esteemed God to bee a spirit, who made all things of water. *Anaximander* thought, the Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers seasons: and that the worlds were infinite in number. *Anaximenes* deemed the ayre to be a God, which was created immense, and alwaies mooving. *Anaxagoras* was the first that held the description and manner of all things, to be directed by the power and reason of a spirit infinit. *Alcmaeon* hath ascribed Divinity vnto the Sunne, vnto the Moone, vnto Starres, and vnto the Soule. *Pythagoras* hath made God, a spirit dispersed through the Na-

ture

*The different
 opinions of
 philosophers
 concerning God*

ture of all things, whence our soules are derived. *Parmenides*, a Circle circumpassing the heavens, and by the heate of light maintaining the world. *Empedocles* said, the foure Natures, wherof all things are made, to be Gods. *Protagoras*, that he had nothing to say, whether they were or were not, or what they were. *Democritus* would sometimes say, that the images and their circutations were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which disperfeth these images; and then our knowledge and intelgence. *Plato* scattereth his beliefe after diuerse semblances. In his *Tymeus*, he saith, that the worlds-father could not be named. In his *Lawes*, that his being must not be enquired-after. And else-where in the saide bookes, he maketh the worlde, the heaven, the starres, the earth and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admitteth those that by auncient institutions have beene received in every Common-wealth. *Xenophon* reporteth a like difference of *Socrates* his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be enquired after; then he makes him inferre, that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a GOD: othertimes, that there is but one, and then more. *Speusippus* Nephew vnto *Plato*, makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. *Aristotle* saith sometimes, that it is the spirite, and sometimes the world; othertimes he appoynteth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heate of heaven. *Xenocrates* makes eight; five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixed starres, as of his owne members; the seaventh and eighth, the Sunne and the Moone. *Heraclides Ponticus* doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and makes him remoove and transchange himselfe from one forme to another; and then saith, that it is both heaven and earth. *Theophrastus* in all his fantazies wandereth still in like irresolutions, attributing the worldes superintendency now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starres. *Strato*, that it is Nature, having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. *Zeno*, the naturall Lawe, commaunding the good, and prohibiting the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature; and remooveth the accustomed Gods, *Iupiter*, *Iuno* and *Vesta*. *Diogenes Appolloniates*, that it is Age. *Xenophanes* makes God, round, seeing, hearing not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. *Aristo* deemeth the forme of God to bee incomprehensible, and depriveth him of senses, and wotteth not certainly whether he bee a breathing soule or something else. *Cleantes*, sometimes reason, othertimes the World, now the soule of Nature, and other-while the supreme heate, enfoulding and containing all. *Persius Zeno*es disciple hath beene of opinion, that they were surnamed Gods, who had brought some notable good or benefite vnto humane life, or had invented profitable things. *Chrysippus*, made a confused huddle of all the foresaide sentences, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods, which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men, that are immortalized. *Diagoras* and *Theodorus*, flatly denyed, that there were anie Gods: *Epicurus* makes the Gods bright-shining, transparent and persable, placed as it were betweene two Forts, betweene two Worldes, safely sheltered from all blowes; invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which vnto them are of no vse.

Epic. Enn. Cice.
dim. l. 2.

*Ego Deum genus esse semper duxi, & dicam celitum,
Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.*

I still thought, and will say, of Gods there is a kinde;
But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing minde.

Trust to your Phylosophie, boast to have hit the naile on the head, or to have found out the beane of this Cake, to see this coile and hurly-burly of so many Phylosophical wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes, hath gotten this of mee, that customes and conceipts differing from mine, doe not so much dislike me, as instruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not so much puffe me vp with pride, as humble me with lowlinesse. And each other choyse, except that, which commeth from the expresse hand of God, seemeth to me a choyse of small prerogative or consequence. The Worlds policies are no lesse contrary one to another in this subiect, than the schooles: Whereby we may learne, that Fortune herself is no more diuers, changing & variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and inconsiderate. Things most vnknowne are fittest to bee deified. Wherefore, to make gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done,) it exceedeth the extreame weakenesse of discourse. I would rather have folowed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Oxe, forso much as their Nature and being is least knownen to vs; and we may more lawfully imagine what we list of those beasts, and ascribe extraordinarie faculties vnto

vnto them. But to have made Gods of our condition, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choller, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love and jealousy, our limmes and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deaths and our Sepulchres vnto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse, or drunkennesse of mans wit.

Lucr. l. 5. 128.

Qua procul vsque adeo divina ab numine distant.

Inque Deum numero qua sint indigna videri.

Which from Divinitie so distant are,

To stand in rancke of Gods vnworthie farre.

Forma, aetates, vestitus, ornatus noti sunt: genera, coniugia, cognationes, omniæque traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humane: nam & perturbatis animis inducuntur, accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, aegritudines iracundias. Their shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures are knowne; their kindes, their marriages, their kindred, and all translated to the likenesse of mans weaknesse: For they are also brought in with mindes much troubled: for we reade of the lustfulnes, the grievings, the angrienesse of the Gods. As to have ascribed Divinitie, not onely vnto faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory and pietie; but also vnto voluptuousnesse, fraude, death, envy, age, and misery; yea vnto feare, vnto ague, and vnto evill fortune, and such other iniuries and wrongs to our fraile and transitory life.

Pers. sat. 2. 62.

Quid iuvat hos, templis nostros inducere mores?

O curve in terris anima & caelestium inanes!

What boots it, into temples to bring manners of our kindes?

O crooked soules on earth, and voyd of heavenly minds.

11.

The Egyptians with an impudent wisdome forbad vpon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say, that *Seraphis* and *Isis* their Gods, had whilom beene but men, when all knew they had beene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger acrosse their mouthes, imported (as *Varro* saith) this misterious rule vnto their priests, to conceale their mortall offspring, which by a necessarie reason disanulled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had beene better for him (saith *Cicero*) to drawe those divine conditions vnto himselfe, and bring them downe to earth, then to send his corruption, and place his miserie above in heaven: but to take him aright, he hath divers waies, and with like vanitie of opinion, done both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchie of their gods, & to the vtmost of their skil, indevor to distinguish their alliances, their charges, and their powers. I cannot beleve they speake in good earnest, when *Plato* descifreth vnto vs the orchard of *Pluto*, and the commodities or corporall paines which even after the ruine and consumption of our bodies, waite for vs, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life.

Virg. Aen. l. 6.

Secreti celant colles, & myrtea circum

sylva tegit, curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt.

Them paths aside conceale, a myrtle grove

Shades them round; cares in death doe not remove.

413

When *Mahometh* promiseth vnto his followers a paradise all tapistred, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damfels, stored with wines and singular cates. I well perceive they are but scoffers, which sute and applic themselves vnto our foolishnesse, thereby to enhonnie and allure vs to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men false into like errors by promising vnto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with all sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall wee thinke that *Plato*, who had so heavenly conceptions, and was so wel acquainted with Divinitie, as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion, that man (this feely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him, which might in any sorte be applied, and suted to this incomprehensible and vspeakable power? or ever imagined, that our languishing hold-fasts were capable, or the vertue of our vnderstanding of force, to participate or be partakers, either of the blessednesse, or eternall punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reason be answered: If the pleasures, thou promisest vs in the other life, are such as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinitie: If al my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the contents and delights, it could

could possibly desire or hope-for (and wee know what it either can wish or hope-for) yet were it nothing. If there bee any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is Divine; if it be nothing else, but what may appertaine vnto this our present condition, it may not be accounted-of. *All mortal mens contentment is mortal.* The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it can not touch, move or tickle vs in the other world, if wee still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in Terrestriall and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises; if wee can but in any sorte conceive them, and so imagine them aright; they must be thought to bee unimaginable, vnspcakable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other then those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold, (saith Saint Paul) *The happy that God prepareth for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man.* And if to make vs capable of it (as thou saist Plato by thy purifications) our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreame and vniuersall a change, that according to philosophicall-doctrine, we shall be no more our selues:

1. Cor. 2. 9.

Ovid. Trist. l. 3.
ob 11. 27.

*Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille
Tractus ab Amonio non erat Hector equo.
Hector he was, when he in fight vs'd force;
Hector he was not drawne by th' Amonian horse.*

it shall be some other thing, that shall receive these recompences.

Lucr. l. 3. 71.

*quod mutatur, dissolvitur, interit ergo:
Trajciuntur enim partes atque ordine migrant.
What is chang'd, is dissolv'd. therefore dies:
Translated parts in order fall and rise.*

For, in the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of soules of *Pithagoras*, and the change of habitation, which he imagined the soules to make; shall we thinke that the Lion in whom abideth the soule of *Cesar*, doth wed the passions which concerned *Cesar*, or that it is he? And if it were hee, those had some reason, who debating this opinion against *Plato*, object that the sonne might one day bee found committing with his mother vnder the shape of a Mules body, and such-like absurdities. And shall wee imagine, that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kinde, the new succeeding-ones are not other, then their predecessors were? Of a Phenix cinders, first (as they say) is engendred a worme, and then another Phenix; who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes are seene to die, and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, & of that a worm, were it not ridiculous to thinke, the same to be the first Silkworme? what hath once lost his being, is no more.

1b. 890.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit atas
Post obitum, rursusque redegerit, ut sita nunc est
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vite,
Periineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repentina nostra.
If time should recollect, when life is past,
Our stuffe, and it replace, as now tis plac't,
And light of life were granted vs againe,
Yet nothing would that deede to vs pertaine,
When interrupted were our turne-againe.*

And *Plato*, when in an other place thou saist, that it shall be the spirituall parte of man that shal enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellest of things of as small likelihood.

1b. 580.

*Scilicet avulsis radicibus ut nequit ullam
Dispicere ipse oculus rem seorsum corpore toto.
Evn as no eye, by th' root's pull'd-out, can see
Ought in whole body severall to bee.*

For, by this reckoning, it shall no longer be man, nor consequently vs, to whom this enjoying shall appertaine; for we are builde of two principall essentiall partes, the separation of which, is the death and consummation of our being.

1b. 903.

*Inter enimiacta est vitæ causa, vagæque
Deerrant passim motus ab sensibus omnes.*

A pause of life is interpos'd; from sense
All motions strayed are, farre wandring thence:
we doe not say, that man suffereth, when the wormes gnaw his body and limbes whereby he
lived, and that the earth consumeth them.

*Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu coniugioque
Corporis atque anima consistimus vniuer apti.*

Ibid. 888.

This nought concern's vs, who consist of vnion,
Of minde and body joynd in meete communion.

Moreover, vpon what ground of their justice, can the Gods reward man and be thanke-
full vnto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves adressed
and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended, and revenge his vicious deedes,
when themselves have created him with so defective a condition; and that but with one
twinkling of their will, they may hinder him from sinning? Might not *Epicurus* with some
shew of humane reason object that vnto *Plato*, if he did not often shrowd himselfe vnder
this sentence; That it is vnpossible by mortall nature to establish any certaintie of the im-
mortall? She is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with diuine matters. Who
feeles it more evidently then we? For, although we have ascribed vnto her, assured and in-
fallible principles, albeit wee enlighten her steps with the holy lampe of that truth, which
God hath beene pleased to impart vnto vs, we notwithstanding see dayly, how little soever
she stray from the ordinarie path, and that she start or stragle out of the way, traced and mea-
sured out by the church, how soone she looseth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; tur-
ning, tossing and floating vp and downe, in this vaste, troublesome and tempestuous sea of
mans opinions, without restraint or scope. So soone as she looseth this high and common
way, she devideth and scattereth herselfe a thousand diuerse wayes. Man can be no other
then he is, nor imagine but according to his capacite: It is greater presumption (saith *Plu-
tarke*) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discourse of Gods, and of demie-
Gods, then in a man meereley ignorant of musicke, to judge of those that sing; or for a man,
that was never in warres, to dispute of Armes and warre, presuming by some light conje-
cture, to comprehend the effects of an arte altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Anti-
quitie imagined it did something for diuine Majestie, when shee compared the same vnto
man, attiring her with his faculties, and enriching her with his strange humours, and most
shamefull necessities: offering her some of our cates to feede vpon, and some of our dances;
mummers, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apparrell her, and our
houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweete odors of incense, and sounds of musicke,
adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passions, to flatter
her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dissipation of things,
created and preserved by her. As *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for a sacrifice to *Vulcane*, caused
the rich spoiles and armes, which he had gotten of his enemies in *Sardinia*, to be burned:
And *Paulus Emilius*, those he had obtained in *Macedonia*, to *Mars* and *Minerva*. And *Alex-
ander* comming to the Ocean *Europae*, cast in fauour of *Thetis* many great rich vessells of *India*
gold into the Sea, replenishing moreover her Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of
innocent beastes, but of men, as diuerse nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to
doe. And I thinke none hath beene exempted from shewing the like Essayes.

Sulmone creatos

*Quatuor hic iuuenes totidem, quos educat Vfers,
Fuentes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.*

*Virg. Aen. l. 10
517.*

Four yong-men borne of *Sulmo*, and foure more
Whom *Vfers* bred, heliving over-bore,
Whom he to his deely friend,
A sacrifice might send.

The *Gotes* deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to
their God *Zamolxis*. From five to five yeares, they dispatch some one among themselves
toward him, to require him of necessarie things. This deputie of theirs is chosen by lottes;
And the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his
charge, is, that amongst those which assist his election, three holde so many javelins vpright,
vpon which the others by meere strength of armes, throwe him; if he chance to sticke vpon
them

them in any mortall place, and that he die sodainly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favor; but if he escape, they deeme him a wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. *Amestris* mother vnto *Xerxes*, being become aged, caused at one time 14. yoong striplings of the noblest houses of *Persia* (following the religion of hir countrie) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of vnder-earth. Even at this day the Idols of *Temixitan* are cimented with the blood of yong children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules: Oh justice greedie of the blood of innocencie.

Lucr. l. 1. 102

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

Religion so much mischeefe could

Perfwade, where it much better should.

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their owne children vnto *Saturne*, and who had none, was faine to buy some: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceite, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnes. As the Lacedemonians, who flattered and wantonized their *Diana*, by torturing of yong boyes, whom often in favor of hir they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor, to thinke to gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancell the punishment due vnto the guiltie, by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore *Iphigenia*, in the port of *Aulides*, should by hir death and sacrifice discharge and expiate, towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences, which they had committed.

ibid. 99.

Et casta incestu nubendi tempore in ipso

Hostia concideret mactatu mœsta parentis.

She, a chaste offering, griev'd incestuously

By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to die.

And those two noble and generous soules of the *Decij*, father and sonne, to reconcile, and appease the favor of the Gods, towards the Romanes affaires, should headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies. *Qua fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent?* What iniustice, of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, unlesse such men perished? Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who accoumpteth nothing a right punishment, except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that vnto punishment, which is in the free choise of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humor of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, who to interrupt the course of his continuall happines, and to recompence-it, cast the ritcheest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishappe he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which to deride his folly, caused the very same iewel, being found in a fishes belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembings of the *Coribantes*, of the *Menades*, and now a daies of the Mahometans, who skarre, and gash their faces, their stomake and their limmes, to gratifie their prophesies, seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throte? *Tantus est perturbata mentis & sedibus suis pulse furor, ut sic dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem seniunt.* So great is the furie of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outrageous. This naturall contexture doth by hir vse not onely respect vs, but also the service of God, and other mens: it is iniustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as vnder what pretence soeuer it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason, to abuse the stupide and corrupt functions of the body, to spare the diligence vnto the soule how to direct them according vnto reason. *Ubi iratos deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regia libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, iubente domino, manus intulit.* Where are they asfeard of Gods anger, who in such sorte deserve to have his favor, some have beene quelded for Princes lustfull pleasure: but no man at the Lords command, bath laid hands on himselfe, to be lesse then a man. Thus did they replenish their religion and stuffe it with divers bad effects.

Aug. Civi. Dei
l. 6. c. 10.

Ibid. e Senec.

Lucr. l. 1. 88

— sapius olim.

Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

Religion

Religion hath oft-times in former times,
Bred execrable facts, vngodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred vnto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beautie, power and goodnes admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreame interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatnes? *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus; & stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus.* The weakenes of God is stronger then men: and the foolishnesse of God is wiser then men. Stilpo the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods rejoyce at our honors and sacrifices; you are indiscreete (said he) let vs withdrawe our selves apart, if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege vnto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophie, which saith, that both the fooie and the wicked do rave and dote by reason; but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme) we will subject them to the vaine and weake apparances of our vnderstanding; he who hath made both vs and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing: God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? Hath God delivered into our handes the keyes, and the strongest wardes of his infinite puiſſaunce? Hath hee obliged him-selfe not to exceede the boundes of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast beene able to marke some signes of his effectes: Thinkest thou, he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his formes and *Ideas*, in this piece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policie of this little-little cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whither thou seest it: His divinitie hath an infinit iurisdiction farre beyond that: This piece is nothing in respect of the whole.

I. Cor. I. 25.

— *omnia cum calo terraque marique,*

Lucr. l. 6. 675.

Nil sunt ad summam summatis totius omnem

All things that are, with heav'n, with Sea, and land,

To th' whole summe of th' whole summe, as nothing stand.

This law thou aleagest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the vniverfall is. Take hold of that, to which thou art subject, but fasten not on him, he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow-cittizen, nor thy copesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe vnto thee, it is not to debase himselfe, or stoope to thy smallnes, nor to give thee the rod of controulment over his power. Mans body cannot soare vp vnto the clowdes, this is for thee. The Sunne vncessantly goeth his ordinarie course: The bounds of the Seas and of the earth can not be confounded: The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmeries: A walle without breach or flawe, inpenetrable vnto a solid body: Man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. It is for thee that he hath made these rules; it is thou they take hold-off. He hath testified vnto Christians, that when ever it pleased him he hath out-gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, wherefore should he have restrained his forces vnto alimited measure? In favor of whom should he have renounced his priviledge? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likelyhood and foundation, then in that which perswadeth thee a pluralitie of worlds.

Plurality
of Worlds,

*Terramque & solem, lunam, mare, cetera que sunt,
Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumerati.*

Ib. 2. 1094.

The earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the Sea and all
In number numberles, not one they call.

The famousest wits of former ages have beleev'd it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced therevnto by the apparance of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worldes-frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one:

— *cum in summa res nulla sit una,*

Unica que gignatur, & unica solaque crescat:

Ib. 1086.

Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,

To be bred onely one, growe onely one.

and that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number: Whereby it seemeth vnlikely, that God hath framed this piece of work alone without a fellow; and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this onely *Individuum*;

The second Booke.

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est,
Esse alios alibi congressus materiai,
Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Ether.*
Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,
Of matter such like meetings elsewhere raigne
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

Namely if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions make it so likely, that *Plato* assureth it, and divers of ours eyther affirme it, or dare not impugne it; no more then this olde opinion, that the Heaven, the Starres and other members of the World, are Creatures composed both of body and soule; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortall by the creators decree. Now, if there be divers Worldes, as *Democritus*, *Epicurus* and well-neere all Phylosophie hath thought; what know wee, whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Happily they have another semblance and another policie. *Epicurus* imagineth them either like or vnlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world, only by the distance of places. There is neyther Corne, nor Wine; no nor any of our beastes scene in that new corner of the World, which our fathers have lately discovered: All things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world, they had never knowledge nor of *Bacchus* nor of *Ceres*. If any credit may be given vnto *Plinie* or to *Herodotus*, there is in some places a kind of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mungrell and ambiguous shapes, betweene a humane and brutish Nature. Some Cuntries there are, where men are borne headlesse, with eyes & mouthes in their breast; where al are Hermaphrodites; where they creepe on all foure; Where they have but one eie in their forehead, and heads more like vnto a dog than ours; Where from the Navill downeward they are halfe fish, and live in the water; Where women are brought a bed at five yeares of age, and live but eight; Where their heads and the skinne of their browes are so hard, that no yron can pierce them, but wil rather turne edge; Where men never have beardes. Other Nations there are, that never have vse of fire; Others whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them, who naturally change themselves into Woolves, into Coultis, and then into Men againe? And if it bee (as *Plutark* saith) that in some part of the Indiaes, there are men without mouthes, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweete odours; how many of our descriptions be then false? Hee is no more risible; nor perhappes capable of reason and societie: The direction and cause of our inward frame, should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover, how many things are therein our knowledge, that opugne these goodly rules, which we have allotted and prescribed vnto Nature? And we vndertake to joyne GOD himselfe vnto hir. How manie things doe we name miraculous and against Nature? Each man and every Nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quintessences doe we dayly discover? For vs to goe according to Nature, is but to follow according to our vnderstanding, as farre as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordered. By this account all shall then be monstrous, to the wisest and most sufficient; for even to such, humane reason hath perswaded, that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warant snow to be white: And *Anaxagoras* said, it was blacke; Whether there be any thing or nothing; Whether there be knowledge or ignorance; Which *Metrodorus Chius* denied, that any man might say. Or whether we live as *Euripides* seemeth to doubt, and call in question, whether the life we live be a life or no, or whether that which we call death be a life:

*Plat. Gorg. ex
Eurip.*

*Τίς δ' αἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τούτ' ὃ κέκληται θάνατον,
τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνέσκεν ἔτι,
Who knowes if thus to live, be called death,
And if it be to dy, thus to draw breath?*

And not without apparence. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinckling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what-ever is before and behinde this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme, there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely those which follow *Melissus*. For, if there be but one, neither can this sphericall motion serve him, nor the mooving from one place to another,

*What Authority
hath he for these
relations?*

ther, as *Plato* prooveth, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. *Protagoras* saith, there is nothing in Nature, but doubt: That a man may equally dispute of all things: and of that also, whether all things may equally be disputed. of: *Mansphanes* saide, that of things which seeme to bee, no one thing, is no more, then it is not. That nothing is certaine, but vncertaintie. *Parmenides*, that of that which seemeth, there is no one thing in Generall. That there is but one *Zeno*, that one selfesame is not: And that there is nothing. If one were, he should eyther be in another, or in himselfe: if he be in another, then are they two: If he be in himselfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the comprized. According to these rules or doctrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vaine shadow. I have ever thought, that this manner of speach in a Christian, is full of indiscretion and irreverence; God cannot dy, God cannot gaine-say himselfe, God cannot do this or that. I cannot allow, a man should so bound Gods heavenly power vnder the Lawes of our word. And that apparance, which in these propositions offers it selfe vnto vs, ought to bee represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speach hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions, of this worlds troubles are Grammatical. Our sutes and processees proceed but from the canualling and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and most of our wars from the want of knowledge in state-counsellors, that could not clearely distinguish and fully expresse the Covenants, and Conditions of accords, betweene Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes, and important quarrels, hath the doubt of this one silable, *Hoc*, brought forth in the world? examine the plainest sentence, that logike it selfe can present vnto vs. If you say, it is faire-Weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire Weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speach? Yet will it deceive vs: That it is so; Let vs follow the example: If you say, I lie, and that you say true, you lie then. The Arte, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like vnto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I see the Pyrrhonian Phylosophers, who can by no manner of speach expresse their General conceit: for, they had neede of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say, I doubt, you have them fast by the sleeve, to make them avow, that at least you are assured and know, that they doubt. So have they beene compelled to save themselves by this comparifon of Physicke, without which their conceite would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say, that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the Rewbarbe doeth, which scowreth ill humours away, and therewith is carryed away himselfe. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevaile with this kinde of vnreverent and unhallowed speach. In the disputations, that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch vrge the adversaries, they will roundly tell you, that it lieth not in the power of GOD to make his body, at once to be in Paradise and on earth, and in many other places together. And how that ancient skoffer made profitable vse of it. At least (saith he) it is no small comfort vnto man, to see that GOD cannot doe all things; for, he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is the greatest benefite we have in our condition; he cannot make mortal men immortall, nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived, never to have lived, & him, who hath had honors, not to have had them having no other right over what is past, but of forgetfulness. And that this societie between God and Man, may also be combined with some pleasant examples, he cannot make twise ten, to be but twenty. See what he saith, & which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever such & so profane words should passe his mouth: Whereas on the contrarie part, it seemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speach, that so they may turne and winde God almighty according to their measure.

—cras vel atra

Nube polum pater occupato,

Vel sole puro, non tamem irritum

Quodcumque retro est efficiet, neque

Diffinget insectumque reddet

Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.

To morrow let our father fill the skie,

With darke clowdes, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby

D d 3

Hor. ear l. 3. od.

29.93

Shall

Shall not make voyde what once is overpast:
Nor shall he vndoe, or in new molde cast,
What time hath once caught; that flies hence so fast.

Plin. nat. hist.
l. 2. c. 23.

Cic. Nat. Deor.
lib. 2.
Sic. ib. lib. 3.

Sic. ib. lib. 1.

Rem. 1.
22. 23.

Lucan. l. 1.
484.

When we say, that the infinitie of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God; that his wisdom, goodnesse and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence; our tongue speakes-it, but our vnderstanding can no whitte apprehend it. Yet will our selfe-overweening list his divinitie through our searce: whence are engendred all the vanities and errors wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his vncertaine balance, a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Mirum quò procedat improbitas cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu.* It is a wonder, whether the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceede, if it be but called-on with any little successe. How insolently doe the Stoikes charge *Epicurus*, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but onely vnto God; and that the wiseman hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joyned God vnto destinie? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian, doe at this day) And *Thales*, *Plato*, and *Pithagoras* have subjected him vnto necessitie. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-fiercenesse, to seeke to discover God, by and with our eyes, hath beene the cause, that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme vnto divinitie, and is the cause of that which dayly hapneth vnto vs, which is, by a particular assignation, to impute all important events to God: which because they touch vs, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention, then those that are but slight and ordinary vnto vs. *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt.* The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little. Note his example; hee will enlighten you with his reason. *Nec in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant.* Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters. As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire, or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battell, then the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords it selfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interrest addeth nothing vnto it: our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus ita artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in parvis.* God is so great a workeman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things. Our arrogancie, setteth ever before vs this blasphemous equalities; because our occupations charge-vs. *Strato* hath presented the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by hir weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humaine nature from the feare of divine judgements. *Quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere, negotij quicquam, nec exhibere alteri.* That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others. Nature willet that in all things alike, there be also alike relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men, concludeth a like number of immortal: The infinite things that kill and destroy, presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sanse tongues, sanse eyes and sanse eares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feeles, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction; divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men (saith Saint Paul) when they professed themselves to be wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man. Marke I pray you a little the jugling of ancient Deifications. After the great, solemne and prowd pompe of funeralls, when the fire began to burne the top of the Piramide, and to take hold of the bed or hearce wherein the dead corps lay, even at that instant, they let flie an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft vpward, signified that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely of that honest woman *Faustina*, wherein that Eagle is represented, carrying a cocke-horse vp towards heaven those Deified soules. It is pittie we should so deceive our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

Quod finxere timent.

Of that they stand in feare,
Which they in fancie beare.

as children will be afeard of their fellowes visage, which themselves have besmeared and blackt.

blackt. *Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur.* As though anything were more wretched then man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere. To honour him whom we have made, is farre from honouring him that hath made vs. *Augustus* had as many Temples as *Iupiter*, & served with as much religion & opinion of miracles. The *Thasians*, in requitall of the benefites they had received of *Agessilaus*, came to tell him how they had canonized him. Hath your nation (said he) the power to make those whom it pleaseth, Gods: Then first (for example sake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seene what good hee shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer. Oh senselesse man, who can not possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to *Trismegistus* when he praiseth our sufficiencie: For man to finde out divine nature, and to make it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things. Loec here arguments out of Philosophies schooles it selfe,

Nosse cui Divos & cæli numina soli,

Aut soli necesse datum.

Lucan. lib. I.

452.

Only to whom heav'n is Deities to know,

Onely to whom is giv'n them not, to know.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, hee hath sense; and if hee have sense, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action: and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this brave? we are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature, that hath set her helping hand vnto it. Were it not a fottish arrogancie, that we should thinke our selves, to be the perfectest thing of this Vniverse? Then sure there is some beetter thing. And that is God. When you see a rich & stately mansion-house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say, that it was built for Rats. And this more then humane frame, and divine composition, which we see, of heavens-pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord, greater then our selves? Is not the highest euer the most worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. *Nothing that is without a soule and vside of reason, is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring vs forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each parte of vs, is lesse then our selves, we are parte of the world; then the world is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that more plenteously, then we are.* It is a goodly thing to have a great government. Then the worlds government belongeth to some blessed and happy nature. The starres annoy vs not, then the starres are full of goodnesse. We have neede of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feede themselves with the vapours arising here below. Worldly goodes, are not goods vnto God. Then are not they goodes vnto vs. To offend and to bee offended, are equall witnesses of imbecillitie; Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industrie, which is more? Divine wisdom and mans wisdom, have no other distinction, but that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse is not an accession vnto wisdom. Therefore are we fellowes. We have life, reason and libertie, we esteeme goodnesse, charitie and justice; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion the building and destroying the conditions of divinitie, are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a model! Let vs raise, and let vs amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Puffe-vp thy selfe poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

non si te ruperis, inquit.

Swell till you breake, you shall not be,

Equall to that great one, quoth he.

Profecto non Deum, quem cogitare non possunt, sed semetipsos pro illo cogitantes, non illum, sed seipsos, non illi, sed sibi comparant. Of a truth, they conceiving, not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves in steade of God, doe not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves. In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order, it's condition is to high, to farre out of reach, and overswaying to endure. that our conclusions should seize vpon, or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach vnto it, this train is too low, *We are no neerer heaven on the top of Senis mount, then in the botome of the deepest Sea:* Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. *Paulina*, wife vnto *Saturninus*, a matron of great reputation in Rome, supposing to lie

with the God *Serapis*, by the maquerelage of the Priests of that Temple, found hir selfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. *Varro* the most subtil, and wisest Latin Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth, that *Hercules* his Sextaine, with one hand casting lottes for himselfe, and with the other for *Hercules*, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offrings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost and paid for a supper and a wench: Hir name was *Laurentina*: Who by night saw that God in hir armes, saying more-over vnto hir, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly pay hir hir wages. It fortun'd to be one *Taruncius*, a very rich yong-man, who tooke hir home with him, and in time leaft hir absolute heire of all he had. And she, when it came to hir turne, hoping to doe that God some acceptable service, leaft the Romane people heire generall of all hir wealth: And therefore had she divine honors attributed vnto hir. As if it were not sufficient for *Plato* to descend originally from the Gods, by a two-fold line, and to have *Neptune* for the common Author of his race. It was certainly beleev'd at *Athens*, that *Ariston* desiring to enjoy faire *Periclyone*, he could not, and that in his dreame he was warned by God *Apollo*, to leave hir vntouch't and vnpoluted, vntill such time as she were brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of *Plato*. How many such-like cuckoldries are therein histories, procured by the Gods against seely mortall men? And husbands most injuriously blazoned in favor of their children? In *Mahomets* religion, by the easie beleefe of that people are many *Merlins* found; That is to say fatherles children: Spirituall children, conceived and borne devinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language beare names, importing as much. We must note, that nothing is more deare and precious to any thing, then it's owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin esteeme nothing above their kind) each thing referreth the qualities of all other things vnto hir owne conditions, which we may either amplifie or shorten; but that is all: for besides this principle, and out of this reference, our imagination cannot goe, and guesse further: and it is vnpossible it should exceede that, or goe beyond it: Whence arise these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of man is the fairest: Then God is of this forme. No man can be happie without vertue, nor can vertue be without reason; And no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, ut homini, quum de Deo cogiter, forma occurrat humana.* The preiudice forestaled in our mindes is so framed, as the forme of man comes to mans mind, when he is thinking of God. Therefore *Xenophanes* said pleasantly, that if beasts frame any Gods vnto themselves, (as likely it is they doe) they surely frame them like vnto themselves, and glorifie themselves as we doe. For, why may not a Goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to treade vpon, the Sunne to give me light, the starres to inspire we with influence: this commoditie I have of the windes, and this benefit of the waters; there is nothing that this worlds-vaulte doth so favorably looke vpon, as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature: Is it not man that careth for me, that keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth, and grindeth: If he eate me, so doth man feede on his fellow, and so doe I on the wormes, that consume and eate him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of hir flights-libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding region. *Tam blanda conciliatrix, & tam sui est lena ipsa natura.* So flatterring a broker, and bawde (as it were) is nature to it selfe. Now by the same consequence, the destenies are for vs, the world is for vs. it shineth, and thundreth for vs: Both the creator and the creatures are for vs: It is the marke and point whereat the vniversitie of things aymeth. Survey but the register, which Philosophie hath kept these two thousand yeares and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation vnto them. Lo, how they are vp in armes against vs.

Cic. nat. Deo. l. i.

Cic. nat. Deo. lib.

Hor. car. l. 2. od.

12.6.

— domitiosque Herculeam manu

Telluris invenes, unde periculum

Fulgens contremuit domus

Saturni veteris.

And yong earth-gallants tamed by the hand

Of *Hercules*, whereby the habitationOf old *Saturnus* did in peril stand,

And, thyn'd it ne're so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

See

See how they are partakers of our troubles, that so they may be even with vs, forsomuch as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

*Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem
Erui: hinc Iuno Scæa sevisissima portas
Prima tenet.*

*Virg. Æn. lib.
2. 610.*

Neptunus with his great three-forked mace
Shak's the weake walle, and tottering foundation,
And from the site the Cittie doth displace,
Fierce Iuno first holds-ope the gates t' invasion.

The *Cannians*, for the ielousie of their owne Gods domination, vpon their devotion-day arme themselves, and running vp and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest manner they expell all foraine, and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale Horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the scalde, some the cough, some one kinde of scabbe, and some another: *Adco minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit Deos: This corrupt religion engageth and inserteth Gods even in the least matters:* Some make grapes to growe, and some garlike; Some have the charge of bawdrie and vncleanes, and some of marchandise: To every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

— *hic illius arma*

*Virg. Æn. lib.
1. 20.*

*Hic currus fuit
His armor heere.*

His chariots there apeare.

O sancte Appollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.

Cic. diu. lib. 2.

Sacred Apollo, who enfoldest,
The earths set navell, and it holdest.

Pallada Cecropide, Minoya Creta Dianam,

*Ovid. Fast. lib.
3. 81.*

Vulcanam tellus Hipsipylea colit.

Iunonem Sparte, Pelopeiadésque Mycena,

Pinigerum Fauni Menalis ora caput:

Mars Latio venerandus.

Th'Athenians Pallas; Minos-Candie coaste
Diana; Lemnos Vulcan honor's most.

Mycene and Sparta, Iuno thinke divine;

The coaste of Menalus Faune crown'd with pines;

Latio doth Mars adore

Besmear'd with blood and goare.

Some hath but one borough or familie in his possession: Some lodgeth alone, and some in companie, either voluntarily or necessarily.

Iunetæque sunt magno templâ nepotis avo.

lib. 1. 294.

To the great grand-fires shrine,

The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so feely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirtie thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled vp together to produce an ear of corne, and thereof they take their severall names. Three to a dore; one to the boardes, one to the hinges, and the third to the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandells, of his drinke, of his meate and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others vncertaine, some doubtfull; and some that come not yet into paradise.

xp

Quos, quoniam cali nondum dignamur honore,

Quas dedimus certè terras, habitare sinamus.

*Ovid. Metam.
lib. 1. 194.*

Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,

Let them on earth by our good graunt be placed.

There are some Phisitions, some poetically, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators and spokes-men betweene vs and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices: some

some good, some bad; some old and crazed, and some mortall. For *Chrysippus* thought, that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except *Jupiter*. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay is he not his countrieman? *Iovis incunabula Creten.*

Ovid Met. l. 8.
99.

The Ile of famous *Creete*,
For *Love* a cradle meete.

Behold the excuse, that *Scavola* chiefe Bishop, and *Varro*, a great Divine in their dayes, give vs vpon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeeve many false. *Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.* Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let vs beleeeve it is expedient for them, to be deceived. Mans eie cannot perceiue things, but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downefall of miserable *Phaeton*, forsomuch as he vndertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steedes, with a mortall hand. Our mind doth stil relaps into the same depth, & by hir owne temeritie doth dissipate & bruiſe it ſelfe. If you enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed of? What wil it answer, but of yron and ſtone, or other ſtuffe for his uſe? Demand of *Zeno*, what Nature is? A fire (ſaith he) an Artiſt, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. *Archimedes* maiſter of this Science, and who in trueth and certaintie aſſumeth vnto him-ſelfe a precedencie above all others, ſaith, the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable neceſſitie of Geometrical demonstrations? Yet not ſo vnaſeable and beneficiall, but *Socrates* hath bene of opinion, that it ſufficed to know ſo much of it as that a man might meaſure out the land, he either demised or tooke to rent: and that *Polyanus*, who therein had bene a famous and principall Doctour, after he had taſted the ſweet fruites of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of *Epicurus*, did not contemne them, as full of falſhood and apparant vanitie. *Socrates* in *Xenophon*, vpon this point of *Anaxagoras*, allowed and eſteemed of antiquitie, well ſcene and expert above all others in heavenly and diuine matters, ſaith, that he weakened his braines much, as all men doe, who over nicely, and greedily will ſearch out thoſe knowledges, which hang not for their mowing, nor pertaine vnto them. When he would needes have the Sunne to be a burning ſtone, he remembered not, that a ſtone doth not ſhine in the fire; and which is more, that it conſumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forgot, that fire doth not tanne and blacke thoſe he looketh vpon; that wee fixly looke vpon the fire, and that fire conſumeth and killeth all plants and hearbs. According to the aduiſe of *Socrates* and mine, *The wiſeſt iudging of heaven, is not to iudge of it at all.* *Plato* in his *Timæus*, being to ſpeake of Demons and Spirits, ſaith, it is an enterpriſe farre exceeding my ſkill and abilitie: we muſt beleeeve what thoſe ancient forefathers have ſaid of them, who have ſaid to have bene engendered by them. It is againſt reaſon not to give credite vnto the children of the Gods, although their ſayings be neither grounded vpon neceſſary, nor likely reaſons, ſince they tell vs, that they ſpeake of familiar and houſhold matters. Let vs ſee, whether we have a little more inſight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterpriſe, to thoſe vnto which, by our owne confeſſion, our learning cannot poſſibly attaine, to deuife and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a falſe forme, as is ſcene in the planetary motions, vnto which becauſe our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them ſomething of ours, that is to ſay, materiall, groſe and corporall ſprings and wards:

Ovid Met. l. 1.
109.

— temo aureus, aurea ſumma
Curvatura rote, radiorum argenteus ordo.
The axetree gold, the wheeles whole circle gold,
The ranke of raies did all of ſilver hold.

you would ſay, we have had coach-makers, carpenters, and painters, who have gone vp thither, and there have placed engines with diuerſe motions, and ranged the wheelings, the windings, and enterlacements of the celeftiall bodies diaped in colours, according to *Plato*, about the ſpindle of neceſſitie.

Mundus domus eſt maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altitona fragmine zona
Cingunt, per quam limbus pictus bis ſex ſignis,

Stellimicantibus,

*Stellimicantibus, aliis in obliquo athere, luna
Bigas acceptat.*

The world, of things the greatest habitation,
Which five high-thundering Zones by separation
Engirde, through which a scarfe depainted faire
With twice six signes starre-shining in the aire.
Obliquely raifde, the waine
O th' Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreames, and mad follies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open hir bosome to vs, and make vs perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we finde in our poore vnderstanding, and weake knowledge! I am deceived, if she hold one thing directly in it's point; and I shall parte hence more ignorant of all other things, then mine ignorance. Have I not seene this divine saying in *Plato*, that nature is nothing but an ænigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinite varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures *Latent ista omnia crassis occultata & circumfusa tenebris ut nulla acies humani ingenij tanta sit, qua penetrare in cœlum, terram intrare possit.* All these things lie hid so veiled and environed with mistie darkenesse, as no edge of man is so pierçant, as it can passe into heaven, or drive into the earth. And truely, Philosophie is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie: whence have these ancient authors all their authorities, but from Poets? And the first were Poets themselves, and in their Arte treated the same. *Plato* is but a loose Poet. All high and more then humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, vse some of yuory, and insteade of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunke-sleeves of wire and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fixions on which it groundeth the trueth of justice) which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth vs those things, which shee her selfe teacheth vs to be meere inventions: For, these *Epicycles, Excentriques, and Concentriques*, which *Astrologie* vseth to direct the state and motions of her starres, shee giveth them vnto vs, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute vnto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophie presenteth vnto vs, not that which is, or shee beleeveth, but what shee inventeth, as having most apparence, likelihood, or comeliness. *Plato* vpon the discourse of our bodies-estate, and of that of beastes: That what we have said, is true, wee would be assured of it, had we but the confirmation of some oracle, to confirme-it. This onely we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone, that she sendeth her cordages, her engines, and her wheeles: Let vs but somewhat consider, what she saith of our selves, and of our contexture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoiling and violence in the starres and celestiall bodies, then they have fained and devised in this poore feeble little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it *Microcosmos*, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they employde to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the diverse functions and faculties, that we feele in our selves; Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule? Into how many seats have they placed her? Into how many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall & perceptible? and to how many distinct offices and vacation? They make a publike imaginary thing of it. It is a subject, which they hold and handle: they have all power granted them, to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to joine and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him, every one according to his fantasie, and yet they neither have nor possesse him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in truth onely, but in imagination, but still some cadence or sound is discovered, which escapeth their architecture, bad as it is, and bocht together with a thousand false patches, and fantastickall peeces. And they have no reason to bee excused: For, to Painters, when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills, the scattered Ilands, we pardon them if they but represent vs with some slight apparence of them; and as of things vnknowne we are contented with such fained shadowes: But when they draw vs, or any other subject that

that is familiarly knowne vnto vs, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of theirs or our true lineaments, or colours; and scorne if they misse never so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing *Thales* the Philosopher continually amusing himselfe in the contemplation of heavens-wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, thereby to warne and put him in minde, that he should not amuse his thoughts about matters above the cloudes, before he had provided for, and well considered those at his feete. Verily she advised him well, and it better became him, rather to looke to himselfe then to gaze on heaven; For, as *Democritus* by the mouth of *Cicero* saith,

Cic. div. l. 2.

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat: cœli scrutantur plagas,
No man lookes, what before his feete doth lie,
They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth, that the knowledge of what we touch with our hands, and have amongst vs, is as farre from vs and above the cloudes, as that of the starres: As saith *Socrates* in *Plato*, That one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophie, as the woman said to *Thales*, which is, he seeth nothing of that which is before him. For, every Philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth, yea he knowes not what himselfe doth, and wots not what both are, whether beastes or men. These people who thinke *Sebondes* reasons to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take vpon them to governe the world and know all:

Hor. l. 1. epist.
12. 16.

Quæ mare compescant causæ, quid temperet annum,
Stella sponte sua, iussuue vagantur & errent:
Quid premet obscurum Luna, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit & possit rerum concordia discors:
What cause doth calme the sea, what cleares the yeare,
Whether starres forc't, or of selfe-will appeare:
What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or wane;
What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never sound amid their books, the difficulties that present themselves to them, to knowe their owne being? We see very well, that our finger stirreth, and our foote moveth, that some parts of our body, move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stir but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a palenes; that some imagination doth onely worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth vs to laugh, another causeth vs to weepe; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staith the motion of all our limmes: at some object the stomake riseth, and at some other the lower parts. But how a spiritual impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the ligament, and compacting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: *Omnia incerta ratione, & in natura maiestate abdita*, All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the maiestie of nature, Saith *Plinie* and Saint *Augustine*, *Modus, quo corporibus adheret spiritus, omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi ab homine potest, & hoc ipse homo est*. The meane is clearely wonderfull, whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man. Yet is there no doubt made of him: For mens opinions are received after ancient beliefs, by authoritie and vpon credit; as if it were a religion and a lawe. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibbrish or fustian tongue. This truth with all hir framing of arguments, and proporcioning of proofes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one, the best he can, patcheth-vp and comforteth this received belief, with al the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple, plyable, and yeelding to al shapes. Thus is the world filled with toys, and overwhelmed in lies and leasings. The reason that men doubt not much of things, is that common impressions are never thoroughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault and weakenes lyeth: Men onely debate and question of the branch, not of the tree: They aske not whether a thing be true, but whether it was vnderstood or ment thus and thus. They enquire not whether *Galen* hath spoken any thing of worth, but whether thus, or so, or otherwise. Truly there was some reason, this bridle or restraint of our judgements libertie, and this tyrannie over our beliefs should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholasticall learning,

Plin.

Aug. de spir. & anim.

is *Aristotle*: It is religion to debate of his ordinances, as of those of *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*. His doctrine is to vs as a canon law, which peradventure is as false as another. I know not why I should or might not, as soon, & as easily accept, either *Platoes Ideas*, or *Epicurus* his *Atomes* and indivisible things, or the fulnes and emptines of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, or the water of *Thales*, or of *Anaximanders* infinitie of nature, or the aire of *Diogenes*, or the numbers or proportion of *Pythagoras*, or the infinitie of *Parmenides*, or the single-one of *Misens*, or the water and fire of *Apollodorus*, or the similiarie and resembling parts of *Anaxagoras*, or the discord and concord of *Empedocles*, or the fire of *Heracitus*, or any other opinion (of this infinit confusion of opinions & sentences, which this goodly humane reason, by hir certaintie and cleare-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withall) as I should of *Aristotles* conceite, touching this subject of the principles of naturall things; which he frameth of three parts; that is to say, *matter*, *forme*, and *privation*. And what greater vanitie can there be, then to make inanitie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: With what humor could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of Logike: Wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the Author of the Schoole from strange objections: His authoritie is the marke, beyond which it is not lawefull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list vpon allowed foundations: For, according to the lawe and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easily directed without cracke or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way: For our maisters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beliefe, as they neede to conclude afterward what they please, as Geometricians doe by their graunted questions: The consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to drawe vs, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne vs. Who-soever is believed in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our god: He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if hee list, hee will carrie vs vp, even vnto the cloudes. In this practise or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of *Pythagoras* for currant paiement; which is, that *every expert man ought to be believed in his owne trade*. The Logitian referreth himselfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Rethoritian borroweth the places of arguments from the Logitian: The Poet his measures from the Musitian: The Geometrician his proportions from the Arithmetitian: The Metaphisikes take the conjectures of the phisikes for a ground. For, every art hath hir presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridleed on all parts. If you come to the shoocke or front of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediatly pronounce this sentence; That there is no disputing against such as deny principles. There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them vnto them: All the rest, both beginning, middle and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them, the very same axiome, which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, vnles reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize vs. *Aperswasion of certaintie, is a manifest testimonie of foolishnes, and of extreame uncertaintie.* And no people are lesse Philosophers and more foolish, then *Platoes* *Phylodoxes*, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must knowe whether fire be hot, whether snowe be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answeres, wherof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heate, to whom one replied, that to try he should cast himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yse to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome; they are most vnworthie the profession of a Philosopher. If they had leaft vs in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange apparances, as they present themselves vnto vs by our senses, and had suffred vs to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speake so. But from them it is, that we have learn't to become judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controuller of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault; which embraceth al, and can do all, by meanes whereof, all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the Caniballs, who without any of *Aristotles* precepts, or so much as knowing the name of Phisike, enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life. This answer might happily avale more, and be of more force, then all those they can

borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea beasts and all. Where the commaundment of the naturall lawe is yet pure and simple, might with vs be capable of this answer; but they have renounced it. They shall not neede to tell mee, it is true, for you both heare and see, that it is so: They must tell mee, if what I thinke I feele, I feele the same irrefeet; and if I feele it, then let them tell mee, wherefore I feele it, and how and what: Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons, and the abuttings of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient; or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to admit, nor approve any thing, but by the way of reason: It is their touchstone, to try all kindes of Essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weakenes: which way can we better make triall of it, then by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of hir selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters: If she knowe any thing, it can be but hir being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For, the true and essentiall reason (whose name we steale by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome: There is hir home, and there is hir retreat, thence she takes hir flight, when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimpses of it: Even as *Pallas* issued out of hir fathers head, to communicate and impart hir selfe vnto the world. Now let vs see what mans reason hath taught vs of hir selfe and of the soule: Not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all Philosophie maketh both the celestiall and first bodies partakers; nor of that which *Thales* attributed even vnto things, that are reputed without soule or life, drawne therevnto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: But of that which appertaineth to vs, and which we should knowe best.

Lucr. l. 1. 113.

*Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animæ
Nata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An tenebras orci visat, vastâque lacunas,
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.
What the soules nature is, we doe not knowe
If it be bred, or put in those are bred,
Whether by death divorst with vs it goe,
Or see the darke vast lakes of hell be lowe,
Or into other creatures turne the head.*

To *Crates* and *Dicaarchus* it seemed that there was none at all; but that the body stirred thus with & by a naturall motion: To *Plato*, that it was a substance moving of it selfe: To *Thales*, a Nature without rest; To *Asclepiades*, an excersitation of the senses: To *Hesiodus* and *Anaximander*, a thing composed of earth and water: To *Parmenides*, of earth & fire: To *Empedocles* of blood:

*Virg. Æn. l. 9.
349.*

*Sanguineam vomit ille animam.
His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.*

L. 6. 730.

To *Possidonius*, *Cleanthes* and *Galen*, a heat, or hote complexion:

*Ignæus est ollis vigor, & cælestis origo:
A fry vigor and cælestiall spring,
In their originall they strangely bring.*

To *Hippocrates*, a spirite dispersed through the body: To *Varro*, an aire received-in at the mouth, heated in the lunges, tempered in the hart, and dispersed through al parts of the body: To *Zeno*, the quintessence of the foure elements: To *Heraclides Ponticus*, the light: To *Zenocrates* and to the *Ægyptians*, a mooving number: To the *Chaldeans*, a vertue without any determinate forme. — *Habitu quendam vitalem corporis esse,*

Lucr. l. 3. 100

*Harmoniam Græci quam dicunt.
Thereof the body is a vitall frame.
The which the Greekes a harmony doe name.*

And not forgetting *Aristotle*, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection mooving of it selfe (as colde an invention as any other) for he neyther speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature; but onely noteth the effects of it: *Laetantius*, *Seneca*, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed, they never vnderstood what it was: And after all this rable of opinions: *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit, which of these opinions is true, let some God look un-*

Cic. Tus. qu. l. 1

to it, (saith Cicero. I know by my selfe (quoth Saint Bernarde) how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being : *Heracitus*, who held that every place was full of Soules and Demons, maintained neverthelesse, that a man could never goe so farre towards the knowledge of the soule, as that he could com vnto it; so deep and mysterious was hir essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place, where she should be seated. *Hypocrates* and *Hirephilus* place it in the ventricle of the braine : *Democritus* and *Aristotle*, through all the body:

Saint. Bernard

*Vt bona sape valetudo cum dicitur esse
Corporis, & non est tamen hac pars ulla valentis.*
As health is of the body saide to be,
Yet is no part of him, in health we see.

Lucr. l. 3. 103.

Epicurus, in the stomake.

*Hic exultat enim pavor ac metus, hac loca circum
Laticia mulcent.*

Eq2.

For in these places feare doth domineere,
And neere these places joy keepes merry cheere.

The Stoickes, within and about the hart : *Erasistratus*, joyning the membrane of the Epicranium: *Empedocles*, in the blood: as also *Moses*, which was the cause he forbade the eating of beastes blood, vnto which their soule is commixed: *Galen* thought that every part of the body had his soule: *Strato* hath placed it betweene the two vpper eye-lids: *Qua facie quidem sit animus aut ubi habitet, ne quaerendum quidem est. We must not so much as enquire, what face the mindes beares or where it dwels*: Saith Cicero. I am wel pleased to let this man vse his owne words: For why should I alter the speech of eloquence it selfe: since there is smal gaine in stealing matter from his inventions: They are both little vsed, not verie forcible, and little vknowne. But the reason why *Chrysippus*, and those of his Sect, will proove the soule to bee about the hart, is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) because when we will affirme or sweare any thing, we lay our hand vpon the stomacke; And when we will pronounce, *ἐγώ*, which signifieth, my selfe, we put downe our chinne toward the stomake. This passage ought not to be pass't-over without noting the vanity of so great a personage: For, besides that his considerations are of themselves very slight, the latter prooveth but to the Græcians, that they have their soule in that place. *No humane iudgement is so vigilant or Argos-eyed, but sometimes shall fall a sleep or slumber.* What shall we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdom, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, vnable to free hir selfe from that charge, even as a Mouse taken in a trappe. Some are of opinion, that the world was made, to give a body in lieu of punishment, vnto the spirits, which through their fault were fallen from the puritie, wherein they were created: The first creation having bene incorporeal. And that according as they have more or lesse elonged themselves from their spirituallitie, so are they more or lesse merilie & Gioivially, or rudely and Saturnally incorporated: Whence proceedeth the infinite varietie of so much matter created. But the spirite, who for his chastizement was invested with the body of the sunne, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremities of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazeling. As *Plutarke* saith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cardes or Mappes, the utmost limmits of knownen Countries, are set downe to be ful of thicke marish grounds, shady forrests, defart and vncouth places. See here wherefore the grossest and most Childish dotings, are more commonly found in these which treat of highest & furthest matters; even confounding & overwhelming themselves in their owne curiositie & presumption. The end & beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how *Plato* taketh and raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clowdes, or clowdy Poesies. Behold & read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dream'd or doted he on, when he defined man, to be a creature with two feete, and without feathers; giving them that were disposed to mock at him, a pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe-it? For, having plucked-off the fethers of a live capon, they named him the man of *Plato*. And by what simplicitie did the Epicurians first imagine, that the Atomes or Mothes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall mooving downward, had framed the world; vntil such time as they were advised by their adversaries, that by this description, it was not possible, they should joyne and

Sic. Tusc. qm.
lib. 1.

take hold one of another; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring Parallell lines? And therefore was it necessarie, they should afterwarde adde a casuall moving, sideling vnto them: And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that so they might take holde of any thing and claspe themselves. And even then, those that pursue them with this other consideration, do they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so manie sorts of figures, why did they never meet together to frame a house or make a shooe? Why should we not likewise believe that an infinit number of greek Letters confusedly scattred in some open place, might one day meet & joine together to the contexture of th' Iliads? That which is capable of reason (saith *Zeno*) is better than that which is not. *There is nothing better then the world: then the world is capable of reason.* By the same arguing *Cotta* maketh the world a Mathematician, & by this other arguing of *Zeno*, he makes him a Musition & an Organist. The whole is more than the part: We are capable of Wisedome, and we are part of the World: Then the World is wise. There are infinite like examples scene, not only of false but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, & which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance as of folly, in the reproches that philosophers charge one another with, about the dis-agreings in their opinions & Sects. He that should fardle up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdom, might recount wonders. I willingly assemble some (as a shew or patterne) by some meanes or byase, no lesse profitable then the most moderate instructions. Let vs by that judge, what we are to esteem of man, of his sense & of his reason; since in these great men, & who have raised mans sufficiencie so high, there are found so grosse errors, & so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather believe, that they have thus casually treated learning, even as a sporting childe baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vain & frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devises & fantasies, sometimes more outstretched, & sometimes more loose. The same *Plato*, who defineth man like vnto a Capon, saith elsewhere in *Socrates*, that in good sooth, he knoweth not what man is; and that of al parts of the world, there is none so hard to be known. By this variety of conceits & instability of opinions, they (as it were) leade vs closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwaies to present their advise manifest & vnmasked: they have oft concealed the same vnder the fabulous shadows of Poesie, & sometimes vnder other vizards. For, our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwaies good for our stomaks: but they must be dried, altred and corrupted, & so do they, who sometimes shadow their simple opinions & judgements; And that they may the better sute themselves vnto common vse, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecilitie of mans reason, because they will not make children, afraid: But they manifestly declare the same vnto vs vnder the shew of a troubled Science & vnconstant learning. I perswaded some body in *Italy*, who labored very much to speak Italian, that alwaies provided, he desired but to be vnderstoode, & not seek to excell others therein, he shuld only employ & vse such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish or Gascoine, & that adding the Italian terminations vnto them, hee shuld never misse to fall vpon some idiome of the Countrie, eyther Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise or Neapolitan; and amongst so many several formes of speech to take hold of some one. The very same I say of Phylosophie. She hath so manie faces, and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devises are found in hir. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evil, that is not to be found in hir: *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Phylosophorum.* *Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Phylosophers.* And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; Forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne; well I wot, they will be found to have relation to some auncient humour, and some shal be found, that will both knowe and tell whence and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the helpe of any discipline: And weake and faint as they are, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appeare vnto the Worlde a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat indeavored to aide them with discourse, and assist them with examples. I have wondred at my selfe, that by meere chance I have mette with them, agreeing and sutable to so many ancient examples and Phylosophycall discourses. What regiment my life was-of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent, *An*

Cic. div. lib. 2.

vnpremeditated Phylosopher and a casuall. But to returne vnto our soule, where *Plato* hath seated reason in the brayne; anger in the hart; lust in the liver; it is very likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions, then any division or separation he ment to make of it, as of a body into many members. And the likelyest of their opinions is, that it is alwaies a soule, which by hir rationall faculty, remembreth hir selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth and exerciseth all hir other functions, by diuers instruments of the body, as the Pilote ruleth and directeth his shippe according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling or loosing a cable, sometimes hoysing the Mayne-yard, remooving an ower, or stirring the rudder, causing severall effects with one only power: And that she abideth in the brayne; appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents, which touch that part, doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

—medium non deserit unquam
Caeli Phœbus iter: radijs tamen omnia lustrat.
Never the Sunne forsakes heav'ns middle waies;
Yet with his raies he light's all, all survaies.

Claud. 6. Hæn.
col. pan. 411.

as the Sunne spreadeth his light and infuseth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole World.

Cetera pars anima per totum diffusa corpus
Paret, & ad numen mentis momēque movetur.
Th'other part of the soule through all the body sent
Obeyes, and mooved is, by the mindes government.

Lucr. lib. 3. 144

Some have saide, that there was a generall soule, like vnto a great body, from which all particular soules were extracted, and returned thither, alwaies reconjoyning and entermingling themselves vnto that Vniverfall matter:

—Deum namq; ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusq; maris calūque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros genus omne ferarum,
Quemq; sibi tennes nascentem arcessere vitas,
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum.
For God through all the earth to passe is found,
Through all Sea-currents, through the heav'n profound,
Heere hence men, heardes and all wylde beasts that are,
Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.
All things resolved to this poynt restor'd
Returne, nor any place to death affoord.

Virg. lib. 4. 222.

others, that they did but reconjoyne and fasten themselves to it againe: others, that they were produced by the divine substance: others, by the Angels, of fire and aire: some from the beginning of the world; and some, even at the time of neede: others, make them to descend from the round of the Moone, and that they returne to it againe. The common sort of antiquitie that they are begotten from Father to Sonne, after the same manner and production, that all other naturall things are; arguing so by the resemblances, which are betweene Fathers and Children.

Instillata patris virtus tibi.
Thy fathers Vertues be.
Instilled into thee.
Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis,
Of valiant Sires and good,
There comes a valiant brood.

Hor. car. lib. 4.
ed. 4. 29.

and that from fathers we see descend vnto children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resemblance of humours, of complexions and inclinations of the soule.

Denique cur acrum violentia triste leonum.
Seminium sequitur, dolus vulpibus, & fuga cervis
A patribus datur, & patrius pavor incitat Artus
Si non ferta suo quia semine seminiūque

Lucr. lib. 3. 766

771.

Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?
 Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?
 Why craft the Foxes? Why to deere to flie apace,
 By parents is it given, when parents feare incites?
 Vnlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits
 With all the body growes,
 As seede and seede-spring goes?

That diuine justice is grounded therevpon, punishing the fathers offences vpon the children; for so much as the contagion of the fathers vices, is in some sort printed, in childrens soules, and that the misgovernment of their will toucheth them. Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being: Considering the naturall faculties, which are proper vnto him, to discourse, to reason and to remember.

Lucr. l. 3. 692.

— *si in corpus nascentibus insinuat,*
Cur super anteaetam aetatem meminisse nequimus,
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum vlla tenemus?
 If our soule at our birth be in our body cast,
 Why can we not remember ages over-past,
 Nor any markes retaine of things done first or last?

For, to make our soules-condition, to be of that worth we would, they must all be presupposed wise; even when they are in their naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie. So should they have beene such, being freed from the corporall prison, as well before they entred the same, as we hope they shall be, when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the body) remember the said knowledge (as *Plato* said) that what wee learn't, was but a new remembring of that, which we had knowne before: A thing that any man may by experience maintaine to be false and erronious. First, because we doe not precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did meerey execute hir function, she would at least suggest vs with something besides our learning. Secondly, what she knewe being in hir puritie, was a true vnderstanding, knowing things as they are, by hir diuine intelligence: Whereas here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot employ hir memorie; this image and conception, having neuer had place in hir. To say, that the corporall prison, doth so suppress hir naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in hir: first, is cleane contrarie to this other beliefe, to acknowledge hir forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feele of it, so wonderfull as to have thereby concluded this diuinitie, and fore-past eternitie, and the immortalitie to come:

695:

Nam si tantopere est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum exciderit retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab letho iam longior errat.
 If of our minde the power be so much altered,
 As of things donne all hold, all memorie is fled,
 Then (as I gesse) it is not farre from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with vs, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects, are to be considered; all the rest of her perfections, are vaine and vnprofitable vnto her: it is by her present condition, that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paide, and she is onely accomptable for the life of man: It were injustice to have abridged her of her meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed her against the time of hir captiuitie and prison, of hir weaknesse and sicknesse, of the time and season where she had beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endlesse continuance, and to relie vpon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or if the worst happen, of an age, (which have no more proportion with infinitie, then a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all her being, by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in consequence of so short a life. *Plato*, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively vnto a humane continuance: and many of ours have gi-
 ven

ven them temporall limites. By this they judged, that her generation followed the common condition of humane things : As also her life, by the opinion of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*, which hath most beene received, following these goodly apparances. That her birth was seene, when the body was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall encreased; in her infancie might her weakenesse bee discerned, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitie:

—— *gigni pariter cum corpore, & una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.*

The minde is with the body bred, we doe behold,

It joyntly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceived her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painefull motions, wherethrough she fell into wearinesse and griefe, capable of alteration and change, of joy, stupefaction and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseases, and offences, even as the stomake or the foote,

—— *mentem sanari, corpus ut agrum
Cernimus, & flecti medicina posse videmus:*

We see as bodies sicke are cured, so is the minde,

We see, how Phisicke can it each way turne and winde.

dazled and troubled by the force of wine; removed from her seate by the vapours of a burning feaver; drouzie and sleepe by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed vp againe by the vertue of some others.

—— *corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,
Corporeis quoniam telis istiusque laborat.*

The nature of the minde must needes corporeall bee,

For with corporeall darts and strokes it's griev'd we see.

She was seene to dismay and confound all her faculties by the onely biting of a sicke-dogge, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiencie, no vertue, no philosophicall resolution, no containing of her forces, that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents : The spittle or slavering of a mastive dog shed vpon *Socrates* his hands, to trouble all his wisdome, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull them, that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him:

—— *vis animai
Conturbatur, & divisa scorsum
Disiectatur eodem illo distraeta veneno.*

The soules force is disturbed, seperated,

Distraught by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule, then in that childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all Philosophie (were she incarnate) become furious and mad : So that *Cato*, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse, or of water; overcome with horreur and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had falne into that sickenesse, which Phisicians call *Hydrophobia*, or feare of waters.

—— *vis morbi distraeta per artus
Turbat agens animam, spumantes aquore salso
Ventorum ut validis fervescunt viribus unda.*

The force of the disease dispierst through joynts offends,

Driving the soule, as in salt seas the wave ascends,

Foming by furious force which the winde raging lends.

Now concerning this point, Philosophie hath indeede armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether of patience, or if it bee overcostly to be found, of an infallible defecture, in convaying her selfe, altogether from the sense : but they are meanes, which serve a soule, that is her owne, and in her proper force, capable of discourse and deliberation : not to this inconvenience, ~~per~~ with a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a foole troubled, vanquished and lost, which diverse occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion, the soule may beget in her selfe : or a hurt in some part of the body; or an exhalation from the stomake, casting vs into some asto-

nishment, dazleing, or giddinesse of the head:

ib. 467.

— morbis in corporis avius errat

Sæpe animus, dementit enim, deliræque fatur,

Interdumque gravi Lethargo fertur in altum

Aeternumque soporem, oculis nutuque cadenti.

The minde in bodies sickenesse often wandring strayes:

For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outbrayes:

Brought by sharpe Lethargie sometime to more then deepe,

While eyes and eye-liddes fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have in mine opinion but slightly harp't vpon this string, no more then an other oflike consequence. They have ever this *Dilemma* in their mouth, to comfort our mortall condition. *The soule is either mortall or immortal: if mortall, she shall be without paine: if immortal, she shall mend.* They never touch the other branch: What, if she empaire and be worse? And leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deale themselves a good game. They are two omissions, which in their discourfes doe often offer themselves vnto me. I come to the first againe: the soule looseth the vse of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wisdom must necessarily in this place yeeld her selfe, and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the mixture and societie of two so different parts, as is the mortall and the immortal is inimaginable:

ib. 831.

Quippe etenim mortale eterno iungere, & unâ

Consentire putare, & fungi mutua posse,

Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est,

Aut magis inter se disunctum discrepantque,

Quàm mortale quod est, immortalique perenni

Iunctum in concilio sevas tolerare procellas?

For what immortal is, mortall to joyne vnto,

And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties doe,

Is to be foolish: For what thinke we stranger is,

More disagreeable, or more disjoyn'd, then this,

That mortall with immortal endles joyn'd in vnion,

Can most outrageous stormes endure in their communion?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in death, as well as the body;

ib. 463.

— simul avo fessa fatiscit,

It joyntly faint's in one,

Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to *Zeno*) the image of sleepe doth manifestly shew vnto vs. For he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declination of the soule, as well as of the body. *Contrahi animus, & quasi labi putat atque decidere.* He thinks the minde is contracted, and doth as it were slide and falle downe. And that (which is perceived in some) it's force and vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diversitie of diseases, as men are scene in that extremitie, to maintaine, some one sense, and some another, some their hearing, and some their smelling, without any alteration; and there is no weakenes or decay scene so vniversal, but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

Lxx. lib. 3. III

Non alio pacto quàm si pes cum dolet agri,

In nullo caput interea sit fortè dolore.

No otherwise, then if, when sick-mans foote doth ake,

Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe vnto truth, as doth the Owles eye vnto the shining of the Sunne, as saith *Aristotle*. How should we better convince him, then by so grosse blindness, in so apparant a light? For, the contrarie opinion of the soules immortalitie, which *Cicero* saith, to have first beene brought in (at least by the testimonie of bookes) by *Pherecydes Syrius* in the time of King *Tullus* (others ascribe the invention thereof to *Thales*, and other to others) it is the part of humane knowledge treated most sparingly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are enforced to cast themselves vnder the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what *Aristotle* hath established vpon this

The soules
immortalitie
not proved
by the old phi-
losophers

this subject, no more then all the auncients in Generall, who handle the same with a verie wavering beliefe: *rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium.* Who rather promise then approve a thing most acceptable. He hath hidden himselfe vnder the clowdes of intricate and ambiguous wordes, and vnintelligible senses, and hath left his Sectaries as much cause to dispute vpon his judgement, as vpon the matter. Two things made this his opinion plausible to them: the one, that without the immortality of soules, there should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glory; a consideration of wonderfull credite in the world: the other (as Plato saith) that it is a most profitable impressiō, that vices, when they steale away from out the sight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blanke before diuine Iustice, which even after the death of the guiltie, will severely pursue them. Man is ever possessed with an extreame desire to prolong his being, and hath to the uttermost of his skill provided for it, Toombs and Monuments are for the preservation of his body, and glory for the continuance of his name. He hath employed all his wit to frame himselfe a-new, (as impatient of his fortune) and to vnderproppe or vphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of hir trouble and imbecilitie, as vnable to subsist of hir selfe, is ever and in all places questing and searching, comforts, hopes, foundations and forraigne, circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle hir-selfe. And how light and fantasticall soever his invention doth frame them vnto him, hee notwithstanding relieth more surely vpon them, and more willingly, than vpon himselfe: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortalitie, have found themselves short and vnable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis, sed optantis:* These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisheth what he would haue: said an ancient writer. Man may by his owne testimony know, that the truth hee alone discovereth, the same he oweth vnto fortune and chaunce; since even when she is false into his handes, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on hir, and keepe hir; and that his reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. *All things produced by our owne discourse and sufficiency, as well true as false, are subiect to vncertainty and disputation.* It is for the punishment of our temerity, and instruction of our misery and incapacity, that God caused the trouble, downefall and confusion of Babels Tower. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, whatever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity and folly: With our weakenesse wee corrupt and adulterate the very essence of truth (which is vniforme and constant) when fortune giveth vs the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion, whose image he so lively representeth vnto vs, by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of Nembroth, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towring Pyramides, or Heaven-menacing towre. *Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam prudentium reprobo:* I will destroy the wisdoms of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent. The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he disturbed that worke and overthrew that proudly-raised Pile; what else is it, but this infinit altercation, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane science? Which he doth most profitably. *Who might containe vs, had we but one graine of knowledge?* This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa utilitatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio.* The very concealing of the profit, is either an exercise of humilitie, or a beating downe of arrogancie. Vnto what point of presumption and insolencie, doe we not carry our blindness and foolishnes? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason, that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a beliefe, since from his liberality alone we receive the fruite of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let vs ingenuously confesse, that onely God and faith, hath told it vs: For, it is no lesson of Nature, nor comming from our reason. And hee that shall both within and without narrowly sift, and curiously sound his being and his forces without this diuine priviledge; he that shall view and consider man, without flattering him, shall nor finde nor see eyther efficacie or facultie in him, that tasteth of any other thing but death and earth. *The more we give, the more we owe; and the more wee yeeld vnto God, the more Christian-like doe we.* That which the Stoike Phylosopher said, he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voyce; had it not beene better he had held it of God? *Cum de animorum*

1. Cor. 1. 19.

Faith

Sen. epist. 117.

eternitate

aeternitate differimus, non leue momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos, aut colentium. vtor hac publica persuasione. When wee discourse of the immortality of soules, in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authority, who either feare or adore the infernal powers. This publike persuasion I make use of. Now the weakenesse of humane Arguments vpon this subject, is very manifestly known by the fabulous circumstances they have added vnto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie was of. Let vs omit the Stoickes, *Usuram nobis largiuntur, tamquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper, negant:* They grant vs use of life, as if vnto Ravens: they say our soules shall long continue, but they deny, they shall last ever. Who give vnto soules a life beyond this, but finite. The most vniuersall, and received fantasie, and which endureth to this day, hath bin that, wherof *Pythagoras* is made Authour; not that he was the first inventor of it, but because it received much force and credite, by the Authority of his approbation; Which is, that soules at their departure from vs, did but passe and rowle from one to another body, from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, vncessantly wandring vppe and downe, from House to Mansion. And himselfe saide, that he remembered to have bin *Aethalides*, then *Euphorbus*, afterwarde *Hermotimus*, at last from *Pyrrhus* to have passed into *Pythagoras*: having memorie of himselfe, the space of two hundred and sixe yeares: some added more, that the same soules doe sometimes ascend vp to heaven, and come downe againe:

Virg. Aen. li. 6.
739.

*O Pater animum aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumq; ad tarda reuerti
Corpora? Quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?
Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe goe,
Raized to heav'n, thence turne to bodies flow?
Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches growe?*

Origen makes them eternally to go and come from a good to a bad estate. The opinion that *Varro* reporteth is, that in the revolution of four hundred and forty yeares, they rejoineth themselves vnto their first bodies. *Chrysippus*, that that must come to passe after a certayne space of time vnknewne, and not limitted. *Plato* (who saith that he holds this opinion from *Pythagoras*, and from Ancient Poetrie,) of infinite Vicissitudes of alteration, to which the soule is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other World, but temporall, as hir life in this is but temporall, concludeth in hir a singular knowledge of the affaires of heaven, of hell, and here below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages; a matter in his remembrance. Behold hir progresse else-where: He that hath lived well, rejoyneeth himselfe vnto that Starre or Planet, to which he is assigned: Who evill, passeth into a Woman: And if then hee amend not himselfe, he transchangeth himselfe into a beast, of condition agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his Punishments, vntill he returne to his naturall condition, and by vertue of reason hee have deprived himselfe of those grosse, stupide, and elementary qualities, that were in him. But I will not forget the objection, which the *Epycurians* make vnto this transmigration from one body to another: Which is verie pleasant. They demaund, what order there should bee, if the throng of the dying, should be greater then that of such as be borne. For, the soules remooved from their abode would throng and strive together, who should get the best seat in this new case: And demaund besides, what they would passe their time about, whilst they should stay, vntill any other mansion were made ready for them: Or contrarie-wise, if more creatures were borne, then should dy; they say, bodies should bee in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, and it would com to passe, that some of them shoud dy, before they had ever bin living.

Lucr. l. 3. 802.

*Denique connubia ad veneris, partusq; ferarum,
Esse animas praesto deridiculum esse videtur,
Et spectare immortales mortalia membra
Innumero numero, certaeque preproperanter
Inter se, quae prima potissimaque insinuetur.
Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be preffit.
To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast:
That they to mortall limmes immortall be addrest
In number numberlesse, and over-hastie strive
Which of them first and cheefe should get in there to live.*

others have staid the soule in the deceased bodies, therewith to animate serpents, wormes and other beasts, which are said to engender from the corruption of our members, yea and from our ashes: Others, devide it in two parts one mortall, another immortal: Others make it corporeall, & yet notwithstanding immortal: Others, make it immortal, without any science or knowledge. Nay there are some of ours, who have deemed that of condemned mens soules divels were made: As *Plutarke* thinks, that Gods are made of those soules which are saved: For, there be few things that this authour doth more resolutely averre, then this; holding every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmly believed (saith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according vnto nature and Gods divine Iustice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints, Demi-Gods and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleansed and purified, being delivered from all passibility and mortalitie, they become of Demy-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very-very Gods; receiving a most blessed and thrise glorious end. But whosoever shall see him, who is notwithstanding, one of the most sparing and moderate of that faction, so vndantedly to skirmish, and will heare him relate his wonders vpon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of *Socrates* his demon where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred, that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poetrie; mans vnderstanding loosing it selfe, if it once goe about to sound and controule all things to the vtmost end; as tired and troubled by a long and wearysome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting child-hood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions, which concerning our soules-subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth vs touching our corporall parts. Let vs make choyse but of one or two examples, else should we loose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Physicall errors. Let vs know whether they agree but in this orie, that is to say, of what matter men are derived & produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, mans wit is troubled and confounded. *Archelaus* the Physition, to whom (as *Aristoxenus* affirmeth) *Socrates* was Disciple and Minion, assevered that both men and beastes had beene made of milkie slyme or mudde, expressed by the heate of the earth. *Pithagoras* saith, that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood. *Plato* the distilling of the marrow in the backe-bone, which he argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinesse which followeth that sweete-Generall businesse.

What *Plutarke* holds of our soules

Alcmeon, a part of the braines substance, which to prove, he saith, their eyes are ever most troubled, that over-intemperately addict themselves to that exercise. *Democritus*, a substance extracted from all partes of this corporall Masse. *Epicurus* extracted from the soule and the body: *Aristotle*, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the blood, the last that scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heate of the genitories; which they judge, because in the extreame, earnest and forced labours many shed drops of pure blood; wherein some apparance seemeth to be, if from so infinite a confusion any likelihood may bee drawne. But to bring this seede to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it? *Aristotle* and *Democritus* hold, that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure, and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

Galen, and his adherents, contrariwise affirme, that there can bee no generation, except two seedes meete together. Behold the Physitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation, how long women beare their fruite in their wombe. And as for me, by mine owne example I take their part, that maintaine, a woman may goe eleven months with childe. The world is framed of this experience; here is no meane woman so simple, that cannot give her censure vpon all these contestations, although we could not agree. This is sufficient to verifie, that in the corporall parte, man is no more instructed of himselfe, then in the spirituall. We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason to reason, to see what she can tell vs of it. Me thinkes I have sufficiently declared, how little vnderstanding she hath of herselfe. And he who hath no vnderstanding of himselfe, what can he have vnderstanding of? *Quæsi verò mensuram ullius rei possit agere, qui sui nesciat.* As though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure. Truly *Protagoras* told vs prettie tales, when he makes man

Plin. Nat. hist. li. 2. ca. 1.

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the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not he, his dignitie wil never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary vnto himselfe; and one judgement so vncessantly subverting another, this favourable proposition was but a jest, which induced vs necessarily to conclude the nullitie of the Compasse and the Compasser. *When Thales indgeth the knowledge of man very hard vnto man, he teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible vnto him.* You for whom I have taken the paines to enlarge so long a worke (against my custome) will not shunne to maintaine your *Sebond*, with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are dayly instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and studie: For, this last trickie offence, must not be employed but as an extreame remedie. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his; and a secret sleight, which must seldome and very sparingly be put in practise. *It is great fond-hardinesse to loose your selfe for the losse of another.* A man must not die to revenge himselfe, as *Gobrias* did: who being closely by the eares with a Lord of *Persia*, *Darius* chaunced to come in with his rapier in his hand, who feared to strike, for feare hee should hurt *Gobrias*, and hee called vnto him, and bade him smite boldly although he should hit both. I have heard, armes, and conditions of single combates being desperate, and which he that offered them, put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end, inevitable to both, reproved as vnjust and condemned as vnlawfull. The *Portugales* tooke once certaine *Turkes* prisoners in the *Indian* seas, who impatient of their captivitie, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing some nailes or spikes one against another, and causing sparkles of fire to fall amongst the barrells of powder (which lay not farre from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their maisters, and the ship. *We but touch the skirts, and glance at the last closings of Sciences, wherein extremitie, as well as in vertue, is vicious.* Keepe your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtil, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverb saith,

Petr. p. I. can. 7.
13.

Chi troppo s'assottiglia, si scavezza.
Who makes himselfe too fine,
Doth breake himselfe in fine.

I perswade you in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled inventions and strangeness. All extravagant wayes displease me. You, who by the authoritie and preheminance, which your greatnesse hath laide vpon you, and more by the advantages, which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod commaund whom you please, should have laide this charge vpon some one, that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed & enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it. *Epicurus* saide of the lawes, that the worst were so necessary vnto vs, that without them, men would enter-devoure one another. And *Plato* verifieth, that without lawes we should live like beastes. Our spirit is a vagabond, dangerous, and fond-hardy implement; It is very hard to joine order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellencie above others, or extraordinary vivacitie, we see them almost all so lavish and vnbrideled in licence of opinions and maners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled and sociable. There is great reason why the spirite of man should be so strictly embarrd. In his studie, as in all things else he must have his steps numbered and ordered. The limites of his pursuite must be cut out by arte. He is brideled and fettered with, and by religions, lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines and recompences, both mortall and immortal; yet we see him, by meanes of his volubilitie and dissolution, escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body, that hath no way about him to be seized on, or cut-off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are few soules, so orderly, so constant, and so well borne, as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may with moderation, and without rashnesse, saile in the libertie of their judgements beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge and tuition of them. *The spirit is an outrageous glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace, very orderly and discretely to arme himselfe therewith.* And there is no beast, to whom one may more justly apply a blinding-borde, to keepe her sight in, and force her looke to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the ~~truse~~ *truse* which vse and lawes trace hir out. Therefore shall it bee better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path;

path; howsoever it be, then to take your flight to this vnbrideled licence. But if any one of these new Doctors shall vndertake, to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you of this dangerous plague, which dayly more and more spreads it selfe in your Courts, this preservative will in any extreame necessitie be a let, that the contagion of this venome, shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the jollitie of their ancient spirities brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophie and humane Sciences: every one vndertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententijs addicti & consecrati sunt, ut etiam, que non probant, cogantur defendere: Who are addicted and consecrated to certaine set and fore-decreede opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not:* And that we receive Artes by civill authoritie and appointment: So that schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what coynes weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation and succession allotteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the vse. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physicke is received as Geometrie: and juggling trickes, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domifications, yea, even this ridiculous, wit and wealth-consuming pursuite of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and vttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know, that *Mars* his place lodgeth in the middle of the hands triangle; that of *Venus* in the Thumme, and *Mercuries* in the little finger: and when the table-line cutteth the teachers rising, it is a signe of cruelty: When it faileth vnder the middle finger, and that the naturall Mediane-line makes an angle with the vitall, it doth evidently denote, that she will never be very chaste. I call your selfe to witnes if with this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. *Theophrastus* was wont to say, that mans knowledge, directed by the sense, might judge of the causes of things, vnto a certaine measure, but being come to the extreame and first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated; either by reason of it's weaknesse, or of the things difficultie. It is an indifferent and pleasing kinde of opinion, to thinke, that our sufficiencie may bring vs to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power, beyond which it is temeritie to employ it. This opinion is plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limites, being very curious and greedie, and not tied to stay rather at a thousand, then fittie paces. Having found by experience, that if one had mist to attaine vnto some one thing, another hath come vnto it; and that which one age never knew, the age succeeding hath found out: & that Sciences and Artes are not cast in a mould, but rather by little and littl formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over: even as Beares fashion their yong whelps by often licking them: what my strength can not discover, I cease not to sound and trie: and in handling and kneading this new matter, and with removing and chafing it, I open some facilitie for him that shall followe me, that with more ease hee may enjoy the same, and so make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

— ut hymettia sole

Cera remollefcit, tractatâque pollice multas

Vertitur in facies, ipsâque fit utilis vsu.

As the best-Bees-waxe melteth by the Sunne,
And handled, into many formes doth runne,
And is made aptly fit,
For vse by vsing it.

*Ovid. Metam.
l. 10. 284.*

As much will the second doe for the third, which is a cause that difficultie doth not make me despaire, much lesse my vnabilitie: for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things, as of some. And if (as *Theophrastus* saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes and beginnings, let him hardly quit all the rest of his knowledge: If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. To dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles: If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minusque comprehendere, quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi. One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended then another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending.* Now is it likely, that if the soule knew any thing, the
under one same place, that it is a signe of a miserable *Eff* death; That if in a wo: first man his naturall lyne be open, and closeth not the angle with the vitale,

first knew her selfe : and if she knew any without and besides her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of Physicke are seene to wrangle about our Anatomie,

Ovid. Trist. li. i
el. 2. 5.

*Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo,
Apollo stooode for Troy,
Vulcan Troy to destroy.*

When shall wee expect that they will be agreeed? We are neerer vnto our selves, then is whitenesse vnto snowe, or weight vnto a stone. *If man know not himselfe, how can he know his functions and forces?* It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with vs, but by hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way, fashion and conduct, errors are received into our soule, shee hath not wherewithall to distinguish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from falsehood. The Academikes received some inclination of judgement, and found it over raw, to say, it was no more likely, snow should bee white then blacke, and that wee should be no more assured of the moving of a stone, which goeth from our hand, then of that of the eight Spheare. And to avoide this difficultie and strangenesse, which in trueth can not but hardly lodge in our imagination, howbeit they establish, that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engulfed in the deepest Abisses, where mans sight can no way enter; yet avowed they some things to bee more likely and possible then others, and received this facultie in their judgement, that they might rather encline to one apparance then to an other. They allowed her this propension, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardy, and therewithall more likely. For, this Academicall inclination, and this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it, then a re-acknowledging of some apparant truth, in this then in that? If our vnderstanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour and face of truth; it might as well see it all compleate, as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For, this apparance of verisimilitude, which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, do you augment it; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiplie it, by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces; it will in the end come to passe, that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choise & pefect truth. But how doe they suffer themselves to be made tractable by likelihood, if they know not truth? *How know they the semblance of that, whereof they understand not the essence?* Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectuall and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull vp and downe and vaunt, for nothing suffer we our judgement to be carried away to any parte of their operation, what apparance soever it seemeth to present vs with. And the surest and most happy situation of our vnderstanding should bee that, where without wavering or agitation it might maintaine it selfe settled, vpriight and inflexible. *Inter visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi assensum, nihil interest. There is no difference betwixt true and false visions, concerning the mindes assent.* That things lodge not in vs in their proper forme & essence, and make not their entrance into vs, of their owne power and authoritie, wee see it most evidently. For, if it were so, we should receive them all alike : wine would bee such in a sicke mans mouth, as in a healthie mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should find the same hardnesse in the wood or yron he might handle, which another dooth. Then strange subjects yelde vnto our mercie, and lodge with vs according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration; if mans hold-fasts were capable and sufficiently powerfull, by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to an other. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an vniverfall consent should be believed of all. But that no proposition is seene, which is not controverted and debated amongst vs, or that may not be, declareth plainly, that our judgement doth not absolutely and cleerly seize on that which it seizeth : for my judgement cannot make my fellowes judgement to receive the same : which is a signe, that I have seized vpon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we aparte this infinite confusion of opinions, which is seene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this vniverfall and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For it is most truly presupposed, that men (I meane the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) doe never agree; no not so much that heaven is over our heads: For, they who
doubt

doubt of all, doe also doubt of this: and such as affirme, that wee cannot conceive any thing, say we have not conceived whether heaven be over our heads: which two opinions are in number (without any comparison) the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble, which our owne judgement layeth vpon our selves, & the vncertainty which every man finds in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived, that this situation is very vncertaine and vnstaid. How diversly judge we of things? How often change we our fantasies? What I hold and believe this day, I believe and hold with all my beleefe; all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this opinion, and to the vtmost of their power warrant the same: I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe it, then I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it: but hath it not been my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, nay dayly, to have embraced some other thing, with the very same instruments and condition, which vpon better advise I have, afterward judged false? *A man should at least become wise, at his owne cost, and learne by others harmes.* If vnder this colour I have often found my selfe deceived, if my touchstone be commonly found false, and my ballance vn-even and vnjust; What assurance may I more take of it at this time, then at others? Is it not folly in me, to suffer my selfe so often to be beguiled and couzned by one guide? Neverthelesse, let fortune remoove vs five hundred times from our place, let hir doe nothing but vncessantly empty and fill, as in a vessell, other and other opinions in our minde, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all:

—posterior res illa reperta

Perdit; & immutat sensus ad pristina quaque.

The later thing destroyes all found before

And alters sense at all things lik't of yore.

Lucr. l. 5. 1424

Whatsoever is tould vs, and what ever we learne, we should ever remember, it is man, who delivereth, and man that receiveth: It is a mortall hand, that presents it, and a mortall hand, that receives it. Onely things which come to vs from heaven, have right and authoritie of perswasion and markes of truth: Which we neither see with our eyes, nor receive by our meanes: this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a mansion, except God prepare it to that vse and purpose, vnlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor, reforme and strengthen the same. Our fraile-defective condition ought at least make vs demean our selves more moderately, and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember, that whatsoever we receive in our vnderstanding, we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments, which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, and vpon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is, that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continuall. Haue we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more readie, and our discourses more lively in time of health, then in sickenes? Doth not joy and blithnes make vs receive the subjects, that present themselves vnto our soule, with another kinde of countenance, then lowring vexation, and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine, that *Catullus* or *Saphoes* verses, delight and please an old covetous chuffe-pennie wretch, as they doe a lustie and vigorous yong-man? *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Anaxandrides* being sicke, his friends reprov'd him, saying he had new strange humors, and vnusuall fantasies: It is not vnlikely (answered he) for, I am not the man I was wont to be in time of health: But being other, so are my fantasies and my humors. In the rabble case-canvassing of our plea-courts, this by-word. *Gaudeat de bona fortuna*, *Let him ioy in his good fortune*, Is much in vse, and is spoken of criminall offenders, who happen to meete with iudges in some milde temper, or well-pleased moode. For, it is most certaine that in times of condemnation, the iudges doome or sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and froward, and at other times more tractable, facile and enclined to shadow or excuse an offence, according as he is well or ill pleased in minde. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the goute, vexed with ielousie, or angrie that his servant hath robbed him, and whose mind is overcome with griefe, and plunged in vexation, and distracted with anger, there is no question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred, and much transported that way. *That venerable Senate of the Areopagites, was wont to iudge and sentence*

by night, for feare the sight of the sisters might corrupt iustice. The ayre it selfe, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forebode vs some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greeke verse in Cicero,

Cic. ex incert.

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Iuppiter, anctisera lustravit lampade terras.*

Such are mens mindes, as with encreasefull light
Our father Iove surveyes the world in sight.

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It is not onely fevers, drinckes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement: The least things in the world wil turne it topsi-turvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to be doubted, if a continuall ague may in the end suppress our minde, a tertian will also (according to hir measure and proportion) breede some alteration in it. If an Apoplexie doth altogether stupifie, and extinguish the sight of our vnderstanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and a rume will likewise dazle the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life finde one houre, wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byase, our body being subiect to so many continuall alterations, and stufte with so diuers sortes of ginnings and motions, that, giving credit to Phisitions, it is very hard to finde one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except it be altogether extreame and remediless; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-hipt; and with falschoode as with truth; And therefore is it very hard to discover hir mistaking, and misorder. I alwaies call reason, that apparance or shew of discourses, which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: That reason, of whose condition, there may be a hundred, one contrarie to another, about one selfe same subject: It is an instrument of lead and waxe, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases, and squared to all measures: There remaines nothing but the skill and sufficiencie to knowe how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a judge meaneth, and what good minde soever he beareth, if diligent care be not given vnto him (to which few amuse themselves) his inclination vnto friendship, vnto kinred, vnto beautie and vnto revenge, and not onely matters of so weightie consequence, but this innated and casuall instinct, which makes vs to favor one thing more then another, and encline to one man more then to another, and which without any leave of reason, giveth vs the choise, in two like subjects, or some shadow of like vanitie, may insensibly insinuate in his judgement the commendation and applause, or disfavor and disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a twitch. I, that nearest prie into my selfe, and who have mine eyes vncessantly fixt vpon me, as one that hath much else to doe elsewhere,

Hor. car. l. i. od.
26.3.

—quis sub arcto

*Rex gelida metuat orae,
Quid Tyradatem terreat, unice*

Securus,

Onely secure, who in colde coast
Vnder the North-pole rules the roast,
And there is feard; or what would fright,
And Tyredates put to flight.

Note his own
inabilities

dare very hardly report the vanitie and weaknesse I feele in my selfe. My foote is so staggering and vnstable, and I finde it so readie to trip, and so easie to stumble; and my sight is so dimme and vncertaine, that fasting I find my selfe other then full-fed: If my health applaud me, or but the calmenes of one faire day smile vpon me, a then am I a lustie gallant; but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting, vnpleasant and hard to be pleased. One same pace of a horse is sometimes hard, and sometimes easie vnto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable and pleasing to me: Sometimes I am apt to doe any thing, and other times fit to doe nothing: What now is pleasing to me, within a while after will be painfull. There are a thousand indiscreete and casuall agitations in mee. Either a melancholie humor possesseth me, or a chollerike passion swayeth me, which having shaken-off, sometimes frowardnes and peevishnes hath predominancie, and othertimes gladnes and blithnes over rule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand, I shall in some passages perceiue some excellent graces, and which even wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by, and reade him another time;

times; let me turne and tosse him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde it an vnknowne and shapeles masse. Even in my writings, I shall not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I would have said, and shall vex and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a newe sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better. I doe but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting, and wandering,

—velut minuta magno

Deprensa navis in mari vesanienta vento.

Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short

In a grand Sea, when windes doe make mad sport.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-like vnder-taken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying and turning it selfe that way, doth so tie me vnto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I endline, there I entertaine my selfe, howsoever it be, and am caried away by mine owne waight. Every man would neere-hand say as much of himselfe, would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers knowe, that the emotion, which surpriseth them, whilst they are in their earnest speech, doth animate them towards beliefe, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, imprint it in our selves, and embrace the same with more vehemencie and approbation, then we did, being in our temperate and reposed sense. You relate simply your case vnto a Lawyer, he answers faltering and doubtfully vnto it, whereby you perceive it is indifferent vnto him to defend either this, or that side, all is one to him: Have you paid him well, have you given him a good baite or fee, to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes he to be interessed in the matter, is his will moved, or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved, and his knowledge enflamed withall. See then an apparant and vndoubted truth presents it selfe to his vnderstanding; wherein he discouers a new light, and beleeves it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heate of proceeding of spight and obstinacie, against the impression and violence of a magistrate, and of danger, or the interest of reputation, have induced some man, to maintaine, even in the fiery flames the opinion, for which amongst his friends, and at libertie, he would never have beene moved, nor have ventred his fingers end. The motions and fites which our soule receiveth by corporall passions, doe greatly prevaile in hir, but more hir owne; with which it is so fully posselt, as happily it may be maintained, she hath no other way, or motion, then by the blast of hir windes, and that without their agitation, she should remaine without action, as a ship at Sea, which the winds have vtterly forsaken. And he who should maintaine that, following the Peripatetike faction, should offer vs no great wrong, since it is knowne, that the greatest number of the soules actions, proceede and have neede of this impulsion of passion; valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choller,

Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore.

Ajax ever valor had,

Most then, when he was most mad.

Nor doth any man runne violently enough vpon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be thoroughly angrie; and they are of opinion, that an Advocate or counseller at the barre, to have the cause goe on his side, and to have justice at the judges hands doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-desires mooved *Themistocles*, and vrged *Demosthenes*, and have provoked Philosophers, to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingring peregrinations: And leade vs to honors, to doctrine, and to health; all profitable respects. And this demissnesse of the soule, in suffering molestation and tediousnes, serveth to no other purpose, but to breede repentance, and cause penitence in our consciences; and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God, and the rod of politike correction. Compassion serveth as a sting vnto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed vp; and how many noble actions, by ambition, how many by presumption? To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue, can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons, which moved the Epicurians, to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: Forso much as the very effects of his goodnes, cannot exercise themselves towards vs, without disturbing his rest, by meanes of the passions, which

Catul. Cyr. epig.
22. 12.

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note

Cicero. qu. 4. 4.

Cic. ib. lib. 5.

are as motives and solicitations, directing the soule to vertuous actions: Or have they thought otherwise, and taken them as tempests, which shamefully debauch the soule from hir rest and tranquillitie? *Vt maris tranquillitas intelligitur, nulla, ne minima quidem, aura fluctus commouente: Sic animi quietus & placatus status cernitur, quum perturbatio nulla est, qua moueri queat.* As we conceive the Seas calmenesse, when not so much as the least purling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a peaceable repofed state of the minde then scene, when there is no perturbation, whereby it may be moved. What differences offense and reason, what contrarietie of immaginations, doth the diversitie of our passions present vnto vs? What assurance may we then take of so vnconstant and wavering a thing, subject by it's owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sickenes it selfe, and of perturbation; if by rashnes and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares not Philosophie thinke, that men produce their greatest effects, and nearest approaching to divinitie, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by hir drooping. The two naturall waies, to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to fore-see the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dislocation, that passions bring vnto our reason, we become vertuous; by the extirpation, which either furie or the image of death bringeth vs, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleevd it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration, that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophicall spirit, which against his proposition exacteth from him; that the quiet state of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophie can acquire vnto it, is not the best estate. *Our vigilancie is more drouzie, then sleepe it selfe: Our wisdom lesse wise, then folly; our dreames of more worth then our discourses.* The worst place we can take, is in our selves. But thinkes it not, that we have the foresight to marke, that the voyce, which the spirit vtereth, when he is gone from man, so cleare-fighted, so great, & so perfect, & whilst he is in man, so earthly, so ignorant, and so overclouded, is a voyce proceeding from the spirit, which is in earthly, ignorant, and overclouded man; and therefore a trustles and not to be-beleevd voyce? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complexion; the greatest part of which, without giving it leasure to acknowledge hir selfe, doe sodainly surprise our soule. But that passion, which in yoong-mens hartes is said, to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leasurly, and with a measured progresse, doth evidently present to those, that have assaid to oppose themselves against hir endeavor, the power of the conversion and alteration, which our judgement suffereth. I have sometimes enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, resist, and suppress the same. For, I am so farre from being in their ranke, that call and allure vices, that vnlesse they entertaine me, I scarcely follow them. I felt it, mauger my resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment; and in the end being in perfect health, and cleare-fighted, to seize-vpon and possesse me; in such sort, that, as in dronkenness, the image of things, began to appeare vnto me, otherwise then it was wont: I sawe the advantages of the subject, I fought after, evidently to swell and growe greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine; and my discourse and conscience to shrink and draw-backe. But that fire being evaporated all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soule to reassume an other sight, another state, and another judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great and invincible, and the very same things of another taste & shew than the fervencie of desire had presented them vnto me. And which more truly, *Pyrrho* cannot tell. We are never without some infirmity. Fevers have their heat, and their colde: From the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had cast my selfe forward, so much do I draw my selfe backe.

Virg. Æn. li. II
508.

*Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus,
Nunc ruit ad terras scopulisq; superiacit undam,
Spumens extremamq; sinu perfundit arenam,
Nunc rapidus retro atque astu revoluta resorbens
Saxa fugit, litusq; vado labente relinquit.
As th' ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,
To land now rushes, forming throw's his source
On rocks, therewith bedew's the vtmost sand,*

Now

Now swift return's, the stones rould backe from strand
By tide refuck's, foord failing leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some constancie of opinions in my selfe; yet have not much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what apparance soever there be in noveltie, I doe not easily change, for feare I should loose by the bargain: And since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choise from others; and keepe my selfe in the seate, that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient beliefe of our religion, in the midst of so many sects and divisions, which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everie one in his turne to have reason, although they contrarie one another. That facilitie, which good wittes have to prove any thing they please, likely; and that there is nothing so strange, but they will vndertake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicitie like vnto mine, doth manifestly shew the weakenes of their prooffe. The heavens and the planets, have moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world hath taught vs so, vntill *Cleantes* the *Samian*, or else (according to *Theophrastus*) *Nicetas* the *Syracusan*, tooke vpon him to maintaine, it was the earth, that moved, by the oblique circle of the *Zodiacke*, turning about hir axell-tree. And in our daies *Copernicus* hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it, but only that we neede not care, which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two praecedent.

Lucr. l. 5. 1286.

Ap

*Sic volvenda etas commutat tempora rerum,
Quodque fuit pretio, sit nullo denique honore,
Porro aliud succedit, & è contemptibus exit,
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretq; repertum
Laudibus, & miro est mortales inter honore.*

So age to be past over alter's times of things:
What earst was most esteem'd,
At last nought-worth is deem'd:
An other then succeed's, and from contempt vpsprings,
Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then
With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortall men.

So when any new Doctrine is presented vnto vs, we have great cause to suspect it, and to consider, how before it was invented, the contrarie vnto it was in credite; and as that hath beene reversed by this latter, a third invention may peradventure succcede in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles, which *Aristotle* found out, were in credite, other principles contented mans reason, as his doe now content vs. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only vpon them, and that the possession of our beliefe, shal for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected, then were their fore-fathers. If any man vrge me with a new Argument, it is in me to imagine, that if I cannot answer it, another can. For, to believe all apparances, which we cannot resolve, is meere simplicitie. It would then follow, that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his beliefe turning and winding like a weather-cocke: For, his soule being soft, and without resistance, should vncessantly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions: the latter ever defacing the precedents trace. He that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer, according to law termes, that he will conferre with his learned counsel, or else referre himself to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentifship. How long is it since *Physicke* came first into the World? It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call *Paracelsus*, changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient, and so long time-received rules, and maintaineth that vntill this day it hath only served to kill people. I thinke he will easily verifie it. But I suppose it were no great wisdom to hazard my life vpon the triall of his new-fangled experience. We must not believe all men, saith the precept, since every man may say all things. It is not long since, that one of these professours of novelties, and Physicall reformations

this I take to be
Appollidorus's propo-
sition w^{ch} is cleare
it much more straine
than it is here ex-
pressed.

told me, that all our forefathers had notoriously abuzed themselves in the nature and motions of the windes, which, if I would listen vnto him, he would manifestly make me perceiue. After I had with some patience given attendance to his Arguments, which were indeed full of likely-hood, I demaunded of him, whether they that sailed according to *Theophrastus* his Lawes, went westward, when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they sailed sidel-ling, or backward? It is fortune, answered he, but so it is they tooke their marke amisse: To whom I then replied, that I had rather follow the effects, then his reason. They are things that often shooke together: and it hath bene told me, that in Geometrie (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found vnavoidable Demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: As *James Peletier* tolde me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines, bending their course one towards another, as if they would meete and joyne together; nevertheless hee affirmed, that even vnto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the Pyrrhonians vse their Arguments, and Reason, but to destroy the apparance of experience: And it is a wonder to see how farre the supplenesse of our reason, hath in this designe followed them, to resist the evidence of effects: For, they affirme, that wee mooue not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heate, with the same force of arguing, that we averre the most likelyest things. *Ptolomey*, who was an excellent man, had established the boundes of the world; All ancient Phylosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered Ilandes, which might escape their knowledge: It had bin to Pyrrhonize a thousand yeeres agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the arte of Cosmography: and the opinions that have bene received thereof, of all men in Generall: It had bene flat heresie to avouch, that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath bene discovered, not an Iland onely, nor one particular country, but a parte in greatnesse verie neere equall vnto that which wee knewe. Our moderne Geographers cease not to affirme, that now all is found, and all is discovered;

ib. 1422.

* Nam quod adest praesto, placet, & pollere videtur,
For, what is present heere
Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if *Ptolomey* was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me, to trust what these late fellowes say of it, and whether it bee not more likely, that this huge body, which we terme the World, is another maner of thing, than we judge it. *Plato* saith, that it often changeth his countenance, that the Heaven, the Starres, and the Sunne do sometimes re-enverse the motion we perceiue in them, changing the East into West. The Ægyptian Priests, told *Herodotus*, that since their first King, which was eleaven thousand and odde yeeres (when they made him see the pictures of all their former Kings, drawne to the life in statues) the Sunne had changed his course foure times: That the sea and the earth do enterchangeably change one into another; that the worldes birth is vndermined: The like said, *Aristotle* and *Cicero*. And some one amongst vs averreth, that it is altogether eternall, mortall, and new reviving againe, by many Vicissitudes, calling *Salomon* and *Esay* to witnesse: to avoyde these oppositions, that God hath sometimes been a Creatour without a creature: that he hath bene idle; that hee hath vnfaide his idlenesse, by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subject vnto change. In the most famous Schooles of Greece, the World is reputed a God, framed by another greater and mightier God, and is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by Muscicall numbers vnto his circumference, divine, thrise-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the Sea, the earth, and planets, which mutually entertaine one another, with an harmonious and perpetuall agitation, and celestiall dance; sometimes meeting, other times elonging themselves, now hiding and now shewing themselves, and changing place, now forward, now backward. *Heracitus* firmly maintained, that the Worlde was composed of fire, and by the destinies order, it should one day burst forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And *A-
puleius* of men saith; *sigillatim mortales, cunctim perpetui: severatim mortall, altogether everlasting.* *Alexander* writ vnto his mother the narration of an Ægyptian Priest, drawne from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquitie of that Nation, infinite; and comprehending the birth and progresse of other countries to the life. *Cicero* and *Diodorus*, said in their daies, that the

L. Apud. de deo
Socrat.

the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred and odde yeares. *Aristotle, Plinie*, and o- thousand
 thers, that *Zoroastes* lived fixe thousand yeares before *Plato*. And *Plato* saith that those of the
 city of *Sais*, have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of *A-*
thens, was built a thousand yeares before the city of *Sais*. *Epicurus*, that at one same time, all
 things that are, looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the same fashion, in divers
 other Worldes, which he would have spoken more confidently, had he seene the similitudes
 and correspondencies, of this new-found world of the West-Indiaes, with ours, both pre-
 sent and past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our
 learning by the course of this terrestriall policie, I have divers times wondred at my self, to see
 in so great a distance of times and places, the sympathy or jumping of so great a number of
 popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and belifes, and which by no
 meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Mans spirit is a wonderful worker of mira-
 cles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Eteroclite: which is found both
 in names, and in a thousand other things. For, there were found Nations, which (as farre as
 we know) had never heard of vs, where circumcision was held in request; where great states
 and common wealths were maintained onely by Women, and no men: Where our fasts and
 Lent was represented, adding therunto the abstinence from women; where our crosses were
 severall waies in great esteeme; In some places they adorned and honored their sepulchres
 with them, and elswhere, especially that of Saint *Andrew*, they employed to shield themselves
 from nightly visions, and to lay them vpon childrens couches, as good against enchaunt-
 ments and witch-crafts: In another place, they found one made of Wood, of an exceeding
 height, worshipped for the God of rayne: which was thrust very deepe into the ground:
 There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries: the vse of My-
 ters, the Priestes single life; the Arte of Divination by the entrails of sacrificed beastes; the
 abstinence from all sorts of flesh and fish, for their food; the order among Priests in saying of
 their divine service, to vse, a not vulgar, but a particular tongue; and this erronious and fond
 concept, that the first God was expelled his throane by a yoonger brother of his: That
 they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward by reason of their sinnes
 were abridged them: That their territory hath beene changed; that their natural condition
 hath beene much impaired: That they have heeretofore beene drowned by the inundation
 of Waters come from heaven; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves
 into the crackes or hollowes of high Mountaines, which crackes they stopped very close, so
 that the Waters could not enter in, having before shutte therein many kinds of beasts: That
 when they perceived the Raine to cease, and Waters to fal, they first sent out certaine dogs
 which returning clean-washt, & wet, they judged that the waters were not yet soch falne;
 & that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy & foule, they is-
 sued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished
 onely with Serpents. There were places found, where they vsed the perswasion of the day
 of judgement, so that they grew wondrous wroth and offended with the Spaniards, who in
 digging and searching for riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their
 deceased friends; saying that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoynd toge-
 ther againe. They also found where they vsed traffike by exchange, and no otherwise; and
 had Faires and Markets for that purpose: They found dwarfes, and such other deformed
 creatures, vsed for the ornament of Princes tables: They found the vse of hawking and fow-
 ling, according to the Nature of their birdes: tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances vpon sub-
 jects; delicate in pleasant gardens; dancing, tumbling; leaping, and juggling, musike of instru-
 ments, armories, dicing-houses, tennisse-courtes, and casting of lottes, or mummie-chaunce,
 wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liber-
 ty: vsing no other physicke but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: believing in
 one first man, vniverfall father of all people: The adoration of one God, who heretofore li-
 ved man, in perfect Virginitie, fasting, and pennance, preaching the law of Nature, and the
 ceremonies of religion; and who vanished out of the world, without any naturall death: The
 opinion of Gyants; the vse of drunkenness, with their manner of drinke, and drincking and
 pledging of healths: religious ornaments, painted over with bones and dead-mens sculs; sur-
 plices, holy-Water, and holy-Water sprinkles: Women and Servaunts, which strivingly
 present themselves, to be burned or enterred with their deceased husbands, or maisters: a law
 that

stray Customs

that the eldest or first-borne child shall succede and inherite all, where nothing is reserved for punies, but obedience: a custome to the promotion of certaine offices of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes vpon him a new name, and quitteth his owne: Where they use to cast lime vpon the knees of new-borne children, saying vnto him; from dust thou camest, and to dust thou shalt returne againe: the Arts of Augures or prediction. These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are seene in some of these examples, witnes the dignitie and divinity thereof. It hath not only in some sort insinuated it selfe among all the infidell Nations, on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernaturall inspiration: For, amongst them was also found the beliefe of Purgatory, but after a new forme: For, what we ascribe vnto fire, they impute vnto cold, & imagine that soules are both purged & punished by the rigor of an extreame coldnes. This example putteth me in minde of another pleasant diversitie: For, as there were some people found, who tooke pleasure to vnhood the end of their yard, and to cut-off the fore-skin, after the maner of the Mahometans and Iewes, some there were found, that made so great a conscience to vnhoode it, that with little strings, they carryed their fore-skin very carefully outstretched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the ayre. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings, and celebrate our Holy-daies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habilliments we have; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submission to their king, their subjects present themselves vnto him in their basest and meanest apparrell; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment, and put it over their other attyre, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereaigne and Maister.

But let vs goe on: If nature enclose within the limites of her ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefes, the judgements and the opinions of men; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth and their death, even as Cabiches: If heaven doeth moove, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authoritie doe we ascribe vnto them? If by vncontroled experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire, of the climate, and of the soile wherein we are borne, and not onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the countenance, but also the soules faculties: *Et plaga cœli non solum ad robur corporum, sed etiam animorum facit.* The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of mindes, saith Vegetius: And that the Goddesse foundresse of the Citie of Athens, chose a temperature of a countrey, to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the Ægyptian priests taught Solon: *Athenis tenua cœlum: ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, & valentes.* About Athens is a thinne aire, whereby those countriemen are esteemed the sharper-witted: About Thebes the aire is grosse, and therefore the Thebans were grosse and strong of constitution. In such maner that as fruites and beastes do spring vp diverse and different; So men are borne, either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft and whoredome; here enclined to superstition, there addicted to mis-believing; here given to libertie, there to servitude; capable of some one Arte or Science; grosse-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious; good or badde, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated; and being remooved from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion: which was the cause, that Cyrus would never permit the Persians to leave their barren, rough and craggie countrey, for to transporte themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine: saying that fat and delicious countries, make men wanton and effeminate; and fertile soiles yeeld infertile spirites. If sometimes we see one arte to flourish, or a beliefe, and sometimes another, by some heavenly influence; some ages to produce this or that nature, and to encline mankind to this or that biae: mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be; what becomes of all those goodly prerogatives, wherewith we still flatter our selves? Since a wise man may mistake himselfe; yea many men, and whole nations; and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken her selfe. What assurance have we that at any time she leaveth her mistaking, and that she continueth not even at this day, in hir errour? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it-selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth; that not by enjoying or possessing, but by imagination and full wishing, we can not all agree in one,

one, what wee most stand in neede-of, and would best content vs. Let our imagination have free libertie to cut out and sewe at her pleasure, shee cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

— *quid enim ratione timeamus*

Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te

Conatus non poeniteat, votique peracti?

By reason what doe we feare, or desire?

With such dexteritie what doest aspire,

But thou est soones repentest it,

Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

That is the reason why *Socrates*, never requested the Gods to give him any thing, but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the *Lacedemonians*, did meerey imple, that good and faire things might be granted them, vnitng the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power,

Coniugium petimus partumque vxoris, at illi

Notum qui pueri, qualisque futura sit vxor.

We wish a wife, wifes breeding: we would know,

What children; shall our wife be sheepe or shrow?

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least hee should fall into that inconvenience, which Poets faine of King *Midas*: who requested of the Gods, that whatsoeuer hee toucht, might bee converted into gold: his prayers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the fethers of his bed, his shirt and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the injoying of his desire, and being enriched with an intolerable commoditie, he must now vnpray his prayers:

Attonitus novitate mali, drue/que miserque,

Effugere optat opes, & quam modo voverat, odit.

Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,

His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

Let me speake of my selfe; being yet very yong. I besought fortune above all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint *Michell*, which in those dayes was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie aymed at. She very kindly granted my request; I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place, for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath abased and depressed it, even vnto my shoulders and vnder. *Cleobis* and *Biton*, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, the two first having besought their God, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthie their pietie, received death for a rewarde: So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have neede-of. God might graunt vs riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt: For, whatsoeuer is pleasing to vs, is not alwayes healthfull for vs; If in lieu of former health, he send vs death, or some worse sicknesse: *Virga tua & baculus tuus ipse me consolata sunt*: Thy rod and thy staffe hath comforted me. He doth it by the reasons of his providence, which more certainly considereth and regardeth what is meete for vs, then we our selves can doe, and wee ought to take it in good parte, as from a most wise and thrice-friendlie-hand.

— *si consilium vis,*

Permites ipsis expendere numinibus, quid

Conveniat nobis, rebúsque sit utile nostris:

Charior est illis homo quam sibi.

If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave

To weigh, what is most meete we should receive,

And what for our estate most profit were:

To them, then to himselfe man is more deare.

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is vnknowne to you, and the fruite uncertaine. There is no combate amongst Philosophers so violent and sharpe, as that which ariseth vpon the question of mans chiefe felicitie: from which (according to *Varroes* calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de*

Iuven. sat. 10. 4

Ibid. 352.

*Ovid. Met. l. 11
128.*

Psal. 23. 4.

*Iuven. sat. 10.
346.*

tota

*He was a knight
of St Michael*

tota Philosophia ratione disputat. But he that disagrees about the chiefeſt felicitie, calles in queſtion the whole courſe of Philoſophie.

Hor. lib. 2. epiſt.
2.61.

*Tres mihi convivæ propè diſſentire videntur,
Poſcentes vario multum diverſa palato.*

*Quid dem? quid non dem? renuiſ in quod iubet alter:
Quod petis, id ſanè eſt inviſum acciditque duobus.*

Three gueſts of mine doe ſeeme almoſt at ods to fall,
Whilſt they with diverſe taſte for diverſe things doe call:
What ſhould I give? What not? You will not, what he will:
What you would to them twaine, is hatefull, ſowre and ill.

Nature ſhould thus answer their conteſtations, and debates. Some ſay, our felicitie conſiſteth, and is in Vertue: Others in voluptuousneſſe: Others in yeelding vnto Nature: Some others in learning: others in feeling no maner of pain or ſorrow: Others ſor a man never to ſuffer himſelfe to be carryed away by apparances: and to this opinion ſeemeth this other of ancient Pythagoras to encline,

Lib. 1. epiſt. 6. 1

*Nil admirari propè res eſt una, Numici,
Solâque quæ poſſit facere & ſervare beatum.*

Sir, nothing t admire is th only thing,
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring.

which is the end and ſcope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. *Ariſtotele* aſcribeth vnto magnanimitie, to admire and wonder at nothing. And *Archeſilaus* ſaid, that ſufferance, and an vpriight and inflexible ſtate of judgement, were true felicitie; whereas conſents and applications, were vices and evils. True it is, that where he eſtabliſheth it for a certaine Axiome, he ſtraied from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pirrhoneians ſay, that *Ataraxy* is the chiefe felicity, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to ſpeak it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their minde, which makes them to ſhun precipices and downefalls, and to ſhrowd themſelves vnder the ſhelter of Calmenes, preſents this fantaſie vnto them, and makes them reſuſe another. Oh how much doe I deſire, that whilſt I live, cyther ſome other learned men, or *Iuſtus Lipſius*, the moſt ſufficient and learned man now living; of a moſt poliſhed and judicious wit, true Cofin-germane to my *Turnebus*, had both will, health and leiſure enough, ſincerely and exactly, according to their diviſions and formes, to collect into one volume or regiſter, as much as by vs might be ſeene, the opinions of ancient Philoſophie, concerning the ſubject of our being and cuſtoms, their controverſies, the credit, and partaking of factions and ſides, the application of the Authors and Sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. O what a worthe and profitable labor would it be! Beſides, if it be from our ſelves, that we drawe the regiment of our cuſtomes, into what a bottomleſſe confuſion doe we caſt our ſelves? For, what our reaſon perſwades vs to be moſt likely for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his countrie, as is the adviſe of *Socrates*, enſpired (ſaith he) by a divine perſwaſion. And what elſe meaneth ſhe thereby, but onely that our devoiſe or ducty hath no other rule, but caſuall? *Truth* ought to have a like and univerſall viſage throughout the world. Law and juſtice, if man knewe any, that had a body and true eſſence, hee would not faſten it to the condition of this or that contrieſ cuſtomes. It is not according to the Perſians or Indians fantaſie, that vertue ſhould take hir forme. Nothing is more ſubject vnto a continuall agitation, then the lawes. I have ſince I was borne, ſeene thoſe of our neighbors the Engliſh-men changed and rechanged three or foure times, not onely in politike ſubjects, which is, that ſome will diſpence of conſtancie, but in the moſt important ſubject, that poſſibly can be, that is to ſay in religion, whereof I am ſo much the more both grieved and aſhamed, becauſe it is a nation, with which my countriemen have heretofore had ſo inwarde and familiar acquaintaunce, that even to this day, there remaine in my houſe ſome ancient monuments of our former aliance. Nay I have ſeene amongſt our ſelves ſome things become lawfull, which erſt were deemed capitall: and we that hold ſome others, are likewise in poſſibilitie, according to the vncertaintie of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders againſt the Maieſtie both of God and man, if our juſtice chance to fall vnder the mercy of iniuſtice; and in the ſpace of few yeares poſſeſſion, taking a contrary eſſence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuſe, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine eſſence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne invention,

invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring (as he did) to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Cauldron, that the true worshiping of God, was that, which he found to be observed by the custome of the place, where he lived? Oh God, what bond, or dutie is it, that we owe not vnto our Sovereigne Creators benignitie, in that he hath bene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, & fixt it vpon the eternal Base of his holy word? What wil Philosophie then say to vs in this necessity: that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this waving sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that, which but yesterday I saw in credite and esteeme, and to morrow, to have lost all reputation, and that the breadth of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the World beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the Lawes some certaintie, they say, that there be some firme, perpetuall and immoveable, which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in man-kinde: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest. Now are they so vnfortunate (for, how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinite a number of lawes, there is not so much as one to be found, which the fortune or temeritie of chance hath graunted to be vniversally received, and by the consent and vnanimitie of all nations to be admitted?) They are (I say) so miserable, that of these three or foure choise-seleced lawes, there is not one alone, that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation, the onely likely ensigne, by which they may argue some lawes to be naturall: For, what nature had indeede ordained vs, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent; and not one onely nation, but every man in particular, should have a feeling of the force and violence, which he should vrge him with, that would incite him to contrary and resist that Law. Let them all (for examples sake) shew me but one of this condition. *Protagoras* and *Ariston* gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authoritie and opinion of the Law-giver, and that excepted, both Good and Honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names, of indifferent things. *Thrasymachus* in *Plato*, thinkes there is no other right, but the commoditie of the superiour. There is nothing wherein the world differeth so much, as in customes and lawes. Some things are here accompted abhominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable: as in *Lacedemonia*, the slight and subteltie in stealing. Mariages in proximitie of blood are amongst vs forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed;

—gentes esse feruntur,
In quibus & nato genitrix, & nata parenti
Inngitur, & pietas geminato crescit amore.

Ovid. Metam.
lib. 331.

There are some people, where the mother weddeth
Hir sonne, the daughter hir owne father beddeth,
And so by doubled love, their kindenesse spreddeth.

the murdering of children and of parents; the communication with women; traffike of robbing and stealing; free licence to all maner of sensualitie: to conclude, there is nothing so extreame and horrible, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be naturall lawes; as may be seene in other creatures, but in vs they are lost: this goodly humane reason engrafting it selfe among all men, to sway and command, confounding and topsie-turving the visage of all things, according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancie. *Nihil itaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, artis est.* Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours, belongs to *Arte*. Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversitie of opinions is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it stayes; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible, as for one to eate and devoure his owne father. Those people, which antiently kept this custome, holde it neverthelesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane to give their fathers the worthiest and most honorable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies and reliques in themselves and in their marrow; in some sorte reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their

quicke flesh, by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abhominati-
on and crueltie it had beene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhumane superstition,
to cast the carcasses of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as foode for beasts and
wormes. *Lycurgus* wisely considered in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimble-
nesse, that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the com-
moditie which thereby redoundeth to the common wealth, that every man heedeth more
curiously the keeping of that which is his owne: and judged, that by this twofold instituti-
on to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the
principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater respect
and more consideration, then was the disorder and injustice of prevailing and taking other
mens goods. *Dionisius* the tyrant offered *Plato* a robe made after the Persian fashion, long,
damasked and perfumed: But he refused the same, saying, *that being borne a man, he would*
not willingly put-on a womans garment: But *Aristippus* tooke it, with this answer, *that no gar-*
ment could corrupt a chaste minde. His friends reproved his demissnesse, in being so little
offended, that *Dionisius* had spitten in his face. Tut tut (said he) *Fishers suffer themselves to be*
washed over head and eares, to get a gudgeon. *Diogenes* washing of coleworts for his dinner,
seeing him passe by, saide vnto him, *If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not court*
and faune upon a tyrant; to whom *Aristippus* replied; *If thou couldest live among men, thou*
wouldest not wash coleworts. See here how reason yeeldeth apparance to diverse effects. It is
a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold-on, either by the right or left hand.

Virg. Æn. lib. 3

559

—bellum ô terra hospita portas,
Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur:
Sed tamen idem olim currus succedere sueti
Quadrupes, & frenâ ingo concordia ferre,
Spes est pacis.

O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst vs warre;
Steed's serve for warre;
These heard's doe threaten jarre.
Yet horses erst were wont to drawe our waines,
And harness matches beare agreeing raines;
Hope is hereby that wee,
In peace shall well agree.

Solon being importuned not to shed vaine and bootles teares for the death of his sonne;
That's the reason (answered hee) *I may more iustly shed them, because they are bootelesse and*
vaine. *Socrates* his wife, exasperated hir griefe by this circumstance; Good Lord (saide she)
how uniuersally doe these bad iudges put men to death! What? Wouldest thou rather they should exe-
cute them iustly? Replide he to hir. It is a fashion amongst vs to have holes bored in our
eares: the Greekes held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enjoy
our wives: The Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scythians were wont to sacri-
fice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

Iure. sat. 15. 36

Inde furor vulgi, quod numina vicinorum
Odii quisque locus, cum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit.
The vulgar hereupon doth rage, because
Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne lawes,
And onely Gods doth deeme,
Those Gods themselues esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Iudge, who when he met with any sharp conflict betweene
Bartolus and *Baldus*, or with any case admitting contrariety, was wont to write in the margin
of his booke, *A question for a friend*, which is to say, that the truth was so entangled, and dis-
putable, that in such a case he might favour which party he should thinke good. There was
no want but of spirit and sufficiency, if he set not every where through his books, *A Question*
for a friend. The Advocates and Iudges of our time find in all cases byases too-too-many,
to fit them where they thinke good. To so infinite a science, depending on the authority of
so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be, but that an exceeding confusion
of judgements must arise. Ther are very few proceses so cleere, but the Lawiers advises vp-

on

on them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged, another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof wee see ordinarie examples by this licence, which woonderfully blemisheth the authoritie and lustre of our Law, never to stay vpon one sentence, but to run from one to another Iudge, to decide one same case. Touching the liberty of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advices, which were better vnspoken, then published to weake capacities. *Arceflaus* was wont to say, that in palliardize, it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et obsec-* *cic. Tusc. qu. l. 5*
nas voluptates, si natura requirit, non genere, aut loco, aut ordine sed forma, etate, figura metiendas, fin. bom. l. 3.
Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Queramus ad quam
usque etatem iuuenes amandi sint. Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth
not to be measured by kinde, place, or order; but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that
body loves should be strange from a wise man. Let us then question to what yeares young folk may be
belov'd. These two last Stoicke places, and vpon this purpose, the reproch of Diogarchus to
Plato himselfe, shew how many excessive licences, and out of common vse, foundest Philoso-
phie doth tolerate. Lawes take their authority from possession and custome: It is dangerous to re-
duce them to their beginning: In rowling on, they swell, and grow greater and greater, as do
our rivers: follow them vpward, vnto their source, & you shall find them but a bubble of wa-
ter, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud, & gathers so much strength.
Béhold the auncient considerations, which have given the first motion to this famous tor-
rent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall finde them so light and weake, that
these men which will weigh all, and complaine of reason; and who receive nothing vpon
trust and authority, it is no wonder if their judgements are often far-distant from common
judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne, it is no matvaile, if in most of
their opinions, they misse the common-beaten path. As for example; few amongst them
would have approved the forced conditions of our marriages, and most of them would have
had women in community, and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies:
Chrysippus said, that some Phylosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of
tumbling-tricks, yea without any sloppes or breeches, for a dosen of olives. He would hard-
*ly have perswaded *Clithenes* to refuse his faire daughter *Agarista* to *Hipoclides*, because he*
*had seene him graft the forked tree in hir vpon a table. *Metrocles* somewhat indiscreetly, as*
he was disputing in his schoole, in presence of his Auditorie let a fart, for shame whereof he
*afterward kept his house, and could not be drawn abroad, vntill such time as *Crates* went to*
visite him, who to his perswasions and reasons (adding the example of his liberty) began to
fart avie with him, & so removed this scruple from off his conscience: and moreover, wonne
him from the Peripathetike Sect, more civill, to be of the Stoyke Sect, more free, which vnto
that time he had followed. That which we call civility, not to dare to doe that openly, which
amongst vs is both lawful & honest, being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the
Wily Foxe, in concealing and disclaiming what nature, custome and our desire publish and
*proclaime of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of *Venus**
hir mysteries, to remove them from out the private vestry of hir Temple, and expose them
to the open view of the people. And that to draw his sports from out the Curtines, was to
loose them. Shame is a matter of some consequence. Concealing, reservation, and circumspection, are
parts of estimation. That, sensuality vnder the maske of Vertue did very ingeniously procure
not to be prostituted in the midst of high waies, not trodden vpon, and seene by the common
sort; alleadging the dignity and commoditie of her wonted Cabinets. Wherevpon some say,
that to forbid and remoove the common brothel-houses, is not only to spread whoredome
every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle & vagabond men
to that vice, by reason of the difficulty.

Mæchus es Ausidia qui vir Corvine fuisti,

Rivalis fuerat qui tuus, ille vir est.

Cur aliena placet tibi, quæ tua non placet vxor?

Nunquid securus non potes arrigere?

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples.

Nullus in Orbe fuit tota, qui tangere vellet

Uxorem gratis Cæciliane tuam,

Dum licuit: sed nunc positis custodibus, ingens

Mart. l. 3. epig.
70.

Lib. 2. epig. 74

Turba futurorum est. Ingeniosus homo es.

A Phylofopher being taken with the deepe, was demaunded, what he did: answered very mildly, *I plant man*, blushing no more being found so napping, then if he had bin taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and refpective opinion, that a notable and religious Authour, holds this action fo necessarily-bound to fecrecy and shame, that in Cynike embracements and dalliances, hee could not be perfwaded that the worke should come to hir end; but rather, that it lingred and ftaid, only to represent wanton geftures, and lascivious motions, to maintaine the impudencie of their schooles-profession: and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfulneffe restrained, they had also afterward neede to feeke fome fecret place. He had not feene farre-enough into their licenciousneffe: For, *Diogenes* in fight of all, exercifing his Mafturbation, bredde a longing-defire, ~~in the~~ in the by-ftanders, that in fuch fort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the fame. To thofe that asked him, why he fought for no fitter place to feede in, then in the open frequented high way, he made anfwere, *It is becaufe I am hungry in the open frequented high-way.* The Philofophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places, and without any difcretion meddle with their bodies: And *Crates* had never received *Hipparchia* into his fellowfhip, but vpon condition, to follow all the cuftomes and fashions of his order. Thefe Phylofophers fet an extreame rate on vertue; and rejefted al other difciplines, except the morall; yet is it, that in all actions, they afcribed the Sovereaigne authority to the election of their wife, yea, and above al lawes: and appoynted no other restraint vnto voluptuousneffe, but the moderation, and prefervation of others liberty. *Heracletus* and *Protagoras*, forfomuch as wine feemeth bitter vnto the ficke, and pleafing to the healthy; and an Oare crooked in the water; and ftraight to thofe that fee it above Water, and fuch-like contrary apparances, which are found in fome fubjects; argued that all fubjects had the caufes of thefe apparances in them; and that, there was fome kinde of bitterneffe in the wine, which had a reference vnto the fickemans tafte; in the Oare a certaine crooked quality, having relation to him that feeth it in the Water. And fo of all things elfe. Which implieth, that all is in all things, and by confequence nothing in any: for, either nothing is, or all is. This opinion put me in minde of the experience we have, that there is not any one fence or vifage, either ftraight or crooked, bitter or fweete, but mans wit fhall find in the writings, which he vndertaketh to runne over. In the pureft, moft vnspotted, and moft abfolutely-perfect- worde, that poffibly can be, how many errors, falshoods, and lies have bin made to proceede from-it? What herefie hath not found testimonyes & ground fufficient, both to vndertake and to maintain it felfe? It is therefore, that the Authours of fuch errors will never go from this prooffe of the Testimony of words interpretation: a man of worth, going about by authority to approve the fearch of the philofophers ftone, (wherein he was overwhelmed) aleaged at laft five or fix feveral passages out of the holy bible vnto me, vpon which (he faid) he had at firft grounded himfelfe, for the difcharge of his confcience (for he is a man of the Ecclefiaftical profeflion) & truly, the invention of them, was not only plefant, but alfo very fitly aplyed to the defence of this goodly & mind-inchanting fcience. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. Ther is no prognoficator, if he have but this authority, that any one wil but voutfafe to reade him over, and curiofity to fearch all the infoldings & luftres of his words, but a man fhall make him fay what he pleafeth, as the Sibilles. There are fo many meanes of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-ling, fide-ling, or edge-ling, but an ingenious and pregnant wit, fhall in all fubjects meete with fome ayre, that will fit his turne. Therefore is a cloudy, darke, and ambiguous ftile found in fo frequent and ancient cuftome. That the Authour may gaine, to draw, allure, and bufie pofterity to himfelfe, which not only the fufficiency, but the cafual favor of the matter, may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him, be it eyther through foolifhneffe or subtiltie, fhew himfelfe fomewhat obfcure and diverfe, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of fpirits fifting, and tolling him-over, will finde and exprefse fundrie formes, eyther according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which fhall doe him credite. He fhall fee himfelfe enriched by the meanes of his Difciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maifters. It is that, which hath made many things of nothing, to paffe very currant, that hath brought divers bookes in credite, and charged with all forts of matter, that any hath but defired: one felfe fame thing, admitting a thoufand and a thoufand, and as many feveral images, and divers confiderations, as it beft pleafeth vs. Is it poffible, that ever *Homer* meant all that,
which

which some make him to have meant. And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and so severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawyers, Captains, Philosophers & all sorts of people else, which, how diversly and contrary soever it be, they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly relie vpon him, & refer them-selves vnto him; as a Generall Maister for all offices, works, sciences, & tradesmen & an vniversal counsellor in all enterprises? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, & would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, & a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetched conceites, and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; And can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was *Homers* intent & meaning (yet is *Homer* so familiar vnto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him.) And what he findes in favor of our religion, many ancient learned men, have found in favor of theirs. See how *Plato* is tossed and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose, giveth him what construction he list. He is wrested & inserted to all new-fangled opinions, that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant vnto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavowe the customes that were lawfull in his daies, in as much as they are vnlawfull in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quicke. Vpon the ground which *Heraclitus* had, and that sentence of his; that *all things had those shapes in them, which men found in them*. And *Democritus* out of the very same drew a cleane contrarie conclusion, *id est, that subjects had nothing at all in them of that which we found in them*; And forasmuch as honny was sweete to one man, and bitter to another, hee argued that honny was neither sweete nor bitter. The *Pyrrhonians* would say, they know not whether it be sweete or bitter, or both, or neither: For, they ever gaine the highest point of doubting. The *Cyrenayans* held, that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and onely that was perceivable, which by the inward touch or feeling, touched or concerned vs, as grieve and sensualitie, distinguishing neither tune, nor collours, but onely certaine affections, that came to vs of them; and that man had no other seate of his judgement. *Protagoras* deemed, that, to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The *Epicurians*, place all judgement in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in voluptuousnes. *Platoes* mind was, that the judgement of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit, and to cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance. Whatsoever is knowne, is without all peradventure knowne by the facultie of the knower: For, since the judgement commeth from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth, that he performe and act this operation by his meanes and will, and not by others compulsion: As it would follow if we knewe things by the force, and according to the law of their essence. Now all knowledge is addressed into vs by the senses, they are our maisters:

—via qua munita fidei

Proxima fert humanum in pectus, templaque mentis:

Whereby a way for credit lead's well-linde

Into mans breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them & in them is resolved. After all, we should knowe no more then a stone, vnles we know, that there is, sound, smell, light, flavor, measure, weight, softnes, hardnes, sharpnes, colour, smoothnes, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame, and principles of the building of all our knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else, but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me fast by the throate, and can not make me recoyle one foot backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

Inuenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam

Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.

Quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi

Debet?

You shall finde knowledge of the truth at first was bred

From our first senses, nor can senses be misse-led.

What, then our senses, should

Gg 3

With

Sense
considered

22.

Xp 22

Lucr. l. 5. 102.

lib. 4. 480.

With vs more credit hold ?

Attribute as little as may be vnto them, yet must this ever be granted them, that all our instruction is adressed by their means & intermission. *Cicero* saith, that *Chrysippus* having assaid to abate the power of his senses, and of their vertue, presented contrarie arguments vnto him selfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon *Carneades* (who defended the contrarie part) boasted, that he vsed the very same weapons and words of *Chrysippus* to combat against him; and therefore cried out vpon him. *Oh miserable man! thine owne strength hath failed thee.* There is no greater absurditie in our judgement, then to maintaine, that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in yron there is neither weight nor firmenes, which are notices our senses bring vnto vs: Nor beliefe or science in man, that may be compared vnto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have vpon the senses subject, is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see diuers creatures, that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether wee also want either one, two, three, or many senses more? For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses priuiledge, to be the extreame boundes of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them, that may steade vs to discover them: No one sense can discover another.

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An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures

Tactus, an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,

An confutabunt nares, oculive revincunt ?

Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend

The eares, or shal mouths-taste that touch amend?

Shall our nose it confute,

Or eyes gainst it dispute?

They all make the extreamest line of our facultie.

491

seorsum cuique potestas

Divisa est, sua vis cuique est.

To each distinctly might

Is shar'd, each hath it's right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance, that our minde is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to feele hir owne maladie, and perceive hir imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blinde man any thing, either by discourse, argument or similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, collour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward, that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to vnderstand what they require; they have learn't of vs, that something they want, and something they desire, that is in vs, with the effects & consequences thereof, which they call good: Yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neare or farre. I have seene a Gentleman of a good house, borne blinde, at least blinde in such an age, that he knowes not what sight is; he vnderstandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he vseth words fitting sight, and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him, to whom he was godfather, taking him in his armes, he said, good Lord what a fine child this is! it is a goodly thing to see him: What a cheerefull countenance he hath, how prettily he looketh. Hee will say as one of vs. This hall hath a faire prospect: It is very faire weather: The Sunne shines cleare. Nay, which is more; because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shuting at buts are our common sportes and exercises (for so he hath heard) his minde will be so affected vnto them, and he will so busie himselfe about them, that hee will thinke to have as great an interest in them, as any of vs, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them as any else; yet doth he conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champion ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, hee is as busily earnest of his game, as he heareth others to be, that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, hee takes it in the left hand, and with the right streekes it away with his racket; In a piece he shutes at randome; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who

knowes

A blind man

knowes whether man-kind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default, the greater part of the visage of things be concealed from vs? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundrie of Natures workes, proceede thence? And whether diuers effects of beasts, which exceede our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense, that we want? And whether some of them, have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life then ours? We seize on an apple wel-nigh with all our senses: We finde rednes, smoothnes, odor and sweetnes in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either binding or restrictive, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to drawe yron, is it not likely there should be sensitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in vs the ignorance of the true essence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that vnto Cockes or Chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and mooveth them to crowe: That teacheth a Hen, before any vse or experience, to feare a Hawke, and not a Goose or a Peacocke, farre greater birds: That warneth yong chickens of the hostile qualitie which the Cat hath against them, and not to distrust a Dog; to strut and arme themselves against the mewling of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voyce) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling & quarrelous voice:) that instructeth Rats, Wasps, and Emmets, ever to chuse the best cheese and frute, having never tasted them before: And that addresseth the Stag, the Elephant, and the Serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no sense but hath some great domination, and which by his meane affordeth not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of soundes, of harmony and of the voyce, it would bring an unimaginable confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences and conclusions draw we vnto other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skilfull wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring vnto him, and what obscurity and blindnesse in our minde: By that shall we perceive, how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses, (if there be any in vs) doth import vs about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation & concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord & consent of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of hir, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combate mans science, do principally combate the same by the vncertainty and feeblenes of our senses: For, since by their meane and intermissional knowledge comes vnto vs, if they chaunce to misse in the report they make vnto vs, if eyther they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring vnto vs, if the light which by them is transported into our soule bee obscured in the passage, wee have nothing else to holde by. From this extreame difficultie are sprung all these fantazies, which everie Subject containeth, whatsoever wee finde in it: That it hath not what wee suppose to finde in it: And that of the Epycurians, which is, that the Sunne is no greater than our sight dooth judge it,

*Quicquid id est, nihilo fertur maiore figura,
Quam nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur.*

L4cr. l. 5. 576.

What ere it be, it in no greater forme doth passe,

Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seeming was.

that the apparances, which represent a great body, to him that is neare vnto them, & a much lesser to him that is further from them, are both true;

Nec tamen hic oculis falli concedimus hilum:

Lib. 4. 380

Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli.

387.

Yet graunt we not in this our eyes deceiv'd or blind,

Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind.

and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses: That a man must stand to their mercie, and elsewhere seeke reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in them; yea invent all other vntuths, and raving conceites (so farre come they) rather then accuse the senses. Timagoras swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: And that this seeming proceeded from the vice of o-

pinion, and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities, the most absurd amongst the Epicurians, is, to disavowe the force and effect of the senses.

92.

Proinde quod in quoque est his visum tempore, verum est.

Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,

Cur ea quæ fuerint iuxta quadrata, procul sint

Visa rotunda: tamen præstat rationis egentem

Reddere mendosæ causas utriusque figura,

Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam,

Et violare fidem primam, & convellere tota

Fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salusque.

Non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa

Concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis,

Præcipitesque locos vitare, & cætera quæ sint

In genere hoc fugienda.

What by the eyes is seene at any time, is true,

Though the cause Reason could not render of the view,

Why what was square at hand, a farre-off seemed round,

Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons ground

The causes of both formes we harp-on, but not hit,

Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and them omit,

And violate our first beliefe, and rashly rend

All those ground-works, whereon both life and health depend,

For not alone all reason falls, life likewise must

Faile out of hand, vnlesse your senses you dare trust,

And break-neck places, and all other errors shunne,

From which we in this kinde most carefully should runne.

This desperate and so little-philosophicall counsell, represents no other thing, but that humane science cannot be maintained but by vnreasonable, fond & mad reason; yet is it better, that man vse it to prevaile, yea & of all other remedies else how fantastickall soever they be, rather then avow his necessarie foolishnes: So prejudiciall and disadvantageous a veritie hee cannot avoyde, but senses must necessarily be the soveraigne maisters of his knowledge: But they are vncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstaunces: There, must a man strike to the vtmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to vse and employ obstinacie, temeritie and impudencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme, be true, that is to say, we have no science, whether the apparances of the senses be false, and that which the Stoicks say, that it is also true, that the senses apparances are so false, as they can produce vs no science: We wil conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and vncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as hee pleaseth, so ordinarie are the faults and deceits they vse towards vs. And the ecchoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a Trumpet seemeth to sound before vs, which commeth a mile behinde vs.

Lucr. l. 4. 398.

Extantæque procul medio de gurgite montes

Iidem apparent longe diversi licet.

390.

Et fugere ad puppim colles campique videntur

Quos agimus propter navim.

423.

ubi in medio nobis equus acer obhæsit

Flumine, equi corpus transversum ferre videtur

Vis, & in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.

And hilles, which from the maine far-off to kenning stand,

Appeare all one, though they farre distant be at hand.

And hilles and fields doe seeme vnto our bote to fly,

Which we drive by our bote as we doe passe thereby.

When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,

The stream's orethwarting seems his body crosse to sway,

And swiftly gainst the streame to thrust him th' other way.

— | To roule a bullet vnder the fore-finger, the midlemost being put over-it, a man must very much

much enforce himselfe, to affirme there is but one, so assuredly dooth our sense present vs
 unto. That the senses doe often maister our discourse, and force it to receive impressions, which
 he knoweth and judgedth to be false, it is dayly seene. I leave the sense of feeling, which hath
 his functions neerer, more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the grieve or
 paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall
 resolutions, and enforceth him, who with all resolution hath established this Dogma or do-
 ctrine in his minde, to crie out his belly aketh, and that the cholike, as every other sicknesse
 or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of Sovereigne good or
 chiefe felicitie, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue. *There is no heart so de-*
missie, but the rattling sound of a drumme, or the clang of a trumpet, will rowze and enflame; nor
minde so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmonie of musike, will moove and tickle; nor a-
ny soule so skittish and stubborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence, in considering the cloudy
vassitie and gloomie canopies of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly
order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our Organs, the moderate, sim-
phoniall, and heavenly harmonie of our voices: Even those that enter into them with an obsti-
nate will and contemning minde, have in their heart a feeling of remorse, of chillesse, and horrour,
that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions. As for me, I distrust mine
 owne strength, to heare with a settled minde some of *Horace* or *Catullus* verses sung with a
 sufficiently well tuned voice, vttered by, and proceeding from a faire, yong, and hart-alluring
 mouth. And *Zeno* had reason to say, that the voice was the flower of beauty. Some have gone
 about to make me believe, that a man, whom most of vs French men know, in repeating
 certaine verses he had made, had imposed vpon me, that they were not such in writing, as in
 the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise then mine eares: so much
 credite hath pronuntiation to give prise and fashon to those workes that passe her mercie:
 Whereuppon *Philoxenus* was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent
 to some composition of his, hee tooke in a rage some of his pottes or bricke, and brea-
 king them, trode and trampled them vnder his feete, saying vnto him, *I breake and trample*
what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine. Wherefore did they (who with
 an vndanted resolve have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow
 or stroke comming) turne their face away? And those who for their healths sake cause them-
 selves to be cut and cauterized, cannot endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instru-
 ments and workes of the Chirurgion, but because the sight should have no part of the paine
 or smart? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie, which senses have over dis-
 course? We may long-enough know that such a ones lockes or flaring-tresses are borrowed
 of a Page, or taken from some Lucky, that this faire ruby-red came from *Spaine*, & this white-
 nesse or smoothnes from the Ocean sea: yet must sight force vs to find, and deemethe subject
 more lovely and more pleasing, against all reason. For, in that there is nothing of it's owne,

Auferimur cultu gemmis, auròque teguntur

Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Sape ubi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiras:

Decipit hæc oculos Egide, dives amor.

We are misse-led by ornaments, what is amisse

Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the mayden is.

Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,

Rich love by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe vnto the vertue of the senses, which make *Narcissus* to have
 even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his shadow?

Cunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse,

Se cupit imprudens, & qui probat, ipse probatur,

Dúmque petit, petitur: pariterque accendit & ardet.

He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,

Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable,

He, that doth like, is lik't, and while he doth desire,

He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

and *Pigmalions* wits so troubled by the impression of the sight of his yvory statue that he lo-
 veth and serves it, as if it had life:

Ovid. rem. am.
lib. 1. 343.

Ovid. Metam.
lib. 3. 424.

Ovid. ib. l. 10
256.

*Oscula dat, reddique parat, sequiturque tenetque,
Et credit castis digitos insidere membris,
Et metuit pressos veniat ne livor in artus.*
He kisses, and thinkes kisses come againe,
Hesues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine,
His fingers shake where he doth touch the place,
And feares lest blacke and blew toucht lims deface.

n

Let a Philosopher be put in a Cage made of small and thin-set yron-wyre, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in *Paris*; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible hee should fall downe out of it; yet can he not chuse (except he have beene brought vp in the trade of Tilers or Thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needes dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For, we have much adoe to warrant our selves in the walkes, or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillars, and somewhat wide one from another, although of stone, and never so strong. Nay some there are, that can scarcely thinke or heare of such heights. Let a beame or plancke be laide acrossse from one of those two steeples to the other, as big, as thicke, as strong, and as broad, as would suffice any man to walke safely vpon it, there is no Philosophicall wisdom of so great resolution and constancie, that is able to encourage and perswade vs to march vpon it, as we would, were it belowe on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it vpon our mountaines on this side of *Italie*, yet am I one of those that wil not easily be afrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde, and trembling of legges and thighes endure to looke on those infinit precipises and steepie downefalles, though I were not neere the brim, nor any daunger within my length, and more; and vnlesse I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have falne. Where I also noted, that how deepe soever the bottom were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting cragge of a Rocke presented it selfe vnto our eyes, vpon those steepie and high Alpes, somewhat to vphold the sight, and divide the same, it doth somewhat ease and assure vs from feare, as if it were a thing, which in our fall might either helpe or vpholde vs: And that we cannot without some dread and giddines in the head, so much as abide to looke vpon one of those even and down-right precipises: *Et despici sine vertigine simul oculorum animique non possit: So as they can not looke downe without giddines, both of eyes and mindes:* Which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it, that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eies, that so he might discharge his soule of the debauching & diverting he received by them, and the better & more freely apply himselfe vnto philosophie. But by this accompt, he should also have stopped his cares, which (as *Theophrastus* said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sodaine impressions to trouble and alter vs, and should, in the end, have deprived himselfe of all his other senses, that is to say, both of his being, and life. For, they have the power to commaund our discourse and sway our mind: *Fit etiam saepe specie quadam, saepe vocum gravitate & cantibus, ut pellantur animi vehementius: saepe etiam cura & timore.* It comes to passe, that many times our minds are much mooved with some shadow, many times with deep-sounding, or singing voyces, many times with care and feare. Phisitions hold, that there are certaine complexions, which by some soundes and instruments are agitated even vnto fury. I have seene some, who without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawen vnder their table: and we see few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh, and teeth-edging noise that Smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of yron and Steele together: others will be offended, if they but heare one chew his meate somewhat a loude; nay some wil be angrie with, or hate a man, that either speakes in the nose, or rattles in the throate. That pyping prompter of *Graccus*, who mollified, raised, and wound his maisters voice, whilest he was making Orations at *Rome*; what good did he, if the motion and qualitie of the sound, had not the force to move, and efficacie to alter the auditories judgement? Verily, there is great cause to make so much adoe and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmnes of this goodly piece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The very same cheating and cozening, that senses bring to our vnderstanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our minde doth likewise take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another avie. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see or heare it as it is.

Eic. divin. lib. 1.

of

The second Booke.

347

Et solem geminum, & duplices se ostendere Thebas.

That two Sunnes doe appeare,
And double *Thebes* are there.

Virg. Æn. l. 4.
470

The object which we love, seemeth much more fairer vnto vs, then it is ;

Multimodis igitur prava turpesque videmus

Lucr. l. 4. 1146.

Esse in delicijs, summoque in honore vigere.

We therefore see that those, who many waies are bad,

And fowle, are yet belov'd, and in chiefe honor had.

and that much fowler which we loth. To a pensive and hart-grieved man, a cleare day seems gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not only altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if our minde be either busied or distracted else where?

—— *in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis,*

Ibid. 808.

Si non advertas animum, proinde esse, quasi omni

Tempore semota fuerint, longéque remotæ.

Ev'n in things manifest it may be scene,

If you marke not, they are, as they had beene

At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire hir selfe into the inmost parts, and ammuseth the senses faculties : So that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weakenes and falsehood. Those which have compared our life vnto a dreame, have happily had more reason so to doe, then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all hir faculties even, and as much, as when it waketh; and if more softly, and obscurely; yet verely not so, as that it may admitte so great a difference, as there is betweene a darke night, and a cleare day : Yea as betweene a night and a shadow : There it sleepeth, here it slum-breth : More or lesse, they are ever darkenesses, yea Chymerian darkenesses. We wake slee-ping, and sleepe waking. In my sleepe I see not so cleare; yet can I never finde my waking cleare enough, or without dimmes. Sleepe also in his deepest rest, doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe : But our waking is never so vigilant, as it may cleerely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle fantazies, which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiving the fantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorising our dreams-actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies. Why make we not a doubt, whether our thinking, and our working be another dreaming, and our wa-king some kinde of sleeping? If the senses be our first judges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell : For, in this facultie beasts have as much (or more) right, as we. It is most certaine, that some have their hearing more sharpe then man; others their sight; others their smelling; others their feeling, or taste. *Democritus* said, that Gods and beasts had the sensitive faculties much more perfect then man. Now betweene the effects of their senses and ours, the difference is extreame. Our spetle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth Serpents.

Tantæque in his rebus distantia differitæque est,

Ut quod alijs cibus est, alijs fuit acre venenum.

Lucr. l. 4. 649.

Sape etenim serpens, hominis contacta saliva,

Disperit, ac se se mandendo conficit ipsa.

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,

As what to one is meate, t'another poison brings.

For oft a serpent toucht with spittle of a man

Doth die, and gnawe it selfe with fretting all he can.

What qualitie shall we give vnto spetle, either according to vs, or according to the Ser-pent? By which two senses shall we verifie it's true essence, which we seeke-for? *Plinie* saith, that there are certaine Sea-hares in *India*, that to vs are poison, and we haue to them; so that we die if we but touch them; now whether is man or the Hare poison? Whom shall we be-leeve, either the fish or man, or the man of fish? Some quality of the aire infecteth man, which nothing at all hurterh the Oxe : Some other the Oxe, and not man : Which of the two is either in truth, or in nature the pestilent qualitie? Such as are troubled with the yellowe jan-dise, decieve all things they looke vpon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to vs.

Lurida

Ibid. 333.

*Lurida prater ea sunt quacunque tuentur**Arquati.*

And all that jaundis'd men behold,
They yellow straite or palish holde.

Those which are sicke of the disease which Phisitions call *Hyposphragma*, which is a suffusion of blood vnder the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sightes operation, what knowe we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts? For, we see some, whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jaundise; others, that have them all blood-shotten with rednes. It is likely that the objects-collour they looke vpon, seemeth otherwise to them then to vs. Which of the two judgments shall be true? For, it is not said, that the essence of things, hath reference to man alone. Hardnes, whitenes, depth and sharpnesse, touch the service and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well as ours: Nature hath given the vse of them to them, as well as to vs. When, we winke a little with our eye, we perceive the bodies we looke vpon to seeme longer and outstretched. Many beasts have their eie as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our eye above things seeme double vnto vs.

Ibid. 452.

454.

*Bina lacernarum florentia lumina flammis,**Et duplices hominum facies, & corpora bina.*

The lights of candels double flaming then;
And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our eares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing be stop't, we receive the sound otherwise, then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hearie eares, or that in lew of an eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare what we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemne shews or in Theaters, that opposing any collourd glasse betweene our eyes and the torches light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes or greene, or yellow, or red vnto vs, according to the collour of the glasse.

Ibid. 73.

*Et vulgò faciunt id lutea rufaque vela,**Et ferriginea cum magnis intenta theatris**Per malos volgata trabesque termentia pendent:**Namque ibi concessum caveai subter, & omnes**Scenai speciem patrum matrumque deorumque**Insiciunt, coguntque suo volitare colore,*

And yellow, russet, rustie curtaines worke this feate

In common sights abroad, where ever scaffolds great

Stretched on masts, spred over beames, they hang still waving.

All the seates circuit there, and all the stages braving,

Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled shoue

They double-dide, and in their collours make to flowe.

It is likely, that those beasts eyes, which we see to be of diverse colours, produce the apparances of those bodies they looke vpon, to be like their eyes. To judge the senses-operation, it were then necessary we were first agreeed with beastes, and then betweene our selves; which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth or tasteth, something to be other, then indeede it is; and contend as much as about any thing else of the diversity of those images, our senses reporte vnto vs. A yong childe heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are, and seeme vnto vs. Things being then so vncertaine, and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told vs, that we may avouch snow to seeme white vnto vs; but to affirme that it is in essence and in truth, we cannot warrant our selves: which foundation being so shaken, all the Science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What? doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: Shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste? There are Herbs and Ointments, which to some parts of the body are good, and to other some

other some hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but vnpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like fethers or sprigs, which in impreses are called, fethers without ends, no eye can discern the bredth of them, and no man warrant himselfe from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling it seemeth equall in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to vse perspective or looking glasses, fit to make the object they represented, appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to vse, might by that oculare increase please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeelded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling, that presented them little and to be disdained? Is it our senses that lend these diuerse conditions vnto subjects, when for all that, the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eate: it is but Bread, but one vsing it, maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

Vt cibus in membra atque artus cum diditur omnes

Ibid. l. 3. 728

Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se.

As meate distributed into the members dies,

Another nature yet it perishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes, becomes a trunke, a leafe and a fruite: And the aire being but one; applied vnto a trumpet, becommeth diuerse in a thousand sortes of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diuerse qualities those subjects, or whether they have them so and such? And vpon this doubt, what may we conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sickenesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other vnto vs, then they seeme vnto the healthie, vnto the wise, and to the waking. Is it not likely, that our right seate and naturall humours, have also wherewith to give a being vnto things, having reference vnto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humours; and our health, as capable to give them his visage, as sickenesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative vnto himselfe, as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his Character in them? The distastfull impute wallowishnesse vnto Wine: the healthie, good taste; and the thirstie brisknesse, relish and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things vnto it selfe, and transforming them to it's owne humour: we know no more how things are in sooth and truth; For, *nothing comes vnto vs but falsified and altered by our senses.* Either the compasse, the quadrant or the ruler are crooked: All proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The vncertainie of our senses yeelds what ever they produce, also vncertaine.

Denique ut in fabrica, si prava est regula prima,

Ibid. l. 4. 514

Normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,

Et libella aliqua si ex parte claudicat hilum,

Omnia mendose fieri, atque obliqua necessum est,

Prava, cubantia prona, supina, atque absena tecta,

Iam ruere ut quadam videantur velle, ruantque

Prodita indicij fallacibus omnia primis.

Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est,

Falsaque sit falsis quaecunque a sensibus orta est.

As in building if the first rule be to blame,

And the deceitfull squire erre from right forme and frame,

If any instrument want any jot of weight,

All must needs faultie be, and stooping in their height,

The building naught, absurd, vpward and downeward bended,

As if they meant to fall, and fall as they intended;

And all this as betrayde by iudgements formeost laide.

Of things the reason therefore needes must faultie bee

And false, which from false senses drawes it's pedigree.

As for the rest, who shall be a competent iudge in these differences? As we said in controversies of religion, that we must have a iudge enclined to neither party, and free from partialitie,

tialitie, or affection, which is hardly to be had among Christians; so hapneth it in this: For, if he be old, he cannot judge of ages senses; himselfe being a party in this controversie: and so if he be yoong, healthy, sicke, sleeping or waking, it is all one: We had neede of some bodie voyde and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent vnto him: By which account wee should have a Iudge, that were no man. To judge of the apparances that we receive of subjects, we had neede have a iudicatorie instrument: to verifie this instrument, we should have demonstration; and to approove demonstration, an instrument: thus are wee ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our disputation, themselves being so full of vncertaintie, it must then be reason: And no reason can be established without another reason: then are we ever going backe vnto infinity Our fantasie doth not apply it self to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of senses; and senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; Nay, not so much as their owne passions; and so, nor the fantasie, nor the apparance is the subjects, but rather the passions only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion and subject are divers things: Therefore *who iudgeth by apparances, iudgeth by a thing different from the subject.* And to say, that the senses passions, referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance vnto the soule: How can the soule and the vnderstanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not *Socrates*, seeing his picture cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man iudge by apparances, be it by all, it is impossible; for, by their contrarieties and differences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparances rule and direct the others? This choyse must be verified by an other choyse, the second by a third: and so shall we never make an end. In few, *there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the objects.* And we, and our judgement, and al mortal things els, do vncessantly rowle, turne and passe-away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, nor of the one, nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and motion. Wee have no communication with being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparance and shaddow, and an vncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhappes you fix your thought to take it's being; it would be even, as if one should goe about to *grasp* the Water: for, how much the more he shall close and presse that, which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another; reason, which therein seeketh a reall substance, findes hir selfe deceived, as vnable to apprehend any thing subsistant and permanent: forsomuch as each thing eyther commeth to a being, and is not yet altogether; or beginneth to dy before it be borne. *Plato* said, that bodies had never an existence, but indeede a birth, supposing that *Homer* would have made the *Ocean* Father, & *Thetis* Mother of the Gods, thereby to shew-vs, that all things are in continuall motion, change, and variation. As he saith, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time; Only *Parmenides* excepted, who denied any motion to be in things; of whose power he maketh no small account. *Pythagoras* that each thing or matter was ever gliding, and labile. The *Stoickes* affirme, there is no present time, and that which we call present, is but a conjoyning and assembling of future time and past. *Heraclitus* averreth, that no man ever entred twise in one same river. *Epicarmus* avoweth, that who erewhile borrowed any mony, doth not now owe-it: & that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, commeth to day vnbidden; since they are no more themselves, but are become others: and that one mortall substance could not twise be found in one selfe state: for, by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change, sometimes it wasteth, and othertimes it re-assembleth; now it comes, and now it goes; in such sort, that hee who beginneth to be borne, never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne commeth never to an end, nor ever stayeth as being at an end; but after the seede proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seede, there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, than a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking babe, afterward he becommeth a ladde, then consequently a striplin, then a full-growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged decrepite man. So that age and subsequent generation goeth ever vndoing and wasting the precedent.

*Ex alioque alius status excipere omnia debet,
Nec manet illa sui similis res, omnia migrant,
Omnia commutat natura & vertere cogit.*

Ofth' vniuersall world, age doth the nature change,
And all things from one state must to another range,
No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe passe,
Nature doth change, and drive to change, each thing that was.

And when wee others do foolishlie feare a kinde of death, when as wee have already past, and dayly passe so many others. For, not only (as *Heracitus* said) the death of fire is a generation of ayre; and the death of ayre, a generation of Water. But also we may most evidently see it in our selves. The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes vppon vs, and youth endeth in the flower of a full-growne mans age: Childehood in youth, and the first age, dieth in infancie: and yesterday endeth in this day, and to day shall dy in to morrow. And *nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state*. For, to prooue it, if we should euer continue one and the same, how is it then, that now we reioyce at one thing, and now at another? How comes it to passe, wee love things contrarie, or we hate them, or we love them, or we blamethem? How is it, that we have different affections, holding no more the same sence in the same thought? For, it is not likely, that without alteration we should take other passions, and *What admitteth alterations, continueth not the same*: and if it be not one self same, than is it not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses are deceived and lie falsely, taking what appeareth for what is; for want of truely-knowing what it is that is. But then what is it, that is indeede? That which is eternal, that is to say, that, which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For, time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as in a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, alwayes fluent, without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, *Before* and *After*: and it *Hath beene*, or *Shall be*. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew, that it is not a thing, which is; for, it were great sottishnesse, and apparant falsehood, to say, that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these wordes, *Present*, *Instant*, *Even-now*, by which it seemes, that especially we vphold and principally ground the intelligence of time; reason discovering the same, dooth forthwith destroy it: for, presently it severeth it asunder, and divideth it into future and past-time, as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much happeneth vnto nature, which is measured according vnto time, which measureth hir: for, no more is there any thing in hir, that remaineth or is subsistent: rather all things in hir are either borne, or ready to be borne, or dying. By meanes whereof, it were a sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be: for these wordes are declinations, passages, or Vicissitudes of that, which cannot last, nor continue in being. Wherefore, we must conclude; *that onely God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoovable and unmooving eternitie, not measured by time, nor subiect to any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shalbe after, nor more new or more recent, but a reall being: which by one only Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is, but he alone*: Without saying, he hath beene, or he shalbe, without beginning, and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man, I will only adde this word, taken from a testimonie of the same condition, for an end of this long and periode of this tedious discourse, which might wel furnish me with endlesse matter. *Oh, what a vile and abiect thing is man* (saith he) *unless he raise himselfe above humanitie!* Observe here a notable speech, and a profitable desire; but likewise absurde. For, to make the handfull greater than the hand, and the embraced greater then the arme; and to hope to straddle more than our legs length; is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for, he cannot see but with his owne eies, nor take holde but with his owne armes. He shall raise himselfe vp, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere Heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.

The thirteenth Chapter. xl^o

Of iudging of others death.

WHen we iudge of others assurance or boldnes in death, which without all peradventure, is the most remarkeable action of humane life, great heede is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleewe he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution, that it is their last houre: And no where doth hopes-deceite amuse vs more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares, that others have bene sicker, and yet have not died; the case is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make too much account of our selves. It seemeth, that the generalitie of things doth in some sort suffer for our annulation, and takes compassion of our state. For so much as our sight being altered, represents vnto it selfe things alike; and we imagine, that things faile it, as it doth to them: As they who travell by Sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course, they doe:

Vir. Æn. l. 3.
72.*Provehimur portu, terraque urbesque recedunt.*We sayling launch from harbor, and
Behinde our backes leave townes, leave land.

Who ever sawe olde age, that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with hir miserie, and lowring discontent?

Lucr. l. 2. 1130.

*Imaque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,
Et cum tempora temporibus presentia confert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum.*

X^o

The gray-beard plow-man sighs, shaking his hoarie head,
Compares times that are nowe, with times past heretofore,
Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,
And crakes of ancient men, whose honestie was more.

Wee entraine and carrie all with vs: Whence it followeth, that wee deeme our death to be some great matter, and which passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation of the Starres; *Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos.* So many Gods keeping a stirre about one mans life. And so much the more we thinke it, by how much more we prise ourselves. What? Should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great damage, without the Destinies particular care? A soule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be killed, then a popular and vnprofitable soule? This life, that covereth so many others, of whom so many other lives depend, that, for his vse possesseth so great a part of the world, and filleth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by it's owne simple string? No one of vs thinks it sufficient, to be but one. Thence came those words of *Cæsar* to his pilot, more proudly swolne, then the Sea that threatned him:

Lucan. l. 3. 379

*—Italiam si calo auctore recusas,
Me pete: sola tibi causa hæc est instat timoris,
Vectorem non nosse tuum, perrumpere procellas
Tutela secure mei:*

If *Italie* thou doe refuse with heav'n thy guide,
Turne thee to me: to thee onely just cause of feare
Is that thy passinger thou know'st not; stormie tide
Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou dost beare.

And these.

Ibid. 653.

*— credit iam digna pericula Cæsar
Fatis esse suis: tantisque evertere (dixit)
Me superis labor est, parva quem puppe sedentem,*

Tam

Tam magno petiere mari.

Cesar doth now beleewe, those dangers worthie are
Of his set fate; and saies, doe Gods take so much paine
Me to vndoe, whom they thus to assault prepare.
Set in so small a skiffe, in such a furing maine?

And this common foppery, that *Pharbus* for one whole yeare, bare mourning weedes on his forehead for the death of him:

*Ille etiam extincto miseratus Casare Romam,
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.*

*Virg. Georg. l. 1.
466*

The Sunne did pittie take of Rome when Caesar dide,
When he his radiant head in obscure rust did hide.

And a thousand such, wherewith the world suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht, deeming that our owne interests disturbe heaven, and his infinitie is moved at our least actions.

Non tanta calo societas nobiscum est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit ille quoque siderum fulgor. There is *Plin. nat. hist. l. 2. ca. 8. p.*
no such societie betweene heaven and vs, that by our destinie the shining of the starres should be mortall as we are. And to judge a resolution and constancie in him, who though he be in manifest danger, dooth not yet beleewe it, it is no reason: And it sufficeth not, that he die in that ward, vnlesse he have directly, and for that purpose put himselfe into it: It hapneth, that most men set a sterne countenance on the matter, looke big, and speake stoutly, thereby to acquire reputation, which if they chance to live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I have seene die, fortune hath disposed their countenances, but not their desseignes. And of those which in ancient times have put themselves to death, the choise is great, whether it were a sodaine death, or a death having time and leasure. That cruell Romane Emperor, said of his prisoners, that hee would make them feelee death: And if any fortun'd to kill himselfe in prison, That fellow hath escaped me (would he say.) He would extend and linger death, and cause it be felt by torments.

*Vidimus & toto quamuis in corpore cæso,
Nil anima lethale datum, morémque nefandæ
Durum sevitia, pereuntis parcere morti.*

Lucan. l. 2. 179.

And we have scene, when all the body tortur'd lay,
Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane way
Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die.

Verely, it is not so great a matter, being in perfect health, and well settled in minde, for one to resolve to kill himselfe: It is an easie thing to shew stoutnes and play the wag before one come to the pinch. So that *Heliogabalus* the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposely caused a stately towre to be built, the nether part and fore-court whereof was floored with boardes richly set and enchas'd with gold and precious stones, from off which he might headlong throwe himselfe downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himselfe: And a rich golden rapier, to thrust himselfe through: And kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topases, to poison himselfe with, according to the humor hee might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

Impiger & fortis virtute coacta.

A ready minded gallant,
And inforst valour valiant.

*Lib. 4. 797. Gu-
rio.*

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparations makes it more likely, that he would have fainted, had he beene put to his triall. But even of those, who most vndantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life-ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feelee the effect thereof. For, it is hard to gesse, seeing life droope away by little and little, the bodies feeling entermingling it selfe with the soules, meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstinacie were found in him. In *Cæsars* civill warres, *Lucius Domitius* taken in *Prussia*, having empoisoned himselfe, did afterward rue and repent his deede. It hath hapned in our dayes, that some having resolved to die, and at first not

stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never strike sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of *Plantius Silianus* was preparing, *Vrgulania* his grandmother, sent him a poignard, wherewith not able to kill himselfe thoroughly; hee caused his owne servants to cutte his veines. *Albucilla* in *Tiberius* time, purposing to kill himselfe, but striking over faintly, gave his enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison him, and appoint him what death they pleased. So did Captaine *Demosthenes* after his discomfiture in *Sicilie*. And *C. Fimbria* having over feeble wounded himselfe, became a tutor to his boy, to make an end of him. On the other side, *Ostorius*, who forsomuch as hee could not vse his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe carried his throate to it's point, and so was thrust through. To say truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, vnlesse his throate be frost-hod. And therefore *Adrianus* the Emperour made his Physitian to marke and take the iust compasse of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loewhy *Cesar* being demanded; which was the death he most allowed, answered, *the least premeditated, and the shortest*. If *Cesar* saide it, it is no faintnesse in me to beleeeve it. *A short death (saith Plinie) is the chiefe happe of humane life*. It grieveth them to acknowledge it. No man can be saide, to be resolved to die, that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke vpon, and out-stare it with open eyes. Those, which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and hasten the execution, doe it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same; it grieues them not to be dead, but to die.

*Cic. Tus. qu. l. i.
Epicha.*

Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil estimo.

I would not die too soone;

But care not, when tis doone.

It is a degree of constancie, vnto which I have experienced to arrive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the Sea, with closed eyes. In mine opinion, there is nothing more worthy the noting in *Socrates* life, then to have thirtie whole dayes to ruminate his deaths-decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without dismay or alteration, and with a course of actions and words, rather suppressed, and loose-hanging, then out-stretched and raised by the weight of such a cogitation. That *Pomponius Atticus*, to whome *Cicero* writeth, being sicke, caused *Agrippa* his sonne in lawe, and two or three of his other friends to be called-for, to whom he saide, that hauing assaied, how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life, did also lengthen and augment his griefe, he was now determined to make an end of one and other; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes, they would loose their labour to dissuade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his sickenes was cured by accident; The remedy he had employed to make himselfe away, brought him to health againe. The Physitions, and his friendes, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived; for, with all they could doe, they were never able to make him alter his former opinion, saying, that as he must one day passe that carriere, and being now so forward, he would remoove the care, another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not onely no whit discouraged, when hee comes to front it, but resolutely fallies vpon it: for, being satisfied of that, for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see the end of it. It is farre from fearing death, to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of *Cleanthes* the philosopher, is much like to this. His goomes being swolne, his Physitions perswaded him to vse great abstinence; having fasted two dayes, hee was so well amended, as they tolde him he was well, and might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily, having already tasted some sweetenes in this fainting, resolveth not to drawe backe, but finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. *Tullius Marcellinus*, a yong Romane Gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destinie, to ridde himselfe of a disease, which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physitions promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely; called his friends vnto him to determine about it: some (saith *Seneca*) gave him that counsell, which for weakenes of heart, themselves would have taken, others for flatterie that, which they imagined would be most pleasing vnto him: but a cer-

taine

aine Stoike standing by, saide thus vnto him. *Toyle not thy selfe Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter, to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and brute beastes live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is, thou doest one same thing, to eate, to drinke, and sleepe, to drinke, to sleepe, to eate. Wee are ever vncessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle.* Not onely bad and intollerable accidents, but the very facietie to live, brings a desire of death. *Marcellinus* had no neede of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him: his servants were afraide to meddle with him; but this Philosopher made them to vnderstand, that familiars are suspected, onely when the question is, whether the maisters death have beene voluntary: otherwise it would be as bad an example to hinder him, as to kill him, forso much as,

Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.

Who saves a man against his will,

Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

Hor. art. Poet.

467.

Then he advertized *Marcellinus*, that it would not be vnseemely, as fruit or comfets at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given vnto by-standers, so the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. *Marcellinus* being of a franke and liberall disposition, caused certaine summes of money to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest, there needed neither yron nor blood, hee vndertooke to departe from this life, not by running from it: Not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargain with death, having quit all manner of nouriishment, the third day ensuing, after hee had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with lukewarme water, by little and little he consumed away; and (as he saide) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and frownings of the heart; which proceede from weakenesse, say, that they feelee no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated, and digested deaths. But that *Cato* alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth, his good destiny, caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blowe, to be sicke and sore: that so he might have leisure to affront death, and to embrace it, re-enforcing his courage in that danger, in lieu of mollifying the paine. And should I have represented him in his prowdest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entrailes, and rending his guttes, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the Statuaries of his time. For, this second murder, was much more furious, then the first.

The fourteenth Chapter.

How that our spirit hindreth it selfe. A

IT is a pleasant imagination, to conceive a spirit justly balanced betweene two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved vpon any match: Forso much as the application and choise brings an inequality of prize: And who should place vs between a Bottle of wine, and a Gamon of Bacon, with an equall appetite to eate & drinke, doubtles there were no remedie, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded, whence the election of two indifferent things cometh into our soule (& which causeth, that from out a great number of Crownes or Angels we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce vs to prefer any one before others) they answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and inordinate, comming into vs by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said, that nothing is presented vnto vs, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it be: And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choise, which tempteth and drawes vs to it, though imperceptible and not to be distinguished. In like maner, he that shall presuppose a twine-thrid, equally strong all-through, it is impossible by all impossibilitie that it breake; for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. Who should

also adde to this, the Geometrical propositions, which by the certaintie of their demonstrations, conclude, the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference: And that finde two lines vncessantly approaching one vnto another, and yet can never meete and joyne together: And the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: Might peradventure drawe thence some argument to salve and helpe this bold speech of *Plinie. Solum certum nihil esse certi, & homine nihil miserius aut superbius. This onely is sure, that there is nothing sure, and nothing more miserable, and yet more arrogant then man.*

Plin. nat. hist.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

The fifteenth Chapter.

That our desires are encreased by difficultie. 5

Sen. epist. 98

THERE is no reason but hath another contrarie vnto it, saith the wisest partie of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminare vpon this notable saying, which an ancient writer aleadgeth for the contempt of life. *No good can bring vs any pleasure, except that, against whose losse we are prepared: In aquo est dolor amisse rei, & timor amittenda, Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of loosing it, are on an even ground.* Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life, cannot perfectly be pleasing vnto vs, if we stand in any feare to loose it. A man might nevertheless say on the contrarie part, that we embrace and clasp this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from vs. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is rouzed vp by the assistance of cold, even so our wil is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

Ovid. am. lib. 2.
el. 19. 27.

Si nunquam Danaen habuisset abenea turris,

— Non esset Danae de Ioue facta parens.

If Danae had not beene clos'd in brazen tower

Ioue had not clos'd with Danae in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste, as satietie, which comes from ease and facilitie, nor nothing that so much sharpneth it, as rarenes and difficultie. *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit. The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it.*

Mart. l. 4. epigr.
13.

Gallanega satiatur amor nisi gaudia torquent.

Good wench, deny, my love is cloyed,

Vnlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keep love in breath and longing, *Lycurgus* ordained, that the married men of *Lacedaemonia* might never converse with their wives, but by stealth, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them laid together, as if they were found lying with others. The difficultie of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, and the shame of ensuing to morrow,

Hor. epod. 11. 13

— & languor, & silentium,

Et latere petitus imo spiritus.

And whispering voice, and languishment,

And breath in sighes from deepe fides sent.

are the things that give relish and tartnes to the sawce. How many most lasciviously-pleasant sports, proceede from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the daliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnes seekes to provoke and stirre it selfe vp by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gauleth. The curtezan *Flora* was wont to say, that she never lay with *Pompey*, but she made him carrie away the markes of hir teeth.

Iucr. i. 4. 1070.

Quod petiere, premunt arte faciuntque dolorem

Corporis, & dentes inlidunt sepe labellis:

Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant ledere id ipsum

Quodcumque est, rabies unde ille germina surgunt,

So goes it every where: *Rarenes and difficultie giveth esteeme unto things.* Those of *Marca Ancona* in *Italie*; make their vowes, and goe one pilgrimage rather vnto *Saint Iames* in *Gallicia*, and those of *Gallicia* rather vnto our *Ladie of Loreto*. In the countrie of *Liege*, they make more account of the Bathes of *Luca*; and they of *Tuscanie* esteeme the Baths of *Spawe* more then their owne: In *Rome* the fence-schooles are ever full of French-men, when few *Romanes* come vnto them. Great *Cato*, as well as any else, was even cloyed and distasted with his wife, so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for hir, and would faine have lickt his fingers at hir. I have heretofore put forth an old stallion into a race, who before did no sooner see or smell a Mare, but was so lustie, that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him; ease and facilitie, to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomake, and so cloyed him, that he is wearie of them: But toward strange Mares, and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him, but sodainly he returnes to his old wonted neighings, and furious heat. Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choise and owne possession, to runne after, and pursue what he hath not.

Transuolat in medio posita, & fugientia captat.

*Hor. Ser. lib. 1.
Sat. 2. 107.*

It over-flies what open lies,

Pursuing onely that which flies.

To forbid vs any thing, is the readie way to make vs long for it.

— nistu servare puellam

*Ovid. Am. lib.
2. el. 19. 47.*

Incipis, incipiet desinere esse me am.

If you begin not your wench to enshrine,

She will begin to leave-off to be mine.

And to leave it altogether to our will, is but to breede dislike and contempt in vs; So that to want, and to have store, breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.

Tibi quod superest, mihi quod desit, dolet.

*Ter. Phor act.
1. sc. 3.*

You grieve because you have to much;

It grieves me that I have none such.

Wishing and injoying trouble vs both alike. The rigor of a mistris is yrkesome, but ease and facilitie (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceede of the estimation wee have of the thing desired, which sharpen love, and set it afire: Whereas *Satiety* be gets distaste: It is a dull, blunt, wearie, and drouzie passion.

Si qua volet regnare diu, contemnat amantem.

*Ovid. Am. lib.
2. el. 19. 33.*

If any list long to beare sway,

Scorne she hir louer ere she play.

— contemnite amantes,

*Prep. lib. 2. el.
14. 19.*

Sic hodie veniet, si qua negavit heri,

Lovers, your lovers skorne, contemne, delude, deride;

So will she come to day, that yesterday denide.

Why did *Poppea* devise to maske the beauties of hir face, but to endere them to hir lovers? Why are those beauties vailed downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one ouer another, those parts, where chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes, and verdugalles, wherewith our women arme their flankes, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle vs to them by putting vs off?

Et fugit ad salices, & se cupit ante videri.

*Virg. buce. ecl. 3.
65.*

She to the willow's runs to hide,

Yet gladly would she first be spide.

Interdum tunica duxit aperta moram.

*Pro. 16. eleg.
15. 6.*

She cover'd with hir cote in play,

Did sometime make a short delay.

Whereto serveth this mayden-like bashfulnesse, this wilfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things, which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to encrease a desire, and endear a longing in vs, to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure, to dispose all this squemish ceremony, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight, but a glory to beefot and debauch this dainty and

and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfulnesse, and to subject a marble and sterne gravitie to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance: and who disswadeth Ladies from these partes, betraieth both them and himselfe. It is to be supposed, that their hart yerneth with feare, that the sound of our wordes, woundeth the purity of their eares, for which they hate vs, and with a forced constraint, agree to withstand our importunitie. Beauty with all hir might, hath not wherewith to give a taste of her self without these interpositions. See in *Italie*, where most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes and suttile devises, arts and trickes, to yeeld hir self pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, do what it can, being venall and common, it remaineth feeble, and is even languishing. *Even as in vertue, of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest, and worthiest, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affoordeth greater hazards.* It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church, to be vexed and turmoyled, as we see, with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze, and awaken by this contrast and strife the godly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security, and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquility had plunged them. If wee shall counterpoize the losse we have had, by the number of those, that have strayed out of the right way, and the profite that accrueth vnto vs, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeales and forces; I wot not whether the profite doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our marriages the faster, by remooving all meanes to dissolve them, but by how much faster, that of constraint hath bin tyed, so much more hath that of our will and affection bin slackened and loosed: Whereas on the contrary side, that, which so long time held marriages in honour and safety in *Rome*, was the liberty to breake them who list. They kept their wives the better, for so much as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely ⁿ be had, there past five hundred yeares and more, before any would ever make vse of them.

Ovid. Am. lib.
2. el. 19. 3.

Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius vrit.

What we may doe, doth little please.

It woormes vs more, that hath lesse ease.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient Writer be adjoynded that torments doe rather encourage vices, than suppress them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the work of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be surprized in doing evill.

Latius excisa pestis contagia serpunt.

The infection of the plague nigh-spent,

And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to bee reformed that way. The order and regiment of manners dependeth of some other meane. The Greeke stories, make mention of the Argipians, neighbouring vpon *Scubia*, who live without any rodde or staffe of offence, where not onely, no man vndertakes to buckle with any other man, but whosoever can but save himself there (by reason of their virtue & sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares so much as touch him. Manie have recourse to them, to attone and take vp quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men elsewhere. There is a Nation, where the enclosures of Gardens and Fields, they intend to keep several, are made with a seely twine of cotton, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast, then are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractorius praeferit.* Things sealed up sollicite a thiefe to breake them open: Whereas a common burglar will passe by quietly things that lie open. Amongst other meanes, ease and facility dooth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill warres: Inclosure and fencing draws on the enterprise; and defiance, the offence. I have abated and weakned the souldiers designe, by taking hazard and all meanes of military glory from their exploite, which is wont to serve them for a title, and steade them for an excuse. What is performed coragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not hir due course, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and tretcherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a Porter, as an auncient custome, and vsed ceremony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate, as to offer it more decently and courteously to all commers. I have nor watch nor sentinell, but what the Starres keepe for mee. That Gentleman is much to blame, who makes a shew to stand vpon his garde, except he be very strong indeede. Who so is open on one side, is so every where. Our Fore-fathers

never

Sen. epist. 69.

never dreamed on building of frontire Townes or Castles.

The meanes to assaile (I meane without batterie, and troopes of armed men) and to sur-
prise our houses, encrease dayly beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are
generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An invaision concerneth all, the defence
none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. X
I have since added nothing vnto it that way; & I would feare the strength of it, should turne
against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall vnfortifie them. It is dange-
rous not to be able to recover them againe, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For,
concerning intestine broiles, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of.
And where religion serveth for a pretence, even aliances and consanguinitie become mi-
strustfull vnder colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garisons.
They should all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are we able to do it, without our
apparant ruine, or more incommodiouly, and therewithall injuriously, without the com-
mon peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not be much worse. And if you
chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and vnhee-
dinesse, then to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesnesse, concerning the of-
fices belonging to your profession. That so many strongly-garded houses have beene
lost, whereas mine continueth still, makes mee suspect they were overthrowne, onely be-
cause they were so diligently garded. It is that which affoordeth a desire, & ministreth a pre-
tence to the assailant. All gards beare a shew of warre; which if God be so pleased may light
vpon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreat to rest my selfe
from warres. I endeavour to free this corner from the publike storme, as I doe another cor-
ner in my soule. Our warre may change forme, and multiply and diversifie how and as
long as it list; but for my selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many baricaded and armed hou-
ses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my qualitie, hath mecrely trusted the protection
of his vnto the heavens: for I never remooved neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evi-
dences. I will neither feare, nor save my selfe by halves. If a full acknowledgement purcha-
seth the favour of God, it shall last me for ever vnto the end: if not, I have continued long
enough, to make my continuance remarkeable, and worthy the registring. What? Is not
thirtie yeares a goodly time? *The civil wars of France in these tymes, was
boody long & universall.* 2

The sixteenth Chapter.

Of Glory. 5

There is both the name, and the thing: the name, is a voyce which noteth, and signifieth
the thing: the name, is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a stranger-piece ioyned
to the thing, and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the tipe of all per-
fection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased: yet may his name be encreased and
augmented, by the blessing and praise, which we give vnto his exterior workes; which
praise and blessing since we cannot incorporate into him, for so much as no accession of good
can be had vnto him, we ascribe it vnto his name, which is a parte without him, and the nee-
rest vnto him. And that is the reason why *glory and honour appertaineth to God onely*. And
there is nothing so repugnant vnto reason, as for vs to goe about to purchase any for our
selves: For, being inwardly needie and defective, and our essence imperfect, and ever wan-
ting amendment, we ought onely labour about that. Wee are all hollow and emptie, and it
is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We have neede of a more solide sub-
stance to repaire our selves. *An hunger-starved man might be thought most simple, rather to pro-
vide himselfe of a faire garment, then of a good meales-meate:* We must run to that, which most
concerneth vs. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus. Glory be to God on high, and peace* Luke 2.14.
in earth among men; As say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health,
wisdom, vertue and such like essentiall partes. Exterior ornaments may be sought-for
when we are once provid:d, of necessary things. Divinitie doth very amply and pertinently
treate

treate of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. *Chrysippus* and *Diogenes* have bin the first, and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so dangerous, nor so much to be avoided, as that which commeth vnto vs by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes vs thereby feeble and vndergoe many damageable treasons: *Nothing so much empoisoneth Princes as flattery*: Nor nothing whereby the wicked-minded gaine so easily credite about them; nor any enticement so fit, nor pandership so ordinary to corrupt the chastitie of women, then to feede and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive *Vlisses*, is of this nature.

*Déjà vers nous, déjà, o tresorable Vlissee,
Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grece fleurisse.*

Turne to vs, to vs turne, *Vlisses* thrice-renowned.

The principall renowne wherewith all *Greece* is crowned.

Philosophers saide, that all the worldes glory deserved not; that a man of wisdom should so much as stretch forth his finger to acquire it.

Iuven. sat. 7. 81.

Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

Never so glorious name,

What is't, be it but fame?

I say for it alone: for, it drawes many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: It purchaseth vs good will: It makes vs lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall decrees of *Epicurus*: for, that precept of his Sect, **HIDE THY SELFE**, which forbiddeth men to meddle with publike charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory: which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we give evidence of. He that bids vs to hide our life, and care but for our selves, and would not have vs know of others, would also have vs not to be honoured and glorified thereby. So doth he counsell *Idomeneas*, by no meanes to order his actions, by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: vnlesse it be to avoide other accidentall incommodities, which the contempt of men might bring vnto him. Those discourses are (in mine advise) very true and reasonable: But, I wot not how, wee are double in our selves, which is the cause, that what wee beleewe, we beleewe it not, and cannot rid our selves of that, which we condemne. Let vs consider the last words of *Epicurus*, and which hee speaketh as hee is dying: They are notable and worthy such a Philosopher: but yet they have some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had described. Behold here a letter, which he endited a little before hee yeilded vp his ghost. *Epicurus to Hermachus health and greeting: Whilst I passed the happy, and even the last day of my life I writ this, accompanied neverthelesse with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added to the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompensed with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses brought vnto my soule. Now as requireth the affection, which even from thy infancie thou hast borne me and Philosophie, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children: Loe here his letter. And which makes me interpret, that the pleasure which in his soule he saith to feeble of his inventions, doth in some sorte respect the reputation, which after his death he thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament, by which he willeth, that *Aminomachus* and *Timocrates* his heires, should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of Ianuary supply all such charges as *Hermachus* should appoint: And also for the expence hee might be at vpon the twentieth of every Moone for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friendes, who in the honour of his memorie and of *Metrodorus* should meete together. *Carneades* hath bene chiefe of the contrary opinion, and hath maintained, that glory was in it selfe to be desired, even as we embrace our posthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor ioyissance of them. This opinion hath not mislead to be more commonly followed, as are ordinarily those, that fit most and come neere our inclinations. *Aristotle* amongst externall goods yeeldeth the first ranke vnto it: And avoideth, as two extrame vices, the immoderation, either in seeking, or avoiding it. I believe, that had we the bookes which *Cicero* writ vpon this subject, wee should heare strange matters of him: for he was so fond in this passion, as had he dared, he would (as I thinke) have easily falne into the excesse, that others fell in; which is, that even ver-*

tue

tie was not to be desired, but for the honour, which ever waited on it:

Paulam sepulchra distat inertia

Celata virtus.

*Hor. car. li. 4.
od. 9. 29.*

There is but little difference betweene,

Vertue conceald, vnskilfulnesse vnscene.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans vnderstanding that had the honour to beare the name of a Philosopher. If that were true, a man needed not to be vertuous but in publike: and we should never neede to keepe the soules-operations in order and rule, which is the true seate of vertue, but onely so much as they might come to the knowledge of others. Doth then nothing else belong vnto it, but craftily to faile, and subtilly to cozen? If thou knowest a Serpent to be hidden in any place (saith *Carneades*) to which, he by whose death thou hopest to reape commodity, goeth vnawares to sit vpon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more, because thy action should be known but to thy self. If we take not the law of wel-doing from our selves: If impunity be justice in vs, to how many kindes of trecheries are we daily to abandon our selves? That which *Sp. Peduceus* did, faithfully to restore the riches which *C. Plotius* had committed to his onely trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often; I thinke not so commendable, as I would deem it execrable, if we had not done it. And I think it beneficial we should in our dayes be mindefull of *Publius Sextilius Rufus* his example, whom *Cicero* accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: Not only repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And *M. Crassus*, and *Q. Hortensius*, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine Quidities beene called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good: they were pleased not to be partakers of his forgery, yet refused not to take some profite of it: Very closely had they kept themselves vnder the countenance of the accusations, witnesses and lawes. *Meminerint Deum se habere testes, id est (ut Ego arbitror) mentem suam.* Let them remember they have God to witnesse, that is, (as I construe it) their owne minde. Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing, if it draw hir commendation from glorie. In vaine should we attempt to make hir keepe hir rancke apart, and so should we disioyne it from fortune: for, *What is more casuall than reputation? Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: Ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque.* Fortune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abaseth them rather by froward disposition, then upright iudgement. To make actions to be knownen and scene, is the meere worke of fortune. It is chance that applyeth glory vnto vs, according to her temeritie. I have often scene it to goe before desert; yea and many times to out-goe merite by very much. He that first be-thought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better than he desired. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before hir body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach Nobility to seeke in valour nothing but honor: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatem non sit; As though it were not honest, except it were ennobled.* What gaine they by it? But to instruct them never to hazard themselves, vnlesse they be scene of others; and to be very heedy, whether such witnesses are by, that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions, to doe well are dayly offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions, are buried in the throng of a Battell? Whosoever ammuseth himselfe to controule others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which hee giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera & sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria indicat.* A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty, which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions, and not in glory. All the glory I pretend in my life, is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly not according to *Me-tradorus*, or *Arcefilaus*, or *Aristippus*, but according to my selfe. Since Philosophie could never finde any way for tranquility, that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are *Cesar* and *Alexander* beholding for that infinite greatnes of their renowne, but to fortune? How many men hath she suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, of whom we have no knowledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the ill fortune of their chance had not staid them even in the budding of their enterprises? Amongest so many and so extreame dangers (to my remembrance) I never read, that *Cesar* received any hurt. A thousand have dyed in lesse danger, than the least of those he

Cic. Off. l. 3.

Salust. com. Cat.

Cic. Off. l. 1.

Cic. ibid.

I i

escaped.

yes he received 23 wounds
at his death & ye Author would
not chuse but know it.

escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost, before one can come to any good. A man is not alwayes vpon the toppe of a breache, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his Generall, as vpon a stage. A man may be surpris'd betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a Hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barne, yea, and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; and enterprise, according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advise) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions, are the most dangerous; and that in our late home-warres, more good men have perished in slight and little-importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy atchievements, and honourable places. Who so thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploit, or famous attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obscureth his life: Suffering in the meane time many just and honor-allowing opportunities to escape, wherein he might & ought adventure himselfe. And all just occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men. *Gloria nostra est, testimonium conscientie nostra.* Our glory is the testimony of our conscience. He that is not an honest man, but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be esteemed, being knowne to be so, that will not do well but vpon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man from whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected.

Aug hom. 35

Ariost. Orl. can.
II. stan. 81.

*Credo ch'il resto di quel verno, cose
Faceffe degne di tenerne conto,
Ma fur fin'a quel tempo si nascose,
Che non è colpa mia s'hor non le conto,
Perche Orlando a far'opre virtuose
Piu c'hà narrarle poi sempre era pronto;
Ne mai fu alcun de li suoi fatti espresso,
Senon quando hebbe i testimonij appresso.
I'guessè, he of that winter all the rest
Atchiev'd exploits, whereof to keepe account,
But they vntill that time were so suppress'd,
As now my fault it is not, them not to count,
Because Orlando ever was more prest
To doe, then tell deeds that might all surmount.
Nor was there any of his deeds related
Vnlesse some witnes were associated.*

A man must goe to warres for his devoirs sake, and expect this recompence of it, which cannot faile all worthie actions, how secret soever; no not to vertuous thoughts: It is the contentment that a well-disposed conscience receiveth in it selfe, by well doing. A man must be valiant for himselfe, and for the advantage he hath to have his corage placed in a constant and assured seate, to withstand all assaults of fortune.

Hor. car. lib. 3.
od. 2.

*Virtus repulsa nescia sordida,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus:
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis aura.
Vertue vnskill'd to take repulse that's base,
In vndefiled honors clearly shines,
At the dispose of peoples airy grace
She shines, of honor tak's not, nor resignes.*

Cic. fin. l. 1.

It is not onely for an exterior shew or ostentation, that our soule must play hir part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours: There it dooth shroud vs from the feare of death, of sorrowes and of shame: There it assureth vs, from the losse of our children, friends and fortunes; and when oportunitie is offered, it also leades vs to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore.* Not for any advantage, but for the gracefulness of honestie it selfe. This benefit is much greater, and more worthie to be wished and hoped, then honor and glorie, which is nought but a favorable judgement that is made of vs. We are often driven to empanell and select a jurie of twelve men out of a whole countie

countrie to determine of an acre of land : And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the waightrieft and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskaltie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice, and inconstancie. Is it reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the judgement of fooles? *An quidquam stultius, quàm quos singulos contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos?* Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke that altogether they are oughts whom every one single you would set at noughts? Whosoever aimeth to please them, hath never done: It is a But, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inestimabile est, quàm animi multitudinis.* Nothing is so incomprehensible to be iust waied as the mindes of the multitude. Demetrius saide merely of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which issued from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place belowe, and saith moreover: *Ego hoc iudico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudetur.* Thus I esteeme of it, if of it selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but be dishonest, when it is applauded by the menie. No art, no mildnes of spirit might direct our steps to follow so stragling and disordered a guide. In this breathie confusion of bruites, and frothie Chaos of reports, and of vulgar opinions, which still push vs on, no good course can be established. Let vs not propose so fleeting and so wavering an end vnto our selves: Let vs constantly follow reason: And let the vulgar approbation follow vs that way, if it please: And as it depends all on fortune, we have no lawe to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a straite path for it's straightnes, yet would I doe it because experience hath taught me, that in the end, it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dei hoc providentia hominibus manus, ut honesta magis inuarent.* Mans providence hath given him this gift, that honest things should more delight and availe him. The antient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great storme, *Oh God, thou shalt save me if thou please, if not, thou shalt loose mee; yet will I keepe my helme still fast.* I have, in my dayes, seene a thousand milde, mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom no man thought to be more worldly-wisethan my selfe, loose themselves, where I have saved my selfe.

Ælian. var.
hist. lib. 2. c. 1.

Cic. fin. bon. li. 2

Risi successu posse carere dolos.

I similde to see that wilie plots,

Might want successe (and leave men fots.)

Ovid. epist. Pen.
nel. v. 18.

Paulus Æmilius going to the glorious expedition of *Macedon*, advertized the people of *Rome* during his absence, not to speake of his actions: For, *The licence of Iudgements is an especiall lette in great affaires.* Forasmuch as all men have not the constancie of *Fabius* against common, contrarie and detracting voyces: who loved better to have his authoritie dismembred by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular applause. There is a kinde of I know not what naturall delight, that man hath to heare himselfe commended, but we yeelde too-too much vnto it.

Laudari haud metuum, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est,

Sed recti finemq, extremumq, esse recuso

Euge tuum & bellè

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not horne,

But that the vtmost end of good should be, I scorne,

Thy O well saide, well done, well plaide.

Perf. sat. I. 47

I care not so much what I am with others, as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will bee rich by my selfe, and not by borrowing. Strangers see but externall apparances and events: every man can set a good face vpon the matter, when within he is full of care, grife and infirmities. They see not my heart, when they looke vpon my outward countenance. There is great reason the hypocrisie that is found in warre should be discovered: For, what is more easie in a man of practise, then to flinch in dangers, and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster, when his heart is full of faintnes, and ready to droope for feare? There are so many wayes to shunne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that wee shall have deceived the worlde a thousand times, before wee neede engage our selves into any perillous attempt; and even when wee finde our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our sporte with a good face, stearne countenaunce, and bolde speeches; although our heart doe quake within vs. And hee that hadde the vse of the Platonicall Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it vpon his finger, if it were

laime d

turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves, when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honorable a place, where necessitie may be their warrant of safetie.

Hor. lib. I. epist.
16.39

Falsus honor iuvat, & mendax infamia terret

Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem?

False honor tickles, false diffame affright's,

Whom, but the faultie, and falsified sprights?

See how all those judgements, that men make of outward apparances, are wonderfully vncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure a testimonie, as every man is to himselfe: How many horse-boyes have we in them as partners and companions of our glorie? He that keepes his stand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him, for poore sixe pence a day, and happily for lesse?

Perf. sat. 1.5

non quicquid turbida Roma

Elevet, accedas, examenque improbum in illa

Castiges trutina, nec te quæsieris extra.

If troublous Rome set ought at naught, make you not one,

Nor chastise you vnjust examination

In balance of their lode:

Nor seeke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the same in many mouthes; we will have it to be received in good part, and that it's encrease redound to his benefit: This is all that is most excusable in it's desseigne: But the infirmitie of it's excesse proceeds so farre, that many labor to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. *Trogus Pompeius* saith of *Herostatus*, and *Titus Livius* of *Manlius Capitolinus*, that they were more desirous of great, then good reputation. It is an ordinarie fault; we endeavor more that men should speake of vs, then how and what they speake, and it sufficeth vs, that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowne, is in some sort, to have life and continuance in other mens keeping: As for me, I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine, which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in my selfe, wel I wot, I neither feele fruite or ioyssance of it, but by the vanitie of fantastick opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely loose the vse of true vtilities, which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shal have no more fastnes to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come vnto me. For, to expect my name should receive it: First I have no name that is sufficiently mine: Of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea & also to others. There is a family at *Paris*, and another at *Montpellier*, called *Montaigne*, another in *Brittanie*, and one in *Xaintogne*, surnamed *dela-Montaigne*. The remooving of one onely sillable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glorie, and they perhappes a parte of my shame. And if my Ancestors have heeretofore beene surnamed *Higham*, or *Eyquem*, a surname which also belongs to a house well knowne in *England*. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my steade. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanitie?

Ibid. 37

nunc levior cippus non imprimit ossa.

Laudat posteritas, nunc non è manibus illis,

Nunc non è tumultu fortunatæque favilla

Nascuntur violæ?

Doe not the stockes vpon such bones sit light?

Posteritie applaudes: from such a spright,

From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,

Shall there not violets (in cart lodes) growe?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battle, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there are not peradventure fiftene that shall be much spoken-off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence, that fortune hath joynd vnto

vnto it, to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine : For, to kill a man, or two, or tennē; for one to present himselfe vndantedly to death, is indeede something to every one of vs in particular; for, a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world, they are such ordinarie things, so many are daily scene, and so sundrie alike must concur together to produce a notable effect, that we can looke for no particular commendation by them.

casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam

Juren. sat. 13.9

Tritus, & e medio fortuna ductus acervo.

This case is knowne of many, worne with noting,
Drawne from the midle heape of fortunes doting.

Offso many thousands of worthie- valiant men, which fiftene hundred yeares since have died in France, with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have come to our knowledge: The memorie not onely of the Generalles and Leaders, but also of the battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more then halfe of the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the vnknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easily supplant those that are knowne in all kindes of examples. What? Of the Romanes themselves, and of the Grecians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploites and matchles examples: How are so few of them come to our notice?

Ad nos vix tenuis fama perlabitur aura.

Virg. En. li. 7
646.

Scarfely to vs doth passe

Fames thin breath, how it was.

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence, the civill warres which lately we have had in France, be but remembred in grose. The Lacedemonians as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice vnto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written, and worthily registred; deeming it a divine favor, and vnusuall grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memorie. Thinke we that at every shot that hits vs, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to enrole it? And besides, it may be, that a hundred Clarkes shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to hir favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt-of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written vpon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire, or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number, as *Caesar* was and did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great Captaines have died most valiantly and couragiously in pursute of hir, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

quos fama obscura recondit.

Virg. En. lib. 3
292.

Whom fame obscure before

Layes vp in vnknowne store.

Even of those, whom we see to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them, then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion, and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memorie of bookes, he shall finde, there are few actions, and very few persons, that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous men have we seene to follow their owne reputation, who even in their presence have seene the honor and glorie, which in their yong daies, they had right-justly purchased, to be cleane extinguished? And doe we for three yeares of this fantastick and imaginarie life, loose and foregoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death? The wiser sorte propose a right-fairer, and much more just end vnto themselves, to so vrgent and weightie an enterprife. Rectè facti, fecisse merces est: Officij fructus, ipsum officium est. The reward of wel doing, is the doing, & the fruit of our duty, is our dutie. It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter, or other artificer, or also in a Rethoritian, or Gramarian, by his labors to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are of themselves too-too-noble, to seeke any other reward, then by their owne worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanitie

survive

Senec. epist. 8

Cice. Nat. Deor.
lib. 1.

of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding seive and stead a common-wealth to holde men in their dutie: If the people be thereby stirred vp to vertue: If Princes be any way touched, to see the world blesse and commend the memorie of *Traian*, and detest the remembrance of *Nero*: If that dooth moove them, to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly cursed, and so freely outraged, by the first scholer that vndertakes him. Let it hardly be encreased, and let vs (as much as in vs lieth) still foster the same amongst our selves. And *Plato* employing all meanes to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also perswade them, not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith, that through some divine inspiration it commeth to passe, that even the wicked know often, as well by word, as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man, together with his maister, are woonderfull and bolde workemen, to joyne divine operations and revelations; wheresoever humane force faileth. And therefore did peradventure *Timon* (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forger of miracles. *Ut tragici poeta confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt. As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God, when they cannot unfold the end of their argument.* Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coyne, let them also employ false mony. This meane hath bin practised by all the lawe-givers: And there is no common-wealth where there is not some mixture, either of ceremonious vanitie, or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore, that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernaturall mysteries. It is that which hath given credite vnto adulterate and vnlawfull religions, and hath induced men of vnderstanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did *Numa* and *Sertorius*, to make their men have a beter beliefe, feede them with this foppery; the one, that the Nymph *Egeria*, the other, that his white Hinde, brought him all the counsels he tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie, which *Numa* gave his Lawes vnder the title of this Goddes patronage, *Zoroastres* Law-giver to the Bactrians and Persians, gave it to his, vnder the name of the God *Oromazis*: *Trismegistus* of the Egyptians, of *Mercurie*: *Zamolxis* of the Scithians, of *Vesta*: *Charondes* of the Chalcides, of *Saturne*: *Minos* of the Candiots, of *Iupiter*: *Lycurgus* of the Lacedemonians, of *Apollo*: *Dracon* and *Solon* of the Athenians, of *Minerva*. And every common-wealth hath a God to her chiefe: all others falsly, but that truly, which *Moses* instituted for the people of *Iewry* descended from *Egipt*. The Bedoins religion (as saith the Lord of *Iorinnille*) held among other things, that his soule which among them all died for his Prince, went directly into another more happy body, much fairer and stronger than the first: by means wherof, they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

Luca. lib. 1. 461

In ferrum mens prona viris, et viaq; capaces.

Mortis: & ignavum est reditura parcere vite.

Those men sword-minded, can death entertaine,

Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

Cic. fin. lib. 2.

Loc-heere, although very vaine, a most needefull doctrine, and profitable beliefe. Everie Nation hath store of such examples in it selfe. But this subiect would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I do not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty, honour: *ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum: For as custome speakes, that onely is called honest which is glorious by popular report.* Their duty is the marke; their honour but the superficies of it. Nor doe I perswade them to give vs this excuse of their refusall, in payment; for I suppose, their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honor can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing appeareth outwardly thereof as yet more ordred then the effects,

Ovid. Am. lib. 3
el. 4. 4.

Quæ, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.

She doth it, though she doe it not,

Because she may not doe't (God wot.)

The offence both toward God, and in conscience, would be as great to desire it, as to effect the same. Besides, they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honor dependeth, had they no other respect to their dutie, and affection, which they beare vnto chastitie, in regard of it selfe. Each honorable person chuseth rather to loose his honor, then to forgoe his conscience.

The

The seventeenth Chapter.

Of Presumption.

Much of y^e Authors qualifications
w^{ch} he reports generally to have been
very mean ones

There is an other kinde of glorie, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents vs vnto our selves other then wee are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties, and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceite, and distracted Iudgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in trueth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for feare of offending in that point, to misacknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is. A true Iudgement should wholly and in every respect maintaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject hee see what truth presenteth vnto him. If hee be *Cesar*, let him hardly deeme himselfe the greatest Capitaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport vs, and we leave the substance of things; wee hold fast by the boughs, and leave the trunke or body. We have taught Ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named, which they nothing feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kinde of dissolutenesse. Ceremonie forbids vs by words to expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we believe it. Reason willet vs to doe no bad or vnlawfull things, and no man giveth credite vnto it. Here I find my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allowes a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leave her at this time. Those whom Fortune (whether wee shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions witnes what they are; but those whome shee never employed, but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves doe it, they are excusable, if they dare speake of themselves to such as have interest in their acquaintance, after the example of *Lucilius*:

*Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris, neque simalè cesserat, vsquam
Decurrens alio, neque si benè: quo sit, ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis.*

Hor. ser. lib. 2.
Sat. 1. 30.

He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend
His secrets, nor did hee to other refuge bend,
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.
Hence is it, all the life is seene the old man spent.
As it were in a Table noted,
Which were vnto some God devoted.

This man committed his actions & imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he portrayed himselfe. *Nec id Rutilio & Scauro citra fidem, aut obrectationi fuit.* Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to *Rutilius* or *Scaurus*. I remember then, that even from my tenderest infancie, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body, and gestures, witnessing a certain vaine & foolish fiercenes. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in vs, that we have no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations; vnknowne to vs, and without our consent, the body doth easily retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made *Alexander* to bend his head a little on one side, and *Alcibiades*, his speach somewhat effeminate and lispig: *Iulius Caesar* was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man furcharged with painefull imaginations: And *Cicero* (as I remember) had gotten a custome to wrythe his Nose, which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such motions may vnawares and imperceptibly

Corn. Tacit. vit.
Iul. Agric.

possesse. vs. Others there be, which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or conges, by which some doe often purchase the honor, (but wrongfully) to be humble, lowly, and courteous: A man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receive any from what quality of men soever, but I giue them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know, would be more sparing, and impartial dispensers of them; for, being so indiscreetly employed, they have no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongest disordered countenances, let vs not forget the sterne looke of *Constantinus* the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-vp-right, without turning or bending the same on any one side, no not so much as to look on them that saluted him sideling; holding his body so fixt and vnmoooveable, that let his Coche shake never so much, he kept still vp-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his Nose, nor dry his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures, which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answere for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will heere ingeniously confesse what I thinke of them. There are two parts in this glory: Which is to say, for a man to esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinks, these considerations ought somewhat to be accompted-of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one error of the minde, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I vtterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things, which I possesse; and enhance the worth of things, by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humour extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authoritie, wherewith husbands looke vpon their owne wives with a vicious disdain, and many fathers vpon their children: So doe I; and betweene two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that maisterie herselfe begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth. Policies, farre-customes and tongues flatter me; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignitie to deceive me, beyond what belongs vnto her, as children and the vulgar sorte. My neighbours oeconomies his house, and his horse, though but of equall value, is more worth then mine, by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most ignorant in mine owne matters: I admire the assurance, & wonder at the promise, that every man hath of himselfe: whereas there is almost nothing, that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to do. I have not my faculties in proposition, or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: As doubtfull of mine owne strength, as vncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance vpon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industrie; forasmuch as I desseigne them all to hazard, and in feare. Likewise I have this in generall, that of all the opinions, which Antiquitie hath had of man in grose, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, contemne, and annihilate-vs. Me thinks Philosophie hath never better cardes to shew, then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanitie; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth her irresolution, her weakenesse and her ignorance. Me seemeth the over-good conceit, and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the nurce-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will pearch themselves vpon the *Epicicle* of *Mercurie*, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the studie which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreame a varietie of judgements, so inextricable a laborinth of difficulties one vpon the necke of another, so great diversitie, and so much vncertaintie, yea even in the schoole of wisdom it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves, and of their owne condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them; since they know not how that mooveth. which themselves cause to moove, nor how to set forth the springs, and descipher the wardes, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river *Nilus*? The curiositie to know things hath beene given to men (as saith the holy scripture) for a scourge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (me seemeth) that some other regardeth him-
selfe

selfe lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse then I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the common sort, except in that I deeme my selfe guiltie of the basest, and culpable of the most popular defects: but not disavowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe, wherein I know my worth. If any glorie be in me, it is but superficially infused into me; by the treason of my complexion: and hath no solide body appearing to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinkled over, but not thoroughly dyed. For in trueth, touching the effects of the spirite, in what manner soever, there never came any thing from me, that contented me. And others approbation is no currant payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard, especially in mine owne behalfe. I feele my selfe to waver and bend through weakenesse: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is troubled and dimmed: as I perceive most evidently in Poesie: I love it exceedingly: I have some insight or knowledge in other mens Labours, but in trueth I play the Novice when I set my hand vnto it: Then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in Poesie.

—mediocribus esse poetis

Non dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ.

Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillars gave the graunt,
That Poets in a meane, should meanely chaunt.

Hor. art. Poet.

372.

Xp 2/c

n I would to God this sentence were found in the front of our Printers or Stacioners shops, to hinder the entrance of so many bald-rimers.

—verum

Nil securius est malo Poeta.

Nothing securer may be had,
Then is a Poet bolde and bad.

Mart. lib. 12

epig 64

Why have we no such people? *Dionysius* the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olympike games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent Poets and Musicians to present his verses, with tents and pavilions gilt and most sumptuously tapistred. When they first beganne to reliefe them, the favour and excellencie of the pronuntiation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them: and being more and more exasperated fell furiously into an vprore, and headlong ranne in most spitefull maner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward missed the shore of *Sicilie*, and was by violent stormes driven and split vpon the coast of *Tarentum*, they certainly believed, the wrath of the Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended, both against him, and his vile and wicked Poeme: yea and the Mariners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the Oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sorte to subscribe: which implied, that *Dionysius* should be neere his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should be of more worth than himselfe: Which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incur the meaning of this prediction, he would often temper and avoyde the victory. But he mis-vnderstoode the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage; when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragicall Poets at *Athens*, who were much better than he was, where he caused in contention of them, his Tragedie, entitled the *Lenciens*, to be publicly acted. After which vsurped victory, he presently deceased: And partly through the excessive joy, hee thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine, is not of it selfe, and according to truth: but in comparison of other compositions, worse than mine, to which I see some credite given. I envie the good happe of those, which can applaude and gratifie themselves by their owne labours; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from him selfe: Especially if one bee somewhat constant in his owne wilfulness. I knowe a Poetafter, gainst whome both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say, he hath no skill or judgement in Poesie, who for all that is nothing dismayed, nor will not abate one jote of that measure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe; but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwayes persisting; by so much the more fixed in his

his opinion, by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he onely is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding mee, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

Ovid. Pont. lib.
1. c. 6. 15

Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,

Me quoque qui feci, indice digna lani.

When I re-reade, I shame I write, for much I see,

My selfe, who made them, being judge, blotted to be.

n I have ever an Idea in my mind, which presents me with a better forme, then that I have already framed, but I can neither lay holde on it, nor effect it. Yet is that Idea but of the meaner stamp. I thereby conclude, that the productions of those rich and great mindes of former ages, are farre beyond the extreame extention of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not onely satisfie and fille me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beautie, I see it, if not to the end, at least so farre as it is impossible for me to aspire vnto it. Whatsoever I vndertake (as *Plutarke* saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

Si quid enim placet,

Si quid dulce hominum sensibus influit,

Debentur lepidis omnia Gratijs.

If ought doe please, if any sweete

The sense of men with pleasure greeke,

To thanke the Graces it is meete.

They altogether forsake mee : What I do, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beautie. I can rate them at no higher value, then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace vnto the matter. And that's the reason I must have it strong, with good holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular and more gay, it is to follow me, who love not a cerimonious prudence and gloomie wisdom, as doth the world; and to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather have it grave and severe: If at least I may call that a stile, which is a formelesse and abrupt speech. A popular gibbrish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sanse conclusion, troubled as that of *Amasius*, and *Rabirius*. I can neither please, nor glad, nor tickle. The best tale in the world comming into my hands, becomes withered and tarnished. I can not speake but in good earnest, and am altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine first commers, to keepe a whole troupe in talke, to amuse a Princes care with all maner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the grace they have in applying their first approches, and fitting them to the humor and capacitie of those they have to doe withall. Princes love not greatly serious and long discourses, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make vse of them. I am an ill Orator to the common sort. I speake the vtmost I knowe of all matters. *Cicero* thinkes, in discourses of Philosophie, the exordium to be the hardest part: If it be so, I wisely lay holde on the conclusion. Yet should a man knowe how to tune his strings to all aires: And the sharpest comes ever least in play. There is at least as much perfection in raising vp an emptie, as to vphold a waightie thing: A man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that most men keepe themselves on this lowe stage, because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also knowe, that the greatest clarkes, yea *Xenophon* and *Plato*, are often seene to yeeld to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, vpholding it with those graces, which they never want. As for the rest my language hath neither facilitie nor fluencie in it, but is harsh and shaple, having free and vsinnowie dispositions. And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceiue that sometimes I wade to farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide art and affectation, I fall into it another way.

Hor. art. Poet.
25.

brenis esse laboro,

Obscurus fio.

To be short labor I?

I darker growe thereby.

Plato saith, that either long or short, are not properties, that either diminish or give price vnto.

vnto speech. If I should vndertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I should never attaine vnto it. And although the cadences, and breakings of *Salustie* doe best agree with my humor, yet doe I finde *Cæsar* both greater, and lesse ealie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie me to the imitation of *Senecas* stile, I omit not to esteeme *Plutarke* much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth, that I am more in speaking then in writing. The motions and actions of the body, give life vnto words, namely in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I do, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endear those things, which in themselves are but meane, as prating. *Messala* complaineth in *Tacitus* of certaine streit garments vsed in his time, and discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speake, saying, they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronuntiation, and else where by the barbarisme of my countrie. I never saw man of these hither-countries, that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, & who often did not wound those eares, that are purely French. Yet is it not because I am so cunning in my *Perigordin*: For I have no more vse of it, then of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of *Poitou*, *Xaintagne*, *Angoulesme*, *Limosin*, and *Auvergne*, squattering, dragging, and filthie. There is about vs, toward the mountaines a Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnowie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and militarie, more then any other I vnderstand. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latin, which was given me for my mother-tongue, by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make vse of it in speech, and scarcely in writing, in which I have heretofore beene so readie, that I was called a maister in it. Loe here my little sufficiencie in that behalfe. *Beautie* is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men. It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous, and so hard-hearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselve strooken with hir sweetenes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keeps a speciall ranke: For, his structure and composition are worthie due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, and separate them one from another, are much to blame: They ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enjoined not to retire hir selfe to hir quarter, nor to entertaine hir selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which she cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfained apish tricke) but ought to combine and cling fast vnto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade and advise him, and if he chance to swarve or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, she should wed and serve him in stead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrarie and divers, but agreeing and vni-forme. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they knowe that Gods iustice alloweth this societie, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of everlasting rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment, or the recompense, according to his merits or demerits. The Peripathetike Sect (of all Sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care vnto wisdom, in common to procure and provide, the good of these two associated parts: And declareth other Sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commixture; this one for the body, this other for the soule, with one like error and oversight, and had mistaken their subject, which is Man; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction, that hath beene amongst men, and the first consideration, that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very likly it was the advantage of beautie.

— *agros divisere atque dedere*

Pro facie cuiusque & viribus ingenioque:

Nam facies multum valuit, virisque vigeabant.

Thy land's divided and to each man shared

As was his face, his strength, his wit compared.

For face and strength were then,

Much prized amongst men.

I am of a stature somewhat vnder the meane. This default hath not onely vncomlines in it,

The Gascon
dialect

his latin

Lucr. l. 5. 1120.

it, but also in commoditie: Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others: For, the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man withall is wanting. *Caius Marius* did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands, that were not fixe foote high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinarie stature in the Gentleman he frameth, rather, then any other; and to avoide all strangenes that may make him to be pointed at: But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lowenes, then in tallnes. I would not doe it in a militarie man. Little men (saith *Aristotle*) are indeed pretie, but not beuteous, nor goodly: and in greatnes, is a great soule knowne as is beutie in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians (saith he) in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especiall regarde to the beutie and tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breedeth an awefull respect in those that follow him, and a kinde of feare in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall and handsome man march as Chiefe and Generall in the head of an armie, or front of a troupe:

Virg. Æn. li. 7
725.

Ipse inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus

Vertitur, arma tenens, & toto vertice supra est.

Turnus, a goodly man, mongst them that led,

Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.

Psal. 45. 3.

Our great, divine and heavenly King, all whose circumstances ought with much care, religion and reverence to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation, *Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum.* In favor beautifull above the sonnes of men. And *Plato* wisheth beutie to be joyned vnto temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Commonwealth. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger cometh to your selfe to aske you where your Lord or Maister is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore *Philopamen*, who having left his companie behind, and coming alone into a house where he was expressly looked for, his hostesse who knew him not, & saw him to be so ill-favored a fellow, employed him to helpe hir maides to drawe water, and to mend the fire, for the service of *Philopamen*. The Gentlemen of his traine being come, and finding him so busily at worke (for he failed not to fulfill his hostesses commandement) enquired of him what he did, who answered, *I pay the forfeiture of my unhandsomnesse.* Other beauties are for women. The beutie of a handsome comely tallnes is the onely beutie of men. Where lowenes and littlenes is, neither the largenes or roundnes of a forehead, nor the whitenes or lovelines of the eyes, nor the prettie fashioni of a nose, nor the slendernes of the care, littlenes of the mouth, order and whitenes of teeth, smooth thicknes of a beard, browne like a chesnut, well-curved and vpstanding haire, just proportion of the head, freshtnes of collour, the cheerefull aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beauteous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compact stature, my face is not fat, but full, my complexion betwene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hote.

Mart. l. 6. epig.
56. 1.

Unde rigent setis mihi crura, & pectora villis:

Whereby my legges and brest,

With rough haire are opprest.

My health is blithe and lustie, though well-strooken in age, seldome troubled with deafeasse. Such I was, for I am now engaged in the aproches of age, having long since past-over fortie yeares: I doe not much heede my selfe.

Lucr. l. 2. 1140

— minutatim vires & robur adultum

Frangit, & in partem peiorem liquitur ætas.

By little and a little age break's strength,

To worfe and worfe declining melt's at length.

What hereafter I shall be, will be but halfe a being. I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

Hor. lib. 1. epist.
2. 55

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes.

Yeares as they passe away,

Of all our things make pray.

Of addressing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the sonne of a wel disposed father, and of so blithe & merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extreamest

extreameſt age. He ſeldome found any man of his condition, and that could match him in all exerciſes of the body: As I have found few, that have not out-gon me, except it were in running, wherein I was none of the meaneſt. As for muſicke, were it either in voice, which I have moſt haſh, and very vnapt, or in inſtruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wreſtling, I could never attaine to any indifferent ſufficiencie; but none at all in ſwimming, in fencing, in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are ſo ſtiſſe and nummie, that I can hardly write for my ſelfe, ſo that what I have once ſcribled, I had rather frame it a new, then take the paines to correct it; and I reade but little better. I perceive how the auditorie cenſureth me: Otherwiſe I am no bad clarke. I cannot very well cloſe vp a letter; nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a Horſe: Nor handſomely carry a Hawke vpon my fiſt, nor caſt hir off or let hir flie, nor could I ever ſpeake to Dogges, to Birds, or to Horſes. The conditions of my body are in fine, very well agreeing with thoſe of my minde, wherein is nothing lively; but onely a compleate and conſtant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, vnleſſe I carry my ſelfe vnto it, and no longer then my deſire leadeth and directeth me.

Note of Authors
mean qualities

Molliter aſterum ſtudio fallente laborem.

While earneſtnes for ſport or gaine,
Sweetly deceiv's the ſoureſt paine.

Ser. lib. 2. ſa. 2.
12.

Otherwiſe, if by any pleaſure I be not allured, & if I have other direction, then my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never ſadge well: For I am at ſuch a ſtay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my ſelfe about, or will purchaſe at ſo high a rate, as to trouble my wits for it, or be conſtrained thereunto.

— *tanti mihi non ſit opaci*

Omnis arena Tagi, quòdque in mare voluitur aurum:

So much I weigh not ſhadowed *Tagus* ſande,
Nor gold that roubles into the Sea from land.

Iuven. ſat. 3. 54.

I am extremely lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a mind free and altogether hir owne; accuſtomed to follow hir owne humor. And to this day never had nor commanding nor forced maſter. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleaſed me beſt. Which hath enſeobled and made me vnprofitable to ſerve others, and made me fit and apt but onely for my ſelfe. And as for me, no man ever needed to force this heaue, lithier, and idle nature of mine: For, having even from my birth found my ſelfe in ſuch a degree of fortune, I have found occaſion to ſtay there: (An occaſion notwithstanding, that a thouſand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a plancke to paſſe over to ſearch, to agitation, and to vnquietnes.) And as I have ſought for nothing, ſo have I taken nothing.

Non agimur tumidis ventis Aquilone ſecundo,

Non tamen aduerſis atatem ducimus auſtris:

Viribus ingenio, ſpecie, virtute, loco, re,

Extremi primorum, extremis vſque priores.

With full ſailes, proſp'rous winde, we doe not drive,

Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.

In ſtrength, in wit, in vertue, ſhape, goods, place,

Laſt of the firſt, before the laſt we pace.

Hor. lib. 2. epiſt.
2. 201.

I have had no neede but of ſufficiencie to content my ſelfe: Which being well taken is ever a regiment for the minde, equally difficult in all ſortes of condition; and which by uſe, we ſee more eaſily found in want, than in plenty; peradventure, becauſe that according to the courſe of our other paſſions, the greedineſſe of riches is more ſharpened by their uſes than by their neede: and the vertue of moderation more rare, than that of patience. And I have had no need, but to enjoy thoſe goods quietlie, which God of his bountie had beſtowed vpon me. I have taſted no kinde of tedious trouble: I have ſeldome mannaged other than mine owne buſineſſe: Or if I have, it hath beene vpon condition, I might doe it at my leiſure, and according to my will; committed vnto mee, by ſuch as truſted mee, and knewe mee well, and would not importune mee; For, the ſkilfull rider, will reape ſome ſervice of a reſtie and wind-broken jade. My very Childe-hood hath beene directed by a ſoft, milde, gentle and freefa-

shion, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. All which hath endowed mee with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care: So that I love, men should conceale my losses from me, and the disorders which concerne mee. In the Chapter of my charges and expences, I have set downe what my negligence or carelesnesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

Hor. lib. 1. epist.
6.45.

— *hec nempe supersunt,
Quæ dominum fallunt, quæ profint furibus.*

This remnant of accoumpts I have,
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an account of what I have, that I may lesse exactly feele my losses: I desire those that live with mee, where they want affection, or good effects, to cozen and pay me with good apparances. For want of sufficient constancy to endure the importunity of contrary or crosse accidents, whervnto we are subject; and because I cannot alwaies keep my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires, as much as I am able, I foster this opinion in me, relying wholly vpon fortune, and ready to take everie thing at the worst, and resolve to beare that worst, mildely and patiently. About that onely doe I busie my selfe, and to that end doe I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter, I care not so much how I may avoyde it, and how little it importeth whether I avoide it or no; And what were it if I should continue in it? Being vnable to direct events, I governe my selfe; and if they apply not themselves to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great arte to shun fortune, & how to scape or force it, & with wisdom to addresse matters to my liking: I have also lesse sufferance to endure the sharpe and painefull care, which belongeth to that. And the most toilesome state for me, is to be doubtfull in matters of weight, & agitated betweene feare & hope. To deliberate, be it but in sleight matters, doth importune me. And I feele my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt, and shakings of consultation, then to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever, after the chaunce is once cast. Fewe passions have troubled my sleep; but of deliberations the lease doth trouble it. Even as of high-ways, I willingly seeke to avoyde the downe-hanging, and slipperie, and take the beaten-path, though myrie, and deepe, so I may goe no lower, and there seek I safety: So love I pure mishaps, and which exercise and turmoile me no more, after the vncertainie of their mending: And which even at the first cast, drive me directly into sufferance.

Sen. Agam. ect.
3. sc. 1. 29.

dubia plus torquent mala. X

Evils yet in suspence,
Doe give vs more offence.

In events, I carry my selfe man-like; in the conduct childishly. The horror of a fall doth more hurt me, than the blow. The play is not worth the candle. The covetous man hath a worse reckoning of his passion, than the poore; and the jealous man, than the cuckold. And it is often lesse harme for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it: *The slowest march, is the safest.* It is the seate of constancie. Therein you have no need but of your selfe. There she takes hir footing, and wholly resteth vpon hir selfe. This example of a Gentleman, whom many have knowen, hath it not some Philosophicall shew? This man having passed all his youth like a good fellow, a jollie companion, a great talker, and a merry ladde, being now well in yeares, would needes be married. Remembring himselfe how much the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause to speake, and scoffe at others; to put himselfe vnder covert-barren, he tooke him a wife from out that place, where all men may have them for mony, & with her made his aliance: Good morrow Whoore, Good morrow Cuckold. And there is nothing wherewith he oftner and more openly entertained such as came vnto him, than with this tale; Whereby he brideled the secret pratings of mockers, and blunted the point of this reproch. Concerning ambition, which is next neighbor or rather daughter to presumption, it had beene needefull (to advance me) that fortune had come to take me by the hand: For to put my self into any care for an vncertaine hope, and to submit my selfe to al difficulties, waiting on such as seek to thrust themselves into credite and reputation, in the beginning of their progresse, I could never have done it.

Ter. Adel. act. 2
sc. 2.

— *Spem pretio non emo,*
Expence of present pay
For hope, I do not lay.

I fasten

I fasten my selfe on that which I see and hold and go not far from the shore:

Alter remus aquas, alter tiberiadat arenas.

Keepe water with one Oare,

With th'other grate the shore.

Prop. lib. 3. ele.
2. 234.

Besides, a man seldome comes to these preferments, but in hazarding first his own: And I am of opinion, if that which a man hath, suffizeth to maintaine the condition, wherein hee was borne and brought vp, it is folly to let it go, vpon the vncertainty of encreasing the same. He to whom fortune refuseth meanes to settle his estate, and establish a quiet and reposed being, is excusable if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus, necessitie sends him to shift and search out.

Capienda rebus in malis preceps via est.

A headlong course is best,

When mischiefs are addrest.

Sen. Agam. act.
2. Sc. 1. 47.

And I rather excuse a yonger brother, to make sale of his inheritance, than him, who hath the honor of his house in charge, who cannot fall into wants but through his default: I have by the counsell of my good friendes of former times, found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this desire, and keep my selfe hush:

Cui sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palma.

Who like it well to beare the prize.

But take no toile in any wise.

Hor. lib. 1. Epist.
1. 51.

Judging also rightly of my forces, that they were not capable of great matters: And remembering the saying of Lord Oliver whilome-Chaunceler of France, who said, that French-men might be compared to *Acrobates*, who climbing up a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where being come thence they shew their taile. Care

Turpe est quod nequeas capiti committere pondus,

Et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.

Tis shame, more than it can well beare, on head to packe,

And thereby soone oppressd with bended knee flie backe.

Prop. lib. 3. ele.
8. 5.

Such qualities as are now in me voide of reproch, in that age I deemed vnprofitable. The facilitie of my maners had beene named faintnes and weaknesse; faith and conscience would have beene thought scrupulous and superstitious: liberty and freedome, importunate, inconsiderate and rash. Misfortune serveth to some purpose. It is not amiss to bee borne in a much depraved age: for in comparison of others, you are judged vertuous, very cheape. In our dayes, he that is but a paricide, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of honesty and honor.

Nunc si despositum non inficiatur amicus,

Si reddat veterem cum tota arugine follem

Prodigiosa fides, & Thuscis digna libellis,

Queque coronata illustrari debeat agna.

If now a friend deny not what was laide in trust,

If wholly hee restore th'olde bellows with their rust:

A wondrous trust, to be in Chronicles related,

And should with sacrifice, as strange, be expiated.

Inven. Sat. 13.
60.

And never was there time or place, wherein more assured and great reward was proposed unto Princes, for goodnesse and iustice. The first that shall be advised, by these meanes to thrust himselfe into favour and credite, I am much deceived if in part of payment, he get not the start of his fellowes. Force and violence can doe very much; but never all. Wee see Marchants, countrie-Iustices, and Artificers to march cheeke by joll with our Nobilitie, in valour, and military discipline. They performe honourable combates, both publike and private. They batter and defend Townes and Citties in our present warres. A Prince smothereth his commendation amid this throng. Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyalty, temperance, and above all with iustice; markes now adays rare, unknowne and exiled. It is onely the peoples will, wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth: And no other qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them. *Nihil est tam popolare quam bonitas.* Nothing is so popular as goodnesse is. By this proportion I had beene a rare great man: As by that of certaine ages past, I am now a pigmy and popular man; In which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concur withall, To see a

N x p

man temperate in his revenges, milde in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word; neither double. nor over tractable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion. I would rather let all affaires goe to wracke, then breake my word for their availe. For, touching this new-found vertue of faining and dissimulation, which now is so much in credite, I hate it to the death: and of all vices, I finde none that so much witnesseth demisenesse and basenesse of heart. It is a coward and servile humour, for a man to disguise and hide himselfe vnder a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men adresse themselves to treacherie: *Being trained to utter false words, they make no conscience to breake them.* A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his inmost partes: There all is good, or at least all is humane. *Aristotle* thinkes it an office of magnanimitie to hate and love openly, to speake with all libertie; and never (though the prise of truth goe on it) to make esteeme either of the approbation or reprobation of others. *Apollonius* saide, it was for servants to lie, and iudge and for freemen to speake truth. It is the cheife and fundamentall part of vertue. She must be loved for her owne sake. *He that speaketh truth, because he is bound to doe so, and for that he serveth: and that feares not to tell a lie, when it little importeth another man, is not sufficiently true.* My mind of her owne complexion detesteth falsehood, & hateth to think on it. I feel an inward bashfulness, and a stinging remorse, if at any time it scape me; as sometimes it doth, if vnpremeditated occasions surprise me. *A man must not always say as he knows, for that were folie: But what a man speaks ought to be agreeing to his thoughts, otherwise it is impietie.* I know not what benefit they expect, that ever faine, and so vncessantly dissemble; except it be not to be believed, even when they speak truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to carry it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boast, that if their shirt were privie to their secret & true cogitations, they would burne it: which was the saying of ancient *Metellus Macedonicus*; And that he who cannot dissemble, cannot raigne, serves but onely to warne those who have to deale with them, that what they say is but vntruth & dissimulation. *Quo quis versutior & callidior est, hoc inuisor & suspectior, detracta opinione probitatis.* The finer-headed, and more subtile-brained a man is, the more is he hated and suspected, if once the opinion of honesty be taken from him. It were great simplicitie for a man to suffer himselfe to be mislead either by the looks or words of him, that outwardly professeth what he is not inwardly, as did *Tiberius*. And I know not what share such people may challenge in the commerce of men, never producing any thing, that may be taken for good payment. *He who is disloyall to truth, is likewise false against lying.* Such as in our dayes, in the establishing of a Princes dutie, have onely considered the good & felicitie of his affaires, and preferred the same before the respect of his faith and conscience, would say something to a Prince, whose affaires fortune hath so disposed, that with once breaking and falsifying of his word he might for ever confirme and establish them. But it goeth otherwise. A man may more then once come to such a bargaine. A man during his life concludeth more then one peace or treatie. The commoditie or profit that enviteth them to the first disloyaltie (and dayly some offer themselves, as to all other trecheries) sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are vndertaken for some kinde of profit. But this first gaine brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it: casting this Prince from-out all commerce and meanes of negotiation, by the example of this infidelitie. *Solyman* of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promises or performance of covenants) at what time hee caused his Armie to land at *Otranto* (I being then but a childe) having knowne that *Mercurin* of *Gratinara*, and the inhabitants of *Castro*, were detained prisoners, after the Towne was yeilded, contrary to that which by his Captaines had beene capitulated with them, he sent word they should be released, and that having other weightie enterprises in hand in that countrie, such disloyaltie, although it had apparance of great and present benefite, yet in time to come it would bring a distrust and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for me I had rather be importunate and indiscrete, then a flatterer and a dissembler. I allow, a man may entermingle some point of fiercenesse and wilfulness, to keepe himselfe so entire and open as I am, without consideration of others. And me seemeth I become a little more free, where I should be lesse, and that by the opposition of respect I grow earnest. It may also be, that for want of arte I follow mine owne nature. Presenting to the greater sorte the very same licence of speech and boldnesse of countenance, that I bring from my house: I perceive how much it inclineth towards indiscretion and incivillie. But although I be so fashioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yeilding to avoide a so-daine

daine question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memory able to continue it so fained, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the Braggard through feeblenesse. And therefore I apply my selfe to ingenuitie, and ever to speake truth and what I thinke, both by complexion and by intention; leaving the successe thereof vnto fortune. *Aristippus* saide, that the chiefeſt commoditie hee reaped by Philosophie, was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men: Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgement will hardly discharge his dutie, whereof I have great want. What a man will propole vnto me, he must do it by piece-meales: For, to answere to a discourse that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I can not receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me: and if I must remember a discourse of any consequence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile & miserable necessitie, to learn every word I must speake, by rote; otherwise I should never do it well or assuredly, for feare my memory should in my greateſt neede faile me; which is very hard vnto me, for I must have three houres to learne three verses. Moreover in any long discourse, the libertie or authoritie to remove the order, to change a word, vnceſſantly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to be confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I distrust it, the more it troubleth me. It serveth me better by chance, and I must carelessly sollicite her, for if I vrge her, she is astonished; and if it once beginne to waver, the more I found her, the more entangled and intricate she prooveth. She will wait vpon me when she list, not when I please. And what I feele in my memory, I feele in many other parts of mine. I eschew commandement, dutie, and compulsion. What I doe easily and naturally, if I resolve to doe it by expresse and prescribed appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, those partes, that have some libertie, and more particular jurisdiction, doe sometimes refuse to obey me, if at any time I appoint and enioyne them to doe me some necessary services. This forced and tyrannicall preordinance doth reject them; and they either for spite or feare shrink and are quailed. Being once in a place, where it is reputed a barbarous discourtesie not to pledge those that drinke to you, where although I were vsed with all libertie, in favour of certaine Ladies that were in companie, according to the fashion of the countrie, I would needes play the good fellow. But it made vs all merry; for the threats and preparation, that I should force my selfe beyond my naturall custome, did in such sort stop, and stufte my throate, that I was not able to swallow one drop, and was barr'd of drinking all the repast. I found my selfe glutted and full of drinke by the overmuch swilling that my imagination had fore-conceived. This effect is more apparant in those, whose imagination is more vehement and strong: yet it is naturall: and there is no man, but shall sometimes have a feeling of it. An excellent Archer being condemned to death, was offered to have his life saved, if he would but shew any notable triall of his profession, refused to make prooffe of it; feating lest the contention of his will should make him to misse-direct his hand, and that in lieu of saving his life, hee might also loose the reputation, hee had gotten in shooting in a bow. A man whose thoughts are busie about other matters, shall very neere within an inch keepe and alwayes hit one selfe same number and measure of paces, in a place where he walketh; but if heedily he endeavour to measure and compt them, he shall finde that what he did by nature and chance, he cannot do it so exactly by desſeigne. My Library (which for a country Librarie, may passe for a very faire one) is seated in a corner of my house, if any thing come into my minde, that either I must goe seeke or write in it, for feare I should forget it in crossing of my Court, I must desire some other body to remember the same for me. If speaking, I embolden my selfe never so little, to digresse from my Discourse, I doe ever loose it; which makes me to keepe my selfe in my speech, forced, neare and close. Those that serve mee, I must ever call them, either by their office or countrie: for I finde it very hard to remember names. Well may I say, it hath three sillables, that it's sound is harsh, or that it beginneth or endeth with such a letter. And should I live long, I doubt not but I might forget mine owne name, as some others have done heretofore. *Messala Corvinus* lived two yeares without any memory at all, which is also reported of *George Trapezoncius*. And for mine owne interest, I doe often ruminare what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I shall have sufficient to maintaine my selfe in any good sort: which looking neare vnto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, shall loose all the functions of my soule.

Plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo.

K k 3

I am

*Ter. Eun. act. 1
scen. 2*

I am so full of holes, I can not holde,
I runne out ev'ry way, when tales are tolde.

Al^{xp} concerning
him self

It hath often befallen me, to forget the word, which but three houres before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had layed my purse. Let Cicero say what hee list, I helpe my selfe to loose, what I peticularly locke vp. *Memoria certè non modò Philosophiam, sed omnis vitæ usum, omnesque artes una maximè continet.* Assuredly memorie alone, of all other things compriseth not onely Philosophy, but the use of our whole life, and all the sciences. Memorie is the receptacle and case of knowledge. Mine being so weake, I have no great cause to complaine if I knowe but little. I knowe the names of Artes in Generall, and what they treat of, but nothing further. I turne and tosse over bookes, but doe not study them; what of them remains in me, is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be anie bodies else. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourses and imaginations, wherewith it is instructed and trained vp. The Authours, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I sodainely forget: and am so excellent in forgetting, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are every hand-while alleaged against my selfe, when God wot I perceive it not. Hee that would know of mee, whence or from whom the verses or examples, which here I have hudled vp are taken, should greatly put me to my shifts, & I could hardly tel it him. Yet have I not begged them, but at famous and very-wel-knowne gates: which though they were rich in themselves, did never please me, vnlesse they also came from rich and honourable handes, and that authority, concurre with reason. It is no great marvell, if my booke follow the fortune of other bookes; and my memory forgoe or forget as wel what I write, as what I reade: and what I give, as well as what I receive. Besides the defect of memory, I have others, which much further my ignorance. My wit is dull and slow, the least cloude dimmeth it, so that (for example sake) I never proposed riddle vnto it (were it never so easie) that it was able to expound. There is no subtilty so vaine, but confounds me. In games, wherein wit may beare a part, as of chesse, of cardes, of tables and others, I could never conceive but the common and plainest draughts. My apprehension is very sluggish and gloomie; but what it once holdeth, the same it keepeth fast: and for the time it keepes it, the same it embraceth generallie, strictly and deeply. My sight is quicke, sound, perfect and farre-seeing, but easily wearied, if much charged or emploid. By which occasion I can have no great commerce with books but by others service which reade vnto me. Plinie the yonger can instruct those that have tri'd it, how much this fore-slowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spirite so wretched or so brutish, wherein some particular facultie is not seene to shine; and none so lowe-buried, but at one hole or other it will fall out sometimes. And how it commeth to passe, that a minde blinde and slumbering in all other things, is in some particular effects, lively, cleare and excellent, a man must enquire of cunning masters. But those are the faire spirits, which are vniversall, open, and ready to all, if not instructed, at least to be instructed. Which I alleadge to accuse mine: For, be it either through weaknesse, or wretchlessnesse (and to be carelesse of that which lieth at our feete, which we have in our handes, which neereft concerneth the vse of life, is a thing farre from my Dogma or Doctrine) there is none so simple or so ignorant as mine, in divers such common matters, and of which without imputation or shame a man should never bee ignorant; whereof I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought vp in the Countrey, and amid st husbandrie: I have since my predecessours quit me the place and possession of the goods I enjoy, both businesse and husbandrie in hand. I cannot yet cast account either with penne or Counters. There are diverse of our French Coines, I know not: nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barne, vnlesse it be very apparant: nor do I scarfly know the difference betweene the Cabidge or Lettice in my Garden. I vnderstand not the names of the most vsuall tooles about husbandry, nor of the meaneest principles of tillage, which most children know. I was never skilfull in Mecanicall artes, nor in Traffike or knowledge of Marchandize, nor in the diversitie and nature of fruites, wines, or cates, nor can I make a Hawke, phisicke a Horse, or teach a Dogge. And since I must make full shew of my shame or ignorance, it is not yet a moneth since, that I was found to be ignorant, whereto Leven served to make bread withal; or what it was to cunne Wine. The Athenians were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the Mathematikes, that could cunningly

ningly order or make vp a faggot of brush-wood: Verily a man might draw a much contrarie conclusion from me: For let me have all that may belong to a Kitchin, yet shall I be ready to starve for hunger. By these partes of my confession, one may imagine divers others, to my cost and detriment. But howsoever I make my selfe knowne, alwayes provided it be as I am indeede, I have my purpose. And I excuse not my selfe, that I dare set downe in writing, so base and frivolous matters as these. The basenesse of the subject forceth me therevnto. Let who so list accuse my project, but not my progresse. So it is, that without being warned of others, I see very wel, how litle this weigheth or is worth, and I perceive the fondnesse of my purpose. It is sufficient that my judgement is not dismayed or distracted, whereof these be the Effayes.

*Natus sis usque licet, sis denique natus,
Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas:
Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latium,*

Mart. lib. 13
epig. 2.1

*Non potes in nugis dicere plura meas,
Ipse ego quam dixi: quid dentem dente invabit
Rodere? carnis opus est, si satur esse velis.
Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos
Virus habe, nos hæc novimus esse nihil.*

Suppose you were long-nos'd, suppose such nose you weare
As *Atlas*, if you should entreate him, would not beare,
That you in flouting old *Latinus* can be fine.
Yet can you say no more against these toyes of mine,
Then I have said; what boote, tooth with a tooth to whet?
You must have flesh, if you to glut your selfe be set.
Loose not your paines; gainst them who on themselves are doting
Keepe you your sting: we know these things of ours are nothing.

I am not bound to vtter follies, so I be not deceived to knowe them: And wittingly to erre, is so ordinarie in me, that I erre not much otherwise; and seldome erre casually. It is a small matter to yeeld the fond actions vnto the rashnesse of my humours, since I cannot warrant my selfe ordinarily to yeeld them the vicious. Being at *Barleduc*, I saw, for the commendation of *Renate* the King of *Sicilies* memory a picture which with his owne hands hee had made of himselfe, presented vnto our King *Francis* the second: why is it not as lawfull for every man else to pourtray himselfe with his pen, as it was for him to doe it with a pen-felle? I will not then forget this other blemish, vnfit to be seene of all. That is irresolution: a most incommodious defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires: I cannot resolve in matters admitting doubtfulnesse:

Ne si, ne no, nel cuor mi suona intiero.

Petr. Pa. 1. son.
138.8.

Nor yea, nor nay sounds clearely in my hart.

I can maintaine an opinion, but not make choise of it: For, in humane things, what side soever a man leaneth-on, many apparances present themselves vnto vs, which confirme vs in them: and *Chrysippus* the Philosopher was wont to say, that he would learne nothing else of his maisters *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, but their doctrines simply: For, proofes and reasons he would finde enough of himselfe. Let me turne to what side I will, I ever finde sufficient matter, and likelyhoode to keepe my selfe vnto it. Thus keepe I doubt and libertie to my selfe, to chuse, vntill occasion vrge me, and then (to confesse the truth) as the common saying is, I cast my fether to the winde, and yeelde to fortunes mercie. A very light inclination, and a slender circumstance caries me away.

Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc atque illuc impellitur.

Ter. And. act. 3
scen. 3.

While mind is in suspence, with small a doe,

Tis hither, thither, driven fro and to.

The vncertaintie of my judgement, is in many occurrences so equally ballanced, as I would willingly compromise it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with great consideration of our humane imbecilitie, the examples, which the historie of God it selfe hath left vs of this vse, to remit the determination of elections in doubtfull matters, vnto fortune and hazard: *Sors cecidit super Matthiam. The lot fell vpon Mathias. Humane reason is a two-edged, dangerous sworde;* Even in *Socrates* his hand, hir most inward and familiar

Act. 1. 26

friend, marke what a many-ended staffe it is. So am I onely fit to follow, and am easily caried away by the throng. I doe not greatly trust mine owne strength, to vndertake to command, or to leade. I rejoyce to see my steps traced by others. If I must runne the hazard of an vncertaine choise, I would rather have it be vnder such a one, who is more assured of his opinions, and more wedded to them, then I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which I finde to be very slippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forsomuch as I perceive a like weakenes in contrarie opinions. *Ipsa consuetudo assentiendi periculosa esse videtur, & lubrica. The very custome of assenting seemeth hazardous and slipperie: Namely in politike affaires, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation.*

Cic. Acad. qu.
lib. 4.

Tibull. lib. 4.
hero. 7. 41.

*Iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,
Prona nec hac plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa.*

As when an even skale with equall weight is peized,
Nor falles it downe this way, or is it that way raised.

As for example, *Machiavels* discourses, were very solid for the subject; yet hath it beene very easie to impugne them, and those that have done it, have left no lesse facilitie to impugne theirs. A man might ever finde answeres enough to such an argument, both rejoinders, double, treble, quadruple, with this infinit contexture of debates, that our petic-foggers have wyre-drawne, and wrested as much as ever they could in favour of their pleas and proccesses:

Hor. lib. 2. epist.
2. 97.

Cadimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem.

We by our forces are beaten, if not flaine,

We with as many strokes waste them againe.

Reasons having no other good ground then experience, and the diversitie of humane events, presenting vs with infinit examples for all manner of formes. A wise man of our times, saith, that where our Almanakes say, warme ~~weather~~, should a man say cold, and in lieu of drie, moyst; And ever set downe the contrarie of what they foretell, were he to lay a wager of one or others successe, he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no vncertainie; as to promise extreame heate at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsomer. The like I thinke of these politike discourses. What part soever you are put vnto, you have as good a game as your fellow: Provided you affront not the apparant and plaine principles. And therefore (according to my humor) in publike affaires, there is no course so bad (so age and constancie be joyned vnto it) that is not better then change and alteration. *Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a marvelous inclination bend toward worse and worse; Of our lawes and customes many are barbarous, and diverse monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce vs to a better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheele, and stay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.*

note ::

v ::

Inve. sat. 8. 183

— nunquam adeo fædis adeoque pudendis

Vitimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint.

Examples of so filthy shamefull kinde

We never vse, but worse remains behind.

Instabilitie is the worst I find in our state, and that our lawes, no more then our garments, can take no settled forme. *It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfection, since all mortall things are full of it.* As easie is it to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances: No man ever vndertooke it, but came to an end: But to establish a better state in place of that which is condemned and raced out, divers who have attempted it, have shronke vnder the burthen. Touching my conduct, my wisdom hath small share therein. I am very easily to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happie people, that doth what is commanded, better then they which command, without vexing themselves about causes; which suffer themselves gently to be rowled on, according to the heavens rowling. Obedience is never pure and quiet in him, who talketh, pleadeth and contendeth. In some, (to returne to my selfe) the onely matter, for which I make some account of my selfe, is that, wherein never man did thinke himselfe defective. My commendation is vulgar, common and popular; For, who ever thought he wanted wit? It were a proposition, which in it selfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity, that is never where it is scene, it is very strong and fast-holding, but yet pierced and dissipated by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the Sunnes raies scatter and dispearce a gloomie mist. For a man to accuse himselfe, were to excuse

His wit

cuse himselfe of that subject; and to condemne himselfe, and absolving of himselfe. There was never so base a porter, nor so silly a woman, but thought he had sufficient wit for his provision. We easily know in others, the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience, of disposition and of beautie, but we never yeelde the advantage of judgement to any body: And the reasons, which part from the simple naturall discourse in others, we thinke, that had we but looked that way, we had surely found them. The skill, the knowledge, the stile and such like partes, which wee see in strange workes, wee easily perceive whether they exceede ours; but the meere productions of witte and vnderstanding, everie man deemeth it lyeth in him to meete with the very like, and doth hardly perceive the weight and difficultie of it, except (and that very scarcely) in an extreame and incomparable distance. And he that should clearly see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his vnto it. Thus, is it a kinde of exercising, whereof a man may hope but for meane commendation and small praise, and a maner of composition, of little or no name at all. And then, for whom doe you write? The wiser sorte, vnto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction, know no other prise but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits, but that of erudition and arte. If you have mistaken one *Scipio* for another, what of any worth have you left to speake of? He that is ignorant of *Aristotle* (according to them) he is therewithall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed mindes, cannot perceive the grace or comelinesse, nor judge of a smoothe and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes possesse the world. The third, vnto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare, that justly it hath neither name nor ranke amongst vs; he looseth halfe his time, that doth aspire or endeavour to please it. It is commonly said, that the justest portion, nature hath given vs of the graces, is that of sense and vnderstanding: for there is no man, but is contented with the share she hath allotted him: Is it not reason? He who should see beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and sound opinions; but who is not so perswaded of his owne? One of the best trialls I have of it, is the small esteeme I make of my selfe: for, had they not bene well assured, they would easily have suffered themselves to be deceived, by the affection I beare vnto my selfe, singulare, as he, who brings it almost all vnto my selfe, and that spill but a little besides. All that, which others distribute thereof vnto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their glorie and greatnes, I referre to the repose of my spirite and to my selfe. What else where escapes of it, is not properly by the appointment of my discourse:

mibi nempe valere & vivere doctus.

Perf. svt. 4. 23

Well learn'd in what concerneth me,

To live, and how in health to be.

As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold and constant to condemne mine insufficiencie.

And to say truth, it is a subject, whereabout I exercise my judgement, as much as about any other. *The world lookes ever foreright, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I amuse it.* Every man lookes before himselfe, I looke within my selfe; I have no businesse but with my selfe. I vncessantly consider, controule and taste my selfe: other men go ever else-where, if they thinke well on it: they goe ever forward,

nemo in sese tentat descendere.

Cic. Off. lib. 2

No man attempteth this Essay,

Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me I roule me into my selfe. This capacitie of sifting out the truth, what, and howsoever it bein me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subject my believe, I owe especially vnto my selfe; for, the most constant, and generall imaginations I have, are those; which (as one would say) were borne with me: They are naturall unto me, and wholly mine. I produced them raw and simple, of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and vnperfect: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the sound examples of antients, with whom I have found my selfe conformable in judgement: Those have assured me of my hold-fast of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more absolute and more cleare. The commendation which everie man seekes after, for a vivacitie and promptitude of wit, I challenge the same by the order of a notable and farre-sounding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondency, and tranquillitie of opinions and customes. *Omnino si quidquam est decorum,*

*yet Elly where
he hath sondry
tymes said & his
judgment is easily
captivated
by reading good
Authors writing
contrary things*

His iudgment
of other mens
works

decorum, nihil est profectò magis quàm equabilitas uniuersa uite, tum singularum actionum: quàm conseruare non possis; si aliorum naturam imitans, omittas tuam. Clearly if any thing be decent for a man, nothing is more then an even carriage and equabilitie of his whole life, and every action therein: which you cannot uphold, if following the nature of others, you let passe your owne. Behold here then how farforth I finde my selfe guilty of that first part, I said to be in the vice of presumption. Concerning the second, which consisteth in not esteeming sufficiently of others, I wot not whether I can so well excuse my selfe; for, whatsoever it cost mee, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be, the continuall commerce I have with ancient humours, and the Idea of those rich mindes of former ages doth bring me out of liking and distaste both of others and of my selfe, or that in truth we live in an age, which produceth things but meane and indifferent. So it is, that I knowe nothing worthy any great admiration. Also I know not many men so familiarly as I should, to be able to iudge of them: and those with whom the qualitie of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant, are for the most part, such as have little care for the manuring of the soule, and to whom nothing is proposed for chiefe felicitie, but honour; and for absolute perfection, but valour. Whatsoever I see or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard; yea and I often endear my selfe with what I thinke of it, and allow my selfe to lie so farreforth: For, I cannot invent a false subject. I willingly witnesse with my friends what I finde praise-worthy in them. And of an inche of valour, I willingly make an inche and a halfe; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not: yea be they mine enemies, I shall sincerely give them their due, in witnessing their worth or honour. My affection may change; my iudgement never. And I confound not my quarrell with other circumstances, that are impertinent and belong not vnto it. And I am so jealous of the libertie of my iudgement, that for what passion soever I can hardly quir it. I wrong my selfe more in lying, then him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous custome of the Persian nation, is much noted; *They speake very honourably and iustly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they were at deadly fude and warre, so farreforth as the merite of their vertue deserved.* I know diuerse men who have sundry noble and worthy partes; some wit, some courage, some dexteritie, some conscience, some a readinesse in speech, some one Science, and some another; but of a great man in generall, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or but one, in such a degree of excellencie, as he may thereby be admired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honor, my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of naturall parts of the minde, and the best borne) was *Stefanus de la Boitie*: Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face, and shewed a faire countenance vpon all matters: A minde after the old stampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondrous effects; having by skill and study added very much to his rich naturall gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth so, there is as much vanitie and weakenesse of vnderstanding found in those, that professe to have most sufficiencie, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of bookes, then in any sort of people; whether it be because there is more required, and expected at their hands, and common faults cannot be excused in them, or that the selfe-opinion of knowledge emboldeneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-foreward, whereby they loose and betray themselves. As an Artificer doeth more manifest his sottishnesse in a rich piece of worke, which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seeke to apply it and entermeddle, then in a vile and base one; and men are more offended at a fault or oversight in a statue of gold, then in one of clay. These doe as much, when they set forth things, which in themselves and in their place, would be good; for, they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their vnderstanding: and doing honour to *Cicero*, to *Galen*, to *Vlpian*, and to *Saint Ierome*, to make themselves rediculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution: whose aime hath beene to make vs not good and wittie, but wise and learned; She hath attained her purpose. It hath not taught vs to follow vertue and embrace wisdom; but made an impression in vs of it's Ethimologie and derivation. *Wee can decline vertue, yet can we not loue it.* If we know not what wisdom is by effect and experience, we know it by prattling and by rote. We are not satisfied to know the race, the aliances, and

Of this man see
y^e 27 & 28 chap:
2.1.

and the pedegrees of our neighbours, but we will have them to be our friends, and contract both conversation and intelligence with them: It hath taught vs the definitions, the divisions, and distinctions of vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genealogie, without having other care to contract practise of familiaritie or private acquaintance betweene vs and it. She hath appointed vs for our learning, not bookes that have sounder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greeke or Latine: and amongst her choise words, hath made the vaineſt humours of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. *A good institution changeth iudgement and maners*, as it hapned to *Polemon*. This dissolute yong Græcian, going one day by chance to heare a Lecture of *Xenocrates*, where he not onely marked the eloquence and sufficiencie of the Reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solide fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

— *faciã, ne quod olim*
Mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpisse coronas,
Postquam est impransu correptus voce magistri.
 Can you doe as did *Polemo* reformed,
 Cast-off your sicknes signes, which you deformed,
 Your bolsters, mufflers, swathes? As he drink-lin'de,
 His dronken garlands covertly decline,
 By speech of fasting reader disciplinde?

Hor. ser. lib. 2.
 sat. 3253.

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinkes, is that, which through simplicitie holds the last rancke, and offreth vs a more regular commerce. The customes and discourses of countrie-clownish-men, I finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true description of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. *Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit.* The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it must needes. The worthiest men, I have judged by externall apparances (for, to judge them after my fashion, they should be sifted nearer) concerning warre, and militarie sufficiencie, have beene, the Duke of *Guise*, that died before *Orleans*, and the whilom Marshall *Strozzi*: For men extraordinarily sufficient, and endowed with no vulgar vertue, *Oliver*, and *L'Hospitall*, both great Chancelors of *France*. Poetrie hath likewise in mine opinion, had hir vogue and credit in our age. We have store of cunning and able men in that profession, *Anarate*, *Beza*, *Buchanan*, *L'Hospitall*, *Mont-dore*, & *Turnebus*. As for French-men, I thinke they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein *Ronsart*, and excellent *Bellay* have written, I thinke they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. *Adrianus Turnebus* knew more and better, what he knewe, then any man in his age, or of many ages past. The lives of the late Duke of *Alva*, and of our Constable *Mommorancie* have beene very noble, and have had sundrie rare resemblances of fortune. But the worthily-faire and glorious death of the last, in the full sight of *Paris*, and of his King, for their service, against his nearest friends and alliance, in the front of an armie, victorious through his conduct of it, and with an hand-stroke, in that old age of his, deserveth in mine opinion, to be placed and registred amongst the most renoumed and famous accidents of my times. As also the constant goodnes, the mildnes in behaviour, and conscionable facilitie of *Monsieur le Noüe*, in such an injustice of armed factions (a very schoole of treason, of inhumanitie and brigandage) wherein he was ever brought vp, a worthie, and famous man of warre, and most experienced in his profession. I have greatly pleased my selfe in publishing in sundrie places, the good hope I have of *Marie Gournay le Iars* my daughter in alliance, and truly of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being enfeoffed in my home and solitarines. There is nothing in the world I esteeme more then hir. If childehoode may presage any future successe, hir minde shall one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst other of the perfection of this thrice-sacred amitie, whereunto we reade not, hir sexe could yet attaine; the sinceritie and soliditie of hir demeanors are therein already sufficient; hir kinde affection towards me is more then superabounding, and such in deede as nothing more can be wished vnto it, but that the apprehension, which she hath of my aproching end, by reason of the

fiftie

fiftie five yeares, wherein hir hap hath beene to knowe me, would somewhat lesse cruelly trouble hir. The judgement she made of my first Essayes, being a woman, of this age, so yong, alone where she dwelleth, and the exceeding vehemencie wherewith she loved me, and long time, by the onely esteeme, which before ever she sawe me, she had by them conceived of me, she desired me; is an accident most worthie consideration. Other vertues have had little or no currentnes at all in this age: But valor is become popular by reason of our civill warres, and in this part, there are mindes found amongst vs very constant, even to perfection, and in great number, so that the choise is impossible to be made. Loe here what hitherto I have knowne of any extraordinarie, and not common greatnes.

The eighteenth Chapter.

Of giving the lie.

3 x

YEa but, will some tell me, this desseigne in a man to make himselfe a subject to write of, might be excused in rare and famous men, and who by their reputation, had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confesse it, and I knowe, that a handicrafts-man will scarcely looke of his worke, to gaze vpon an ordinarie man: Whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It ill becometh any man to make himselfe knowne, onely he excepted, that hath somewhat in him worthie imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a patterne to all. *Cesar* and *Xenophon* have had wherewithall to ground and establisth their narration, in the greatnes of their deeds, as on a just and solid ground-worke. So are the Tornall bookes of *Alexander* the great, the Commentaries which *Augustus*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Silla* and divers others had left of their gests, greatly to bee desired. Such mens images are both beloved and studied, be they either in brasse or stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little.

Hor. ser. lib. 1. sat. 4. 73.

Non recito eniquam: nisi amicis, idque rogatus.

Non ubi vis, coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui

Scripta foro recitant sunt multi, quique lauantes.

My writings I reade not, but to my friends, to any,

Nor eachwhere, nor to all, nor but desir'd: yet many

In market place reade theirs,

In bathes, in barbers chaires.

I erre not here a statue to be set vp in the market place of a towne, or in a Church, or in any other publike place:

Pers. sat. 5. 19.

Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis ut mihi nugis

Pagina turgescat:

I studie not, my written leaves should growe

Big-swolne with babled toyes which vaine breth's blowe.

Secreti loquimur.

We speake alone,

Or one to one.

21.

This Book

It is for the corner of a Librarie, or to amuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend of mine withall, who by this image may happily take pleasure to renew acquaintance, and to reconverse with me. Others have beene emboldned to speake of themselves, because they have found worthy and rich subject in themselves. I, contrariwise, because I have found mine so barren, and so shallow, that it cannot admit suspicion of ostentation. I willingly judge of other mens actions; of mine by reason of their nullitie, I give small cause to judge. I finde not so much good in my selfe, but I may speake of it without blushing. Oh what contentment were it vnto mee, to heare some body that would relate the custome, the visage, the countenance, the most vsuall words, and the fortunes of my ancestors! Oh how attentively would I listen vnto it! Verily it were an argument of a bad nature, to seeme to de-

spise

spise the very pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their garments and armes, I keepe the writing, the manuell seale, and a peculiar sword. And I reserve still in my cabinet certaine long switches or wands, which my father was wont to carry in his hand. *Paterna vestis & annulus, tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga parentes maior affectus.* The fathers garment and his ring is so much more esteemed of his successors, as their affection is greater towards their progenitors. Notwithstanding if my posteritie be of another minde, I shall have wherewith to be avenged; for they cannot make so little accompt of me, as then I shall doe of them. All the commerce I have in this with the worlde, is, that I borrow the instruments of their writing, as more speedy, and more easie: in requitall whereof I may peradventure hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from selling an ounce of pepper.

Relicks

*Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis,
Least fish-fry should a fit gowne want,
Least clokes should be for olives scant.
Et laxas scombris saepe dabo tunicas.
To long-taild mackrels often I,
Will side-wide (paper) cotes apply.*

Mart. lib. 13
epig. 1.1.

Catul. epig. eleg.
27.8.

And if it happen, no man reade me, have I lost my time, to have entertained my selfe so many idle houres, about so pleasing and profitable thoughts? In framing this pourtraite by my selfe, I have so often beene faine to frizle and trimme mee, that so I might the better extract my selfe, that the patterne is thereby confirmed, and in some sorte formed. Drawing my selfe for others, I have drawne my selfe with purer and better collours, then were my first. I have no more made my booke, then my booke hath made me. A book consubstanti- all to his Author: Of a peculiar and fit occupation. A member of my life. Not of an occupa- tion and end, strange and forraigne; as all other bookes. Have I mis-spent my time, to have taken an accompt of my selfe so continually and so curiously? For those who onely runne themselves over by fantazie, and by speech for some houre, examine not themselves so pri- mely and exactly, nor enter they into themselves, as he doth, who makes his studie, his worke and occupation of it: Who with all his might, and with all his credit engageth himselfe to a register of continuance. The most delicious pleasures, though inwardly digested, shunne to leave any trace of themselves; & avoide the sight, not only of the people, but of any other. How often hath this busines diverted me from tedious and yrksome cogitations? (And all frivelous-ones must be deemed tedious and yrkesome.) Nature hath endowed vs with a large facultie to entertaine our selves a parte, and often calleth vs vnto it: To teach vs, that, partly we owe our selves vnto societie, but in the better part vnto our selves. To the end I may in some order and project marshall my fantasie, even to dote, and keepe it from loosing, and straggling in the aire, there is nothing so good, as to give a body, and register so many idle imaginations as present themselves vnto it. I listen to my humors, and harken to my conceites, because I must enroule them. How often, being grieved at some action, which civili- tie and reason forbade me to withstand openly, have I disgorged my selfe vpon them here, not without an intent of publike instruction? And yet these poeticall rods,

*Zon dessus l'œil, zon sur le groin,
Zon sur le dos du Sagoin,*

are also better imprinted vpon paper, than vpon the quick flesh; What if I lend mine eares, somewhat more attentively vnto books, sith I but watch if I can filch something from them, wherewith to ennamell and vphold mine? I never studied to make a booke; Yet have I somewhat studied, because I had alreadie made it (if to nibble or pinch, by the head or feete, now one Authour, and then another be in any sorte to study) but nothing at al to forme my opinions: Yea being long since formed, to assist, to second and to serve them. But whom shall we believe speaking of himselfe, in this corrupted age? since there are few or none, whom we may beleeeve speaking of others, where there is lesse interest to lie. The first part of customs-cor- ruption, is; the banishment of truth: For, as Pindarus saide, to be sincerely true, is the beginning of a great vertue; and the first article, Plato requireth in the Governor of his common-wealth: Now-adayes, that is not the trueth which is true, but that which is perswaded to others. As

we call many not onely that which is true and good, but also the false; so it be currant. Our Nation is long since taxed with this vice. For *Salvianus Massiliensis* who lived in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, saith, that amongst French-men, to lie and forswear is no vice, but a manner of speech. He that would endear this Testimonie, might say, it is now rather deemed a vertue among them. Men frame and fashion themselves vnto it, as to an exercise of honour; for, *dissimulation is one of the notablest qualities of this age*. Thus have I often considered, whence this custome might arise, which we observe so religiously, that we are more sharply offended with the reproach of this vice, so ordinary in vs, than with any other; and that it is the extreamest injurie, may be done vs in words, to vpbraid & reproch vs with a lie. Therein I finde, that it is naturall, for a man to defend himselfe most from such defects as we are most tainted with. It seemeth, that if we but shew a motion of revenge, or are but moved at the accusation, we in some sort discharge our selves of the blame or imputation; if we have it in effect, at least we condemne it in apparance. May it not also be, that this reproch seemes to enfold cowardise & faintnesse of hart? Is there anie more manifest, than for a man to eate and deny his owne Word? What? To deny his Word wittingly? To ly is a horrible-filthy vice; and which an auncient writer setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith, that *who-soever lieth, witneseth that he contemneth God, and therewithall feareth men*. It is impossible more richly to represent the horreur, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: For, *What can be imagined so vile and base, as to be a coward towards men, and a boaster towards God?* Our intelligence being onely conducted by the way of the Worde: Who so falsifieth the same, betrayeth publike society. It is the onely instrument, by meanes wherof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our souls: If that faile vs we hold our selves no more, we enterknow one another no longer. If it deceive vs, it breaketh all our commerce, and dissolveth all bonds of our policie. Certaine Nations of the new Indiaes (whose names we need not declare, because they are no more; for the desolation of this conquest hath extended it selfe to the absolute abolishing of names and ancient knowledge of Places, with a marvelous and never the like heard example) offered humane blood vnto their Gods, but no other than that which was drawne from their tongues and eares, for an expiation of the sinne of lying, as well heard as pronounced. That good-fellow-Græcian said, children were dandled with toyes, but men with wordes. Concerning the sundrie fashions of our giving the lie, and the lawes of our honour in that, and the changes they have received, I will referre to another time, to speak what I think and know of it, and if I can, I will in the meane time learne, at what time this custome tooke his beginning, so exactly to weigh and precizely to measure words, & tie our honor to them: for, it is easie to judge, that it was not anciently amongst the Romans and Græcians. And I have often thought it strange, to see them wrong and give one another the lie, and yet never enter into quarrell. The lawes of their dutie, tooke some other course than ours. *Cesar* is often called a theefe, and sometimes a drunkard to his face. Wee see the libertie of their investives, which they write one against an other: I meane the greatest Chieftaines and Generalles in warre; of one and other Nation, where words are onely retorted and revenged with words, and never wrested to further consequence.

The nineteenth Chapter.

Of the liberty of Conscience.

5

IT is ordinarily seene, how good intentions being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversie, by which *France* is at this instant molested with civill warres, the best and safest side, is no doubt, that which maintaineth both the auncient religion and policie of the Country. Neverthelesse amongst the honest men that folow it (for my meaning is not to speak of those, who vse them as a colour, either to exercise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedie avarice, or to followe the favour of Princes: But of such as do it with a true zeale toward their Religion, and an unfained-holy affection, to maintaine the peace and vphold the state of their Country) of those I say, divers are

are seene, whom passion thrusts out of the bounds of reason, and often forceth them to take and follow vnjust, violent and rash counsels. Certaine it is, that when first our religion beganne to gaine authoritie with the Lawes, it's zeale armed many against all sorts of Pagane bookes, whereof the learned sort have a great losse. My opinion is, that this disorder hath done more hurt to learning, than all the Barbarian flames. *Cornelius Tacitus* is a sufficient testimonie of it: for, howbeit the Emperor *Tacitus* his kinsman had by expresse appointment stored all the libraries in the World with it, notwithstanding one onely entire example could not escape the curious search of those, who sought to abolish it, by reason of five or sixe vaine clauses, contrary to our beleefe. They have also had this, easily to affoorde false commendations to all the Emperours, that made for vs, and vniuersally to condemne all the actions of those, which were our adversaries, as may plainly be seene in *Julian* the Emperor, surnamed the Apostata; who in truth was a notable-rare-man, as he whose mind was lively endowed with the discourses of Philosophie, vnto which hee professed to conforme all his actions; and truly there is no kind of vertue, wherof he hath not left most notable examples. In chastity (wherof the whole course of his life giveth apparant testimony) a like example, vnto that of *Alexander* and *Scipio* is read of him, which is, that of many wonderfull faire captive Ladies, brought before him, being even in the very prime of his age (for he was slain by the Parthians about the age of one and thirtie years) he would not see one of them. Touching justice, himselfe would take the paines to heare all parties: And although for curiosity sake, he would enquire of such as came before him, what religion they were-of, nevertheless the enmitie he bare to ours, did no whit weigh downe the ballance. Himselfe made sundrie good Lawes, and revoked diuerse subsidies and impositions, his Predecessours before him had receaved. We have two good Historians, as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of which, (who is *Marcellinus*) in sundry places of his Historie bitterly reprooveth this ordonance of his, by which he forbade schooles, and interdicted all Christian Rhethoricians, and Gramarians to teach: Saying, he wished this his action might be buried vnder silence. It is very likely, if he had done any thing else more sharpe or severe against vs, he would not have forgot it, as he that was well affected to our side. Hee was indeede very severe against vs, yet not a cruell ennemie. For, our people themselves report this Historie of him, that walking one day about the City of *Calcedonia*, *Maris* Bishop thereof, durst call him wicked and traitor to Christ, to whom he did no other thing, but answered thus: Goe wretched man, weepe and deplore the losse of thine eyes, to whom the Bishop replied, I thanke Iesus Christ, that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face, affecting thereby (as they say) a kind of Philosophicall patience. So it is, this part cannot be referred to the cruelties, which he is said to have exercised against vs. He was (saith *Eutropius* my other testimony) an enemy vnto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accused of nothing but of the rigors he vsed in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of *Constantius* his Predecessour. Concerning sobrietie, he ever lived a Souldiers kinde of life, and in time of peace, would feede no otherwise, than one who prepared and enured himselfe to the austeritie of warre. Such was his vigilancie, that he devided the night into three or foure parts, the least of which hee allotted vnto sleepe; the rest he employed in visiting the state of his army, and his guardes, or in study; for, amongst other his rare qualities, he was most excellent in all sorts of learning. It is reported of *Alexander* the Great, that being laide down to rest, fearing lest sleep should divert him from his thoughts and studies, he caused a basen to be set neere his bed side, and holding one of his handes out, with a brazen ball in it, that if sleepe should surprize him, loosing his fingers endes, the ball falling into the basen, might with the noyse rouze him from out his sleepe. This man had a mind so bent to what he vndertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have passd this devise. Touching mylitary sufficiency, he was admirable in all partes belonging to a great Captaine. So was he almost all his life time in continuall exercise of Warre, & the greater part with vs in *France* against the Alemands and Franconians. We have no great memorie of any man, that either hath seene more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his person. His death hath some affinitie with that of *Epaminondas*, for being stricken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surely done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to bee carryed forth in the midst of his army,

note

Julian, ye
Appostat xp

that so he might encourage his souldiers, who without him couragiously maintained the battell, vntill such time as darke night severed the Armies. Hee was beholding to Philosophie for a singular contempt, both of himselfe and of all humane things. Hee assuredly believed the eternitie of soules. In matters of religion, he was vicious every-where. He was surnamed *Apostata*, because he had forsaken ours; notwithstanding this opinion seemes to mee more likely, that he never tooke it to hart, but that for the obedience which he bare to the lawes, he dissembled til he had gotten the Empire into his hands. He was so superstitious in his, that even such as lived in his time, and were of his owne religion, mocked him for it; and it was saide, that if he had gained the Victory of the Parthians, hee would have consumed the race or breede of Oxen, to satisfie his sacrifices. He was also besotted with the Art of sooth-saying, and gave authoritie to all manner of prognostikes. Amongst other things hee spake at his death, he saide, he was much beholding to the Gods, and greatly thanked them, that they had not suffered him to be slaine sodainly or by surprize, as having long before warned him both of the place and houre of his end; nor to dy of a base and easie death, more befeeming idle and effeminate Persons, nor of a lingring, languishing, and dolorous death; and that they had deemed him worthy to end his life so nobly, in the course of his victories, & in the flower of his glory. There had before appeared a vision vnto him, like vnto that of *Marcus Brutus*, which first threatned him in *Gaul*, and after ward even at the point of his death, presented it selfe to him in *Persia*. The speach he is made to speake when he felt himselfe hurt, *Thou hast vanquished ô Nazarean*; or as some will have it; *Content thy selfe ô Nazarean*, would scarce have beene forgotten, had it beene believed of my testimonies, who being present in the army, have noted even the least motions, and wordes at his death, no more than certaine other wonders, which they annex vnto it. But to returne to my theame, he had long before (as saith *Marcellinus*) hatched Paganisme in his hart, but forsomuch as he saw all those of his armie to be Christians, he durst not discover him selfe. In the end, when hee found himselfe to be sufficiently strong, and durst publish his minde, he caused the Temples of his Gods to be opened, and by all meanes endeoured to advance idolatrie. And to attaine his purpose, having found in *Constantinople* the people verie loose, and at odds with the Prelates of the christian Church, and caused them to appeare before him in his pallace, he instantly admonished them to appease all their civill dissentions, and every one without hinderance or feare apply themselves to follow and serve religion. Which he verie carefully solicited, hoping this licence might encrease the factions, and controversies of the division, and hinder the people, from growing to any vnity, and by consequence from fortifying themselves against him, by reason of their concord, & in one mind-agreeing intelligence: having by the cruelty of some Christians found, that *There is no beast in the world, so much of man to be feared, as man*. *Locheere* his very words, or very neare: Wherin this is worthy consideration, that the Emperôr *Julian*, vseth the same receipt of libertie of conscience, to enkindle the trouble of civill dissention, which our Kings employ to extinguish. It may be saide on one side, that, *To give factions the bridle to entertaine their opinion, is to scatter contention and sow division*, and as it were to lend it hand to augment and encrease the same: There beeing no Barre or Obstacle of Lawes to bridle or hinder hir course. But on the other side, it might also be vrged, that to give factions the bridle to vpholde their opinion, is, by that facilitie and ease, the readie way to mollifie and release them, and to blunt the edge, which is sharpened by rarenesse, noveltie, and difficultie. And if for the honour of our Kings devotion, I believe better; it is, that since they could not doe as they would, they have fained to will what they could not.

The twentieth Chapter.

We taste nothing purely.

THe weakenes of our condition, causeth, that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our vse. The elements we enjoy are altered: Mettalls likewise, yea golde

golde must be empared with some other stuffe to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which *Ariston*, *Pyrro*, and the Stoickes, made the end of their life, hath beene able to doe no good with composition: Nor the Cirenaike sensualitie or Aristippian voluptuousnes. Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of evil, and incommoditie.

Lucr. li. 4. 1124

medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.

From middle spring of sweetes some bitter springs,

Which in the very flower smartly stings.

Our exceeding voluptuousnes hath some aire of groning and wailing: Would you not say, it dieth with anguish? Yea when we forge it's image in hir excellencie, we decke it with Epithets, sickish and dolorous qualities: languor, effeminacie, weakenesse, fainting and *Morbidezza*, a great testimony of their consanguinitie and consubstantialtie. Excessive joy hath more severitie, then jolitie: Extreame and full content, more settlednesse, then cheerefulness. *Ipsa felicitas, se nisi temperat, premit. Felicitie it selfe, vnlesse it temper it selfe, distempers vs.* Ease consumeth vs. It is that, which an old Greeke verse saith, of such a sense. The Gods sell vs all the goods they give vs; that is to say, they give vs not one pure & perfect, and that which we buy not with the price of some euill. Travell and pleasure, most vnlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kinde I wot not what naturall conjunction. *Socrates* saith, that some God attempted to huddle vp together, and confound sorrow and voluptuousnesse: but being vnable to effect it, he bethought himselfe to couple them together, at least by the taile. *Metrodorus* said, that in sadnesse there is some aloy of pleasure. I know not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine, that for one to enure himselfe to melancholy, there is some kinde of purpose, of consent, and mutuall delight: I meane besides ambition, which may also be joynd vnto it. There is some shadow of delicacie, and quaintnesse, which smileth and fawneth vpon vs, even in the lappe of melancholy. Are there not some complexions, that of it make their nourishment?

— est quaedam flere voluptas.

It is some pleasure yet,

With teares our cheekes to wet.

*Ovi. Trist. lib. 4
el. 337.*

And one *Attalus* in *Seneca* saith, the remembrance of our last friends is as pleasing to vs, as bitternesse in wine that is over old;

Minister veteris puer falerni

Ingere mi calices amariores:

Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,

Bring me my cup thereof bitter, but fine.

*Cat. lyr. epig.
24. 1.*

and as of sweetely-sowre apples. Nature discovereth this confusion vnto vs: Painters are of opinion, that the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh. Verely, before one or other be determined to expresse which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extremitie of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares. *Nullum sine auctoramento malum est. There is no euill without some obligation.* When I imagin man fraughed with al the commodities may be wished; let vs suppose, al his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like vnto that of generation, even in the highest point that may be: I finde him to sinke vnder the burthen of his ease, and perceive him altogether vnable to beare so pure, so constant, and so vniversall a sensualitie. Truely he flies when he is even vpon the nicke, and naturally hastneth to escape it, as from a step, whereon he cannot stay or containe himselfe, and feareth to sinke into it. When I religiously confesse my selfe vnto my selfe, I finde, the best good I have, hath some vicious tainte. And I feare that *Plato* in his purest vertue (I that am as sincere and loyall an esteemer thereof, and of the vertues of such a stampe, as any other can possibly be) if he had neerely listned vnto it (and sure he listned very neere) hee would therein have heard some harsh tune, of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and onely sensible vnto himselfe. Man all in all, is but a botching and party-coloured worke. The very Lawes of Iustice, can not subsist without some commixture of Iniustice: And *Plato* saith, They undertake to cutte off *Hidraes* heades, that pretend to remove all incommodities and inconveniences from the Lawes. *Omne magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur. Every great example hath some touch of iniustice, which is requited by the*

Sen. epist. 69. m.

*Tacitus Ann.
l. 14. Cassi.*

Liv. dec. 4. lib. 2

common good against particulars. saith Tacitus. It is likewise true, that for the vse of life and service of publike societie, there may be excesse in the puritie and perspicuitie of our spirites. This piercing brightnesse hath overmuch subtilitie and curiositie. They should be made heavy and dull, to make them the more obedient to example and practise; and they must be thickned and obscured, to proportion them to this shadie and terrestriall life. Therefore are vulgar and lesse-wire-drawn wits found to be more fitte and happy in the conduct of affaires. And the exquisite and high-raised opinions of Philosophie, vnapt and vnfit to exercise. This sharpe vivacitie of the spirit, and this supple and restless volubilitie, troubleth our negotiations. Humane enterprises should be managed more grosely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affaires neede not be sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lusts and diverse formes. *Voluntantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi. Their mindes were astonished, while they revolved things so different.* It is that which our elders report of *Simonides*; because his imagination, concerning the question *Hieron* the King had made vnto him (which the better to answere he had diverse dayes allowed him to thinke of it) presented sundry subtile and sharpe considerations vnto him; doubting which might be the likeliest; he altogether dispaired of the truth. Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances, and embraceth all the consequences thereof, hindereth his election. *A meane engine doth equally conduct, and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights.* It is commonly seene, that the best husbandes and the thriftiest, are those who cannot tell how they are so; and that these cunning Arithmeticians doe seldome thrive by it. I know a notable pratler, and an excellent blazoner of all sorts of husbandry and thrift, who hath most piteously let ten thousand pound sterline a yeare passe from him. I know another, who saith, he consulteth better then any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a properer man to see vnto, or of more sufficiencie; notwithstanding when hee commeth to any execution; his owne servants finde he is farre-otherwise: This I say without mentioning or accompting his ill lucke.

The one and twentieth Chapter.

Against idlenesse, or doing nothing.

5

THE Emperour *Vespasian*, lying sicke of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to vnderstand the state of the Empire; and lying in his bed, vncessantly dispatched many affaires of great consequence; and his Phisicians chiding him, as of a thing hurtfull to his health; he answered, *That an Emperour should die standing vpright.* Loe here a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great Prince. *Adrian* the Emperour vsed the same afterward to like purpose. And Kings ought often to be put in minde of it, to make them feele, that this great charge, which is given them of the commandement over so many men, is no idle charge; and that there is nothing may so justly distaste a subject from putting himselfe in paine and danger for the service of his Prince, then therewith to see him given to lazinesse, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so carelesse of ours. If any shall goe about to maintaine, that it is better for a Prince to manage his warres by others, then by himselfe; Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those, whose Lieutenents have atchived great enterprises; and also of some whose presence would have beene more hurtfull, then profitable. But no vertuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertained with so shamefull instructions. Vnder colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a Saint) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in militarie actions, and declare him vncapable of it. I know one, would rather chuse to be beaten, then sleepe whilst others fight for him; and who without jelousie never saw his men performe any notable act in his absence. And *Selim* the first had reason to say, that *he thought victories gotten in the maisters absence, not to be compleate.* So much more willingly would he have said, that such a maister ought to blush for shame, who onely

onely by his name should pretend any share in it, having therevnto employed nothing but his voice and verball direction: Nor that, since in such a busines, the advices and commandements, which bring honor, are only those given in the field and even in the action. No Pilote exerciseth his office standing stil. The princes of *Otomans* race (the cheifest race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And *Baiazeth* the second with his sonne, who ammusung themselves about Sciences, and other private home-matters, neglected the same, gave divers prejudiciall blowes vnto their Empire. And *Amurath* the third of that name, who now raigneth following their example, beginneth very well to feelee their fortune. Was it not the King of *England*, *Edward* the third, who spake these words of our King *Charles* the fifth? *There was never King that lesse armed himselfe; and yet was never King, that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many planges.* He had reason to thinke it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather then of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall* amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seeke for some other adherent then my selfe; for so much as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves maisters of both *Indias*, onely by the conduct and direction of their factors; of whom it would be knowne, whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperor *Iulian* said moreover, that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporall necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both minde and body busied about notable, great and vertuous matters. He was ashamed, anie man should see him spitte or sweat before people (which is also said of the *Lacedemonian* youths, and *Xenophon* reporteth it of the *Persian*) forasmuch as he thought that continuall travell, exercise and sobrietie should have concocted and dried vp all such superfluities. What *Seneca* saith shall not impertinently be alleaged here; That the ancient *Romanes* kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing, that was to be learned sitting. It is a generous desire, to endeavor to die both profitably and manlike: But the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: Hurts or emprisonment, crossing their desseigne and yeelding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanitie of the *Romane* legions, who by othe bound themselves, either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie: Si fallo, Iovem patrem Gradumque Martem aliosque iratos invoco Deos.* I will, O *Marcus Fabius*, returne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great *Iupiter* and *Mars*, and the other Gods offended with me. The *Portugalles* report, that in certaine places of their *Indian* conquests, they found some Souldiers, who with horrible execrations had damned themselves, never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; and in signe of their vowe wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate our selves long enough. It seemeth that blowes shunne them, who over-joyfully present themselves vnto them; and vnwillingly reach those that overwillingly goe to meete them and corrupt their end. Some vnable to loose his life by his adversaries force, having assaiied all possible meanes, hath beene enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to beare away the honor; or not to carie away his life and even in the furie of the fight to put himselfe to death. There are sundrie examples of it; but note this one. *Philistus*, chiefe Generall of yong *Dionisius* his navie against the *Siracusans*, presented them the battle, which was very sharply withstood, their forces being a like; wherein, by reason of his prowesse he had the better in the beginning. But the *Siracusans* flocking thicke and threefold about his gally, to grapple and board him, having performed many worthie exploytes with his owne person, to ridde himselfe from them, disparing of all escape, with his owne hand deprived himselfe of that life, which so lavishly and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies hands. *Moley Moluch*, King of *Fez*, who not long since obtained that famous victorie against *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*; a notable victorie, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmission of so great a Kingdome to the crowne of *Castile*, chanced to be grievously sicke, at what time the *Portugales* with armed hand entred his dominions, and afterward, though hee foresawe it, approaching nearer vnto death, empaired worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly, or more vigorously make vse of an vndanted corage, than he. He found himselfe verie weak to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that Country at their entrance into

Liv. dec. 1. lib. 1

the Camp, are presented withall, which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with all manner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chiefe Captaine. Himselfe most gloriously executed, and most exactly perfourmed all other necessarie duties and profitable Offices. Holding his body laid along his cowch, but his minde vpright and courage conlanted, even to his last gaspe; and in some sort after. He might have vndermined his enemies, who were fond-hardly advanced in his dominions: And was exceedingly grieved, that for want of a litle longer life, and a substitute to manage the Warre, and affaires of so troubled a state, he was enforced to seeke a bloody and hazardous battell, having another pure and vndoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his life so miraculously, that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his Sea-Fleete, and Maritime places, hee helde along the Coast of *Affrike*, even vntill the last day of his life, which by designe he reserved and emploied for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battell in a round, on ev'ry side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round, and comming to close, did not onely hinder them in the conflict (which through the valour of that yong-assailant King was very furious) since they were to turne their faces on all sides, but also hindered them from running away after the rowte. And finding all issues seized, and all passages closed, they were constrained to turne vpon themselves: *coacervanturque non solum cade, sed etiam fuga. They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter, but by flight.* And so pel-mell to heape one on anothers neck, preparing a most murthrous and compleat victory to the Conquerours. When he was even dying, hee caused himselfe to be carryed and haled, where-ever neede called for him; and passing along the files, he exhorted the Captaines, and animated the Souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs with his naked-sword in hand get on horse-backe, striving by all possible means, to enter the throng, his men holding him, some by the Bridle, some by the Gowne, and some by the Stirrops. This toyle & straining of himselfe, made an end of that litle remainder of his life: Then was he laid on his bed: But comming to himselfe again, starting vp, as out of a swowne, each other faculty failing him, he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessarie commandement he could give his Servaunts, lest the Souldiers hearing of his death, might fall into dispaire) and so yeilded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers vpon his mouth; an ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere death? Who ever died so vpright and vndaunted? The extreamest degree, and most naturall, couragiously to manage death, is to see or front the same, not only without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free, even in death. As *Cato*, who ammuized himselfe to studie and sleepe, having a violent and bloody death, present in his hart, and as it were holding it in his hand.

The two and twentieth Chapter.

Of running Posts, or Curriers. 4

I Have beene none of the weakest in this exercise, which is proper vnto men of my stature, well-trust, short and tough, but now I have given it over: It toyles vs over-much, to holde out long. I was even-now reading, how King *Cyrus*, that he might more speedily receive newes from all parts of his Empire, (which was of exceeding great length) would needs have it tried, how farre a horse could in a day goe out-right, without baiting, at which distance hee caused Stations to be set, and men to have fresh horses ready, for all such as came to him. And some report, this swift kinde of running, answereth the flight of Cranes. *Cesar* saith, that *Lucius Vibulus Rufus*, making haste to bring *Pompey* an advertisement, rode day & night, and to make more speed shifted many horses. And himselfe (as *Sætonius* writeth) would vpon an hyred coache runne a hundred miles a day. And sure he was a rancke-runner: for where any river hindred his way, he swamme it over, and never went out of his way to fetch a bridge

or

or ferry. *Tiberius Nero* going to visite his brother *Drusus*, who lay sicke in *Germanie*, having three coaches in his companie, ranne two hundred miles in foure and twenty houres. In the Romane warres against King *Antiochus*, *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* (saith *Titus Livius*) *Per dispositos equos propè incredibili celeritate ab Amphisa tertio die Pellam pervenit*: By horse laide poste, with incredible speede within three dayes he past from Amphisa to Pella. And viewing the place, it seemeth, they were set Stations for Postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The invention of *Cecinna* in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carried certaine swallows with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nests, first marking them with some colour, proper to signifie what he meant, as before he had agreed vpon with his friends. In the *Temples of Rome*, the household Maisters, carried Pigeons in their bosomes, vnder whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. *D. Brutus*, vsed some being besieged in *Mutina*, and others else-where. In *Peru* they went poste vpon mens backs, who tooke their Maisters vpon their shoulders, sitting vpon certaine beares or chaires, with such agilitie, that in full running speede the first porters without any stay, cast their loade vpon others who vpon the way waited for them, and so they to others. I vnderstand that the *Valachians*, which are messengers vnto the great Turk, vse extreame diligence in their businesse; forsomuch as they have authoritie to dis-mount the first passenger they meete vpon the high-way, and give him their tyred Horse. And because they shall not be weary, they are wont to swathe themselves hard about the bodie with a broade Swathe or Seare-cloath, as diuerse others doe with vs: I could never finde ease or good by it.

Livius.

swallows

22

pigeons

The three and twentieth Chapter.

Of bad meanes employed to a good end. 5

There is a woonderfull relation and correspondencie found in this vniverfall pollicie of Natures workes, which manifestly sheweth, it is neither casuall, nor directed be diuerse maisters: The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise seene in states and governements: *Kingdomes and Commonwealths as well as we, are borne, flourish, and fade through age.* We are subject vnto a repleatnesse of humours, hurtfull and vnprofitable, yea be it of good humours (for even Phisitians feare that, and because there is nothing constant in vs, they say, that perfection of health over joyfull and strong, must by arte be abated and diminished, lest our nature vnable to settle it selfe in any certaine place, and for hir amendment to ascend higher, should over-violently recoil backe into disorder; and therefore they prescribe vnto Wrestlers purging and phlebotomie, to substract that superabundance of health from them) or of bad, which is the ordinarie cause of sicknesse. Of such like repletion are States often seene to be sicke, and diuerse purgations are wont to be vsed to purge them. As wee have seene some to dismisse a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the Countrey) which elswere goe to seeke where they may at others charge seate themselves. In this sorte our ancient *French* leaving the high Countries of *Germanie*, came to possesse *Gaule*, whence they displaced the first Inhabitants. Thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which afterward vnder *Brennus* and others, over-ranne *Italie*. Thus the *Gothes* and *Vandalles*, as also the Nations which possesse *Greece*, left their naturall Countries, to go where they might have more elbow-roume: And hardly shall we see two or three corners in the worlde, that have not felt the effect of such a remooving alteration. The *Romanes*, by such meanes, erected their Colonies; for perceiving their Cirtie to growe over-populous, they were wont to discharge it of vnneccessarie people, which they sent to inhabite and manure the Countries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintained warre with some of their enemies, not onely thereby to keepe their men in breath, lest Idlenesse, the mother of Corruption, should cause them some worse inconvenience.

Juven. sat. 6.
192.

*Et patimur longa pacis mala, seuior armis
Luxuria incumbit.*

We suffer of long peace the soking harmes,
On vs lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the common wealth blood, and somewhat to allay the over vehement heate of their youth, to lop the sprigs, and thinne the branches of this over-spreading tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and gaillardise. To this purpose they maintained a good while warre with the Carthaginians. In the treatie of *Bretaigne*, *Edward* the third, King of *England*, would by no meanes comprehend in that generall peace the controversie of the *Dutchies of Britanny*, to the end he might have some way to disburthen himselfe of his men of warre, and that the multitude of English men, which he had employde about the warres of *France*, should not returne into *England*. It was one of the reasons, induced *Philip* our King to consent, that his sonne *Iohn* should be sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he might carry with him a great number of yong hot-bloods, which were amongst his trained militarie men. There are divers now adayes, which will speake thus, wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst vs, might be derived to some neighbour warre, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodies, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our vtter destruction : And in truth a *forraine warre is nothing so dangerous a disease as a ciuill* : But I will not beleue that God would favour so vnjust an enterprife, to offend and quarrell with others for our commoditie.

Cat. epig. eleg. 4.
77.

*Nil mihi tam valde placeat Rhamnusia virgo,
Quod temerè inuitis suscipiatur heris.*

That fortune likes me not, which is constrained.
By Lords vnwilling rashly entertained.

Notwithstanding the weakenesse of our condition, doth often vrge vs to this necessitie, to vse bad meanes to a good end. *Lycurgus* the most vertuous and perfect Law-giver that ever was, devised this most vnjust fashon, to instruct his people vnto temperance, by force to make the Helotes, which were their servants, to be drunke, that seeing them so lost & buried in wine, the Spartanes might abhorre the excesse of that vice. Those were also more to be blamed, who anciently allowed that criminall offenders, what death soever they were condemned vnto, should by Phisicians all alive be torne in pieces, that so they might naturally see our inward parts, and thereby establish a more assured certaintie in their arte : For, if a man must needes erre or debauch himselfe, it is more excusable, if hee doe it for his soules health, then for his bodies good. As the Romanes trained-vp, and instructed their people to valour, and contempt of dangers & death, by the outrageous spectacles of Gladiators, and deadly fighting fencers, who in prefence of them all combated, mangled, sliced and killed one another.

*Quid vesani aliud sibi vult ars impia ludi,
Quid mortes inuenum, quid sanguine pasta voluptas?*

What else meanes that mad arte of impious fense,
Those yong-mens deaths, that blood-fed pleasing fense?

which custome continued even vntill the time of *Theodosius* the Emperour.

*Arripe delatam tua dux in tempora famam,
Quòdque patris superest successor laudis habeto:
Nullus in vrbe cadat, cuius sit pœna voluptas,
Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.*

The fame defer'd to your times entertaine,
Enherite praise which doth from Sire remaine,
Let none die to give pleasure by his paine:
Be shamefull Theaters with beastes content,
Not in goar'd armes mans slaughter represent.

Surely it was a wonderfull example, and of exceeding benefite for the peoples institution, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea sometimes a thousand brace of men armed one against another, in their prefence to cut and hacke one another in pieces, with so great constancie

stancie of courage, that they were never seene to vtter one word of faintnesse or commiseration, never to turne their backe, nor so much as to shew a motion of demissenesse, to avoide their adversaries blowes : but rather to extend their necks to their swordes, and present themselves vnto their strokes. It hath hapned to diuerse of them, who through many hurts being wounded to death, have sent to aske the people, whether they were satisfied with their dutie, before they would lie downe in the place. They must, not onely fight and die constantly, but iocondly : in such sort as they were cursed and bitterly scolded at, if in receiving their death they were any way seene to strive, yea maidens encited them to it.

consurgit adictus,
Et quoties victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa
Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis
Virgo modesta iubet conuerso pollice rumpi.
 The modest minde, when wounds are giv'n, vpriseth;
 When victors sword the vanquisht throate surpriseth,
 She saith, it is her sporte, and doth command,
 T'embrue the conquer'd breast, by signe of hand.

The first Romans disposed thus of their criminalls : But afterward they did so with their innocent servants; yea of their free-men, which were sold to that purpose : yea of Senators, and Romane Knights, and women also.

Nunc caput in mortem vendunt, & funus arena,
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella quiescunt.
 They sell mens lives to death and stages fight,
 When warres doe cease, they finde with whom to fight.
Hos inter fremitus novosque lusus,
Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri,
Et pugnas capit improbus viriles.
 Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting fights,
 That Sexe doth sit, which knowes not how sworde bites,
 And entertaines ynmov'd, those manly fights.

Manil. astr. l. 4
 224.

Which I should deeme very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our warres many thousands of forraine nations, for a very small some of mony to engage both their blood and life in quarrels wherein they are nothing interessed.

The foure and twentieth Chapter.

Of the Romane greatnesse.

6

I Will but speake a word of this infinite argument, and slightly glance at it, to shew the simplicity of those, who compare the seely greatnesse of these times vnto that. In the seaventh booke of *Ciceroes* familiar Epistles (and let Gramarians remove this title of Familiar, if they please, for to say truth it makes but little to the purpose : and they who in lieu of familiar, have placed *ad familiares*, may wrest some argument for themselves, from that which *Suetonius* saith in *Cesars* life, that there was a volume of his Epistles *ad familiares*) there is one directed vnto *Cesar* then being in *Gaul*, in which *Cicero* repeats these very words, which were in the end of a former letter that *Cesar* had written to him : *Touching Marcus Furius, whom thou hast commended vnto me, I will make him King of Gaul, and if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy friends, send them to me.* It was not new in a simple Romane cittizen (as *Cesar* then was) to dispose of Kingdomes, for as well deprived he King *Deiotarus* of his, to give it to a gentleman of the Cittie of *Pergamo*, called *Mithridates*. And those who writ his life, mention many Kingdomes sold by him. And *Suetonius* reporteth, that he at one time wrested three millions and six hundred thousand crownes of gold from King *Ptolomeus*, which amounted very neere vnto the price of his kingdom.

Tot Galate, tot Pontus eat, tot lidia nummis.

Claud. in Eutrop. lib. 1. 203.

For so much

Forfomuch let *Galatia* go,
Forfomuch *Lydia*, *Pontus* so.

Marcus Antonius said, the greatnesse of the *Romane* people, was not so much discerned by what it tooke, as by what it gave. Yet some ages before *Antonius*, was there one amongst others, of so wonderfull authoritie, as through all his history I know no marke, carrieth the name of his credite higher. *Antiochus* possessed all *Egypt*, and was very neere to conquer *Cipres*, and others depending of that Empire. Vppon the progresse of his victories. *C. Popilius* came vnto him in the behalfe of the Senate, and at first arrivall, refused to take him by the hand, before he had read the letters he brought him. The King having reade them, saide, he would deliberate of them. *Popilius* with a wand encircled the place about, where he stood, and thus bespake him; Give me an answer to carry backe vnto the Senate, before thou goe out of this circle. *Antiochus* amazed at the rudenesse of so vrging a commandement, after he had pawsed a while, replied thus, I will do what the Senate commaundeth me. Then *Popilius* saluted him as a friend vnto the Roman people. To have renounced so great a Monarchie, and forgon the course of so succesfull prosperitie, by the onely impressiion of three written lines. He had good reason, as afterward he did, by his Ambassadors to send the senate word, that he had received their ordonances with the same respect, as if they had come from the immortall Gods. All the kingdomes *Augustus* subdued by right of warre, he restored to those who had lost them, or presented strangers with them: And concerning this purpose, *Tacitus* speaking of *Cogidunas* King of England, by a wonderfull tract makes vs perceiue this infinit greatnes and might. The *Romanes* (saith he) were from all antiquitie accustomed, to leave those Kings whom they had vanquished, in the possession of their kingdomes, vnder their authoritie: *Ut haberent instrumenta seruitutis & reges. That they might have even Kings also for instruments of their bondage.* It is very likely, that *Soliman* the great Turke, whom we have seene to vse such a liberalitie, and give away the kingdome of *Hungarie*, and other dominions, did more respect this consideration, then that he was wont to alleage; which is, that he was over wearied with the many Monarchies and surcharged with the severall dominions, which either his owne or his ancestors vertue had gotten him.

The five and twentieth Chapter.

How a man should not counterfeit to be sicke. 4

There is an epigram in *Martiall*, that may passe for a good one (for there are of all sortes in him) wherein he pleasantly relateth the storie of *Celius*, who to avoide the courting of certaine great men in *Rome*, to give attendance at their rising, and to waite, assist and follow them, fained to be troubled with the gout; and to make his excuse more likely, hee caused his legges to bee ointed and swathed, and lively counterfeted the behaviour and countenance of a goutie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

Mart. l. 7. epig.
38.8

*Tantum cura potest & ars doloris,
Desit fingere Celius podagram.*
So much the care and cunning can of paine:
Celius (growne gowty) leaues the gowt to faine.

As farre as I remember I have read a like historie in some place of *Appian*, of one who purposing to escape the proscriptions of the *Triumvirat* of *Rome*, and to conceale himselfe from the knowledge of those who pursued him, kept himselfe close and disguised, adding this other invention to it, which was to counterfet blindness in one eye, who when he came somewhat to recover his libertie, and would have left-off the plaister he had long time worne over his eye, he found that vnder that maske he had altogether lost the sight of it. It may be the action of his sight was weakned, having so long continued without exercise, and the visuall vertue was wholly converted into the other eie: For, we may plainly perceiue, that holding one eye shut, it conuaieth some part of it's effect into his fellow; in such sort as it will

will swell and growe bigger. As also the idlenes, together with the warmth of the medicaments and swathing, might very well drawe some goutie humor into the legges of *Martials* goutie fellow. Reading in *Froisart*, the vowe which a gallant troupe of yong English-men had made, to weare their left eyes hoodwink't, vntill such time as they should passe into *France*, and there performe some notable exploit of armes vpon vs, I have often laughed with my selfe to think what they would have imagined, if as to the fore-aleged, it had hapned to them, and had all beene blinde of the left eye, at what time they returned to looke vpon their mistresses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and vndertaken such an enterprise. Mothers have great reason to chide their children when they counterfet to be blind with one eye, crompt-backt, squint'eyed, or lame, and such other deformities of the body; for, besides that the body thus tender may easily receive some ill custome, I knowe not how, it seemeth that fortune is glad to take vs at our word; And I have heard diuers examples of some, who have fallne sicke in very deede, because they had purposed to faine sickenes. I have at all times enured my selfe, whether I be one horsebacke or a foote, to carrie a good heauie wand or cudgell in my hand; yea I have endeavored to doe it handsomely, and with an affected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatned me, that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into necessitie. I presume vpon this, that I should be the first of my race, that ever was troubled with the gowt. But let vs somewhat amplifie this chapter, and patch it vp with another piece concerning blindnes. *Plinie* reports of one, who dreaming in his sleepe, that he was blinde, awaking the next morning, was found to be starke blinde, having never had any precedent sickenes. The power of imagination may very well further such things, as elswhere I have shewed; And *Plinie* seemeth to be of this opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions, which the body felt inwardly (whereof Phisicians, may if they please, finde out the cause) and which tooke away his sight, and were the occasion of his dreame. Let vs also adde another storie, concerning this purpose, which *Seneca* reporteth in his Epistles. Thou knowest (saith he writing vnto *Lucilius*) that Harpaste my wines foole, is left vpon me as an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature, I am an enemy vnto such monsters, and if I have a desire to laugh at a foole, I neede not seeke one farre; I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman hath sodainly lost hir sight. I report a strange thing, but yet very true: She will not beleeeve she is blind, and vrgeth hir keeper vncessantly to leade hir, saying still, my house is very darke. What we laugh at hir, I entreate thee to beleeeve, that the same hapneth to each of vs. No man knoweth to be covetous, no man confesseth to be a niggard. The blind require a guide, but we stray from our selves. I am not ambitious, say we, but no man can live otherwise at Rome: I am not sumptuous, but the Cittie requireth great charges: It is not my fault, if I be colerike; If I have not yet set downe a sure course of my life, the fault is in youth. Let vs not seeke our euill out of vs; it is within vs, it is rooted in our entrails. And onely because we perceiue not to be sicke, makes our recoverie to prove more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when shall we provide for so many sores, for so many evils? Yet have we a most-sweete and gentle medicine of Philosophie; for of others, no man feelles the pleasure of them, but after his recoverie, whereas she pleaseth, easeth, and cureth all at once. Lo here what *Seneca* saith, who hath somewhat diverted me from my purpose: But there is profit in the exchange.

The sixe and twentieth Chapter.

Of Thumbs.

T*Acitus* reporteth, that amongst certaine barbarous Kings, for the confirmation of an inviolable bonde or covenant, their manner was, to joyne their right hands close and hard together, with enterlacing their thumbs: And when by hard wringing them the blood appeared at their ends, they pricked them with some sharpe point, and then mutually enterfucked each one the others. Phisicians say, thumbs are the maister-fingers of the hand and that their Latin Ethymologie is derived of *pollere*. The Græcians call it *αριχελος*, as a man would

would say another hand. And it seemeth, the Latins likewise take them sometimes in this sense, *id est*, for a whole hand:

Mart. lib. 12. c.
fig. 99. 8.

Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis,

Molli pollice nec rogata surgit.

It will not rise, though with sweete words excited,

Nor with the touch of softest thumb envited.

Hor. l. 1. epist.
18. 66.

In Rome it was heretofore a signe of favor, to wring and kisse the thumbs,

Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum:

He that applaudes will praise,

With both his thumbs thy plaies.

and of disfavour or disgrace to lift them vp, and turne them outward:

Juren sat. 3. 36.

converso pollice vulgi

Quemlibet occidunt populariter.

When people turne their thumbs away,

They popularly any slay.

Such as were hurt or maymed in their thumbs, were by the Romanes dispensed from going to warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-fast. *Augustus* did confiscat all the goods of a Romane Knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbes of two yong children of his, thereby to excuse them from going to warre: And before him, the Senate in the time of the Italian warres, had condemned *Caius Vatiemus* to perpetuall prison, and confiscated all his goods, forsomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumbe of his left hand, so to exempt himselfe from that voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victorie by Sea, caused all the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners to have their thumbs cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting, of rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caused them to be cut off from the *Aginettes*, to barre them of the preheminence in the arte of navigation. In *Lacedemon*, maisters punished their servants by byting their thumbs.

The seaven and twentieth Chapter.

Cowardize, the Mother of Crueltie. C.

I Have often heard it reported, that *Cowardise is the mother of crueltie*: And have perceived by experience, that this malicious sharpnes, and inhumane severitie of corage, is commonly accompaigned with feminine remissenes: I have seene some of the cruelest subject to weep easily, and for frivolous causes. *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres*, could not endure to see tragedies acted in the Theaters, for feare his subjects should see him sob and weepe at the misfortunes of *Hecuba* and *Andromaca*; he who whithout remorse or pittie caused daily so many poore people to be most cruelly massacred and barbarously murdered. May it be weakenes of spirit, makes them so pliable to all extremities & valor (whose effect is onely to exercise it selfe against resistance,

Claud. epist. ad
Hadr. v. 30.

Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice iuvenci.

Nor takes he joy to domineere,

But on the necke of sturdie steere)

refraines it selfe, in seeing hir enemy prostrate to her mercie: But pusillanimitie, to say that she also is of the feaste, since it cannot be joynd to the first part, takes for hir share the second, which is massacre and blood. Murthers after victories, are commonly effected by the baser kinde of people, and officers that waite vpon the baggage and cariage. And the reason wee see so many unheard-off cruelties in popular warres, is, that this vulgar rascallitie doth martially flesh and enure it selfe to dive in blood vp to the elbowes, and mangle a body, or hacke a carcase lying and groveling at their feete, having not manner of feeling of other valor.

Ovid. Trist. li. 3
ch. 5. 35.

Et lupus & turpes instant morientibus vrsi,

Et

—*Et quaecunque minor nobilitate fera est.*

A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man oppresse,
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is lesse.

As the Craven Curre, which at home or in their Kennels will tugge and bite the skinnes of those wilde beastes, which in the fields they durst not so much as barke-at. What is it that now adayes makes all our quarrells mortall? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of revenge, wee now beginne by the last; and at first brunt nothing is spoken of but killing? What is it, if it be not Cowardise? Every man seeth, it is more bravery and disdain for one to beate his enemy, than make an end of him; and to keepe him at a bay, than make him die. Moreover, that the desire of revenge is thereby alayed, and better contented; for, it aymeth at nothing so much as to give or shew a motion or feeling of revenge onely of her selfe. And that's the reason we doe not challenge a beast or fall vpon a stone, when it hurtes vs, because they are incapable to feele our revenge. And to kill a man, is to shelter him from our offence. And even as *Bias*, exclaimed vpon a wicked man; *I know that soone or late thou shalt be punished for thy lewdnes, but I feare me I shall not see it*: And moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which *Liciscus* had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time, as none of them were living, whome it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight: So ought revenge to be moned, when he on whom it is inflicted, looseth the meanes to endure or feel it. For, even as the revenger, will see the action of the revenge, that so he may feele the pleasure of it, so must he on whom he is revenged both see and feele, that he may thereby receive both repentance and griefe. He shall rewe it, say we, And though he receive a stabbe or a blow with a pistoll on his head, shall we thinke he will repent? Contrariwise, if we marke him well, we shall perceive that in falling, he makes a moe or bob at vs. Hee is farre from repenting, when hee rather seemes to be beholding to vs: Inasmuch as we affoord him the favourablest office of life, which is to make him dye speedily, and as it were insensibly. We are left to shift vp and downe, runne and trot, and squat heere and there, and all to avoyde the Officers, or escape the Magistrates that pursue vs; and he is at rest. *To kill a man, is good to escape a future offence, and not revenge the wrongs past*. It is rather an action of feare, than of bravery; Of precaution, than of courage; Of defence, than of an enterprise. It is apparant, that by it, we quit both the true end of revenge, and the respect of our reputation: If he live we feare he wil or may charge vs with the like. It is not against him, it is for thee, thou riddest thy selfe of him. In the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, this expedient would be bootlesse: There, not onely Souldiers, and such as professe armes, but every meane Artificer, decide their quarrels with the Swordes point. The King never refuseth anie man the combate, that is disposed to fight; And if they be men of qualitie, he will be by in person, and reward the Victor with a chaine of Gold: Which, whosoever hath a mind vnto, and will obtaine it, may freely challenge him that weareth the fame, & enter combate with him. And having overcome one combate hath many following the fame. If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors vnto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieve vs he should escape vs, as he doeth in dying: We rather endeavor to vanquish surely, than honourably. And in our quarrels, we rather seeke for the end, than for the glory. *Asinius Polio*, for an honest man, lesse excusable, committed a like fault; Who having written certaine invectives against *Plancus*, staide vntill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead-mans eare, and to offend a fencelesse man, than to incurre the danger of his revenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that it only belonged to *Hobgoblins* to wrestle with the dead. He who staieth till the Authour be dead, whose writings he will combate, what faith he, but that he is weake and quarrellous? It was told *Aristotle*, that some body had spoken ill of him, to whom he answered, *Let him also whippe me, so my selfe be not by*. Our forefathers were contented to revenge an iniurie with a lie; a lie with a blowe; a blowe with bloud; and so in order. They were sufficiently valiant not to feare their adversary, though he lived, and were wronged: Whereas we quake for feare, so long as we see him a foote. And that it is so, doth not our moderne practize, pursue to death, as well him who hath wronged vs, as him whom we have offended? It is also a kinde of dastardinesse, which hath brought this fashion into our single combates, to accompany vs into the field with seconds, thirds, and fourths. They were aunciently single combates, but now they are skirmishes and batteles. To be alone feared the first that invented it: *Quum in se cuiq. minimum fiducia esset.*

When every man had lesse confidence in himselfe. For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort & ease in danger. In ancient times they were wont to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no trechery or disorder were vsed, and to beare witness of the combates successe. But now this fashion is come vp, let any man be engaged, who soever is envited, cannot wel containe himselfe to be a spectator, lest it be imputed vnto him, it is either for want of affection, or lacke of courage. Besides the iniustice of such an action and villeny, for your honours protection, to engage other valour and force than your owne, I find it a disadvantage in an honest and worthe man, and who wholly trusts vnto himselfe, to entermingle his fortune with a second man: every one runneth sufficient hazard for himselfe, and neede not also runne it for another: And hath enough to doe to assure himselfe of his owne vertue, for the defence of his life, without committing so precious a thing into third-mens-hand. For, if the contrarie hath not expressely bene covenanted of all foure, it is a combined party. If your fellow chance to faile, you have two vpon you, and not without reason: And to say, it is a Superchery, as it is indeed: as being wel armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being sound and strong, to set vpon a man sore hurt. But if they be advantages you have gotten fighting, you may vse them without imputation. Disparitie is not considered, and inequallity is not balanced, but by the state wherein the fight is begunne. As for the rest you must rely on fortune: and if alone or single, you chance to have three vpon you, your other two companions being slaine, you have no more wrong done you, than I should offer in War, in striking an enemy, whom at such an advantage I should finde grappled with one of my Fellow-Souldiers. The Nature of societie beareth, where troupe is against troupe (as where our Duke of Orleans chalenged Henry King of England, one hundred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the Argians against the Lacedemonians; three to three, as were the *Horatii* against the *Curatii*) the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Whersoever there is company, the hazard is confused and disordered. I have a private interest in this discourse. For, my brother, the Lord of *Matecoulom*, being desired in *Rome*, to second and accompany a Gentleman, with whom hee had no great acquaintance, who was defendand and chalenged by another. The fight begunne, my brother by chance found himself confronted with one neerer and better knowne to him (I would faine be resolved of these Lawes of honour, which so often shooke and trouble those of reason) whom after he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principalls of the quarrell yet standing and unhurt, he went to reskew his fellow. What could he do lesse? should he have stode stil, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated, for whose defence he was entred the quarrell? What vntill then he had done was nothing to the purpose, and the quarrell was stil vndecided. Al the curtesie you can, you ought surely vse to your enemy, especially when you have brought him vnder, and to some great disadvantage; I know not how a man may vse it, when anothers interest depends on it, where you are but accessory, and where the quarrell is not yours. Hee could never be just nor curteous, in hazard of him vnto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons, by a speedy and solemne letter of commendations from our King. Oh indifcreet Nation! Wee are not contented to manifest our follies, and bewray our vices to the World by reputation: but wee goe vnto forraine Nations and there in person shew them. Place three French-men in the deserts of *Libia*, and they will never live one moneth together without brawling, falling out and scratching one another: you would say this peregrination, is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies; and those most commonly, who rejoyce and scoffe at our evils. We travell into *Italie* to learne the Arte of fencing, and practise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; it were requisite according to the order of true Discipline, we should preferre the Theorike before the practise. We betray our apprentisage.

311. Syl. lib. 5

*Primitia iuvenum misera, bellicque futuri
Dura rudimenta.*

The miserable first essayes of youth,
And hard beginnings of warre that ensueth.

I know it is an Arte profitable to hir end (in the single combate betweene the two Princes, cosin-Germans, in *Spaine*, the eldest of which (saith *T. Livius*) by the skill of his weapons, & by craft, overcame easilie the dismayed forces of the yonger) and as by experience I have knowen, the knowledge and skill whereof, hath puffed vp the hart of some, beyond their

their naturall proportion. But it is not properly a vertue, since shee draweth her stay from dexteritie, and takes her foundation from other than from her selfe. *The honour of combates consisteth in the ielosie of the hart, not of the science.* And therefore have I seene some of my friends, renowned for great Maisters in this exercise, in their quarels to make choise of weapons, that might well take the meane of this advantage or oddes from them; and which holly depended on fortune, & assurance that their victory might not rather be imputed to their fencing, than ascribed to their valour. And in my infancy, our nobility scorned the reputation of a fencer, though never so cunning, as injurious; & if any learnt it, they would sequester themselves from company, deeming the same as a mystery of craft and subtilty, derogating from true and perfect vertue.

*Non schivar, non parar, non ritirarsi
Vogliono costor, ne qui destrezza ha parte;
Non danno i colpi finti hor pieni, hor scarfi;
Toglie l'ira e il furor l'uso de l'arte,
Odi le spade horribilmente vrtarsi
A mezzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non partes,
Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in moto,
Ne scende tagilio in van, ne punta a voto.
T'avoyde, to warde, retiring to give ground
They reke not, nor hath nimblelle heere a part:
Nor give false blowes, nor full, nor scarfe, nor sound;
Rage and revenge bereave all vse of Arte.
Their Swordes at halfe Sword horribly resound
You might heare mette: No foote from steppe doth parte:
Their foote still fast, their hand still faster mooveth:
No stroke in vaine, no thrust in vaine, but prooveth.*

Tasso Gier.
can. 12. Stan. 55.

Shooting at Butts, Tiltings, Torneyes, Barriers, the true images of martiall combates, were the exercises of our forefathers. This other exercise is so much the lesse noble, by how much it respecteth but a private end; which against the lawes of justice, teacheth vs to destroy one another, and every way produceth ever mischievous effects. *It is much more worthy, and better becomming, for a man to exercise himselfe in things that assure and offend not our Commonwealth; and which respect publike securitie and generall glory.* Publius Rutilius Consus, was the first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his armes by dexteritie and skill, and joyned arte vnto vertue, not for the vse of private contentions, but for the wars and Roman peoples quarrells. A popular and civill maner of fencing. And besides the example of *Cesar*, who appointed his Souldiers, above all things, to aime and strike at the face of *Pompeyes* men in the battell of *Pharsalia*: A thousand other Chieftaines and Generalls have devised new fashions of weapons, and new kindes of striking, and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires required. But even as *Philopomen* condemned wrestling, wherein he excelled others, forso much as the preparations appertaining to this exercise differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he supposed, men of honour should amuse and addict themselves. Me thinkes also, that this nimbleness or agilitie, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quick motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not onely vnprofitable, but rather contrary and damageable for the vse of a militarie combat: And we see our men doe commonly employ particular weapons in their fence-schooles, and peculiarly appointed for that purpose. And I have seene it disallowed, that a gentleman chalenged to fight with Rapier and Dagger, should present himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake insteade of a Dagger. It is worthy the noting, that *Laches* in *Plato*, speaking of an apprentissage, how to manage armes, conformable to ours, saith, he could never see any notable warrior come out of a schoole of fence, and especially from among the maisters. As for them our owne experience confirms as much. And for the rest we may at least say, they are sufficiencies of no relation or correspondencie. And in the institution of the children of his Commonwealth, *Plato* interdicts the artes of striking or playing with fists, devised by *Amicus* and *Epeius*, and to wrestle, invented by *Anthæus* and *Cecyo*: because they aime at another end, then to adapt youth to warlike service,

vice, and have no affinitie with it. But I degresse much from my theame. The Emperour *Mauricius*, being forewarned by dreames, and sundry prognostications, that one *Phocas*, a Souldier at that time yet vnkowne, should kill him, demanded of *Philip* his sonne in law, who that *Phocas* was, his nature, his conditions, and customes, and how amongst other things *Philip* told him, he was a faine, cowardly, and timorous fellow: The Emperour thereby presently concluded, that he was both cruell and a murtherer. What makes tyrants so blood-thirsty? is it the care of their securitie, and that their faint-hart yeelds them no other meanes to assure themselves, then by rooting out those which may in any sorte offend them; yea feely wonnen for feare they should or bite or scratch them?

Claud. in Fulv.
lib. 1. 182.

Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.

Of all things he afraide,
At all things fiercely laide.

The first cruelties are exercised by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just revenge, which afterward produceth a swarme of new cruelties; by the one to stifle the other. *Philip* the King of *Macedone*, who had so many crowes to pull with the Romanes, agitated by the horror of so many murthers committed by his appointment, and vnable to make his partie good, or to take any safe resolution against so many families, by him at severall times injured, resolved at last to seize vpon all their children whom he had caused to be murdered, that so he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, and so establish his safety. *Matters of worth are not impertinent wheresoever they be placed.* I, who rather respect the weight and benefite of discourses, then their order and placing, neede not feare to place here at randone a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beautie, and may very well vpholde themselves alone, I am content with a hairens end, to fitte or joyne them to my purpose. Amongst others who had beene condemned by *Philip*, was one *Herodicus*, Prince of the *Thessalians*: After whome hee caused his two sonnes in lawe to be putte to death; each of them leaving a yoong sonne behinde him. *Theoxena* and *Arco* were the two widdowes. *Theoxena* although shee were instantly vrged therevnto, coude never be induced to marry againe. *Arco* tooke to husband *Poris*, a chiefe man amongst the *Aenians*, and by him had diverse children, all which she left very yong. *Theoxena* moved by a motherly charitie toward her yong nephewes, and to have them in her protection and bringing vp, wedded *Poris*. Vpon this came out the proclamation of the Kings Edict. This noble-minded mother, distrusting the kings crueltie, and fearing the mercilesnes of his Sate-lites or Officers towards these noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say, that she would rather kil them with her own hands, then deliver them. *Poris* amazed at her protestations, promiseth her secretly to convey them to *Athens*, there by some of his secret friends to be kept safely. They take occasion of an yearely feast, which to the honor of *Aeneas* was solemnized at *Ania*, and thither they go, where having all day-long assisted to the ceremonies, and publike banket: night being come, they convey themselves into a ship, appointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by Sea. But the winde fell out so contrarie, that the next morning they found themselves in view of the towne, whence the night before they had hoised sailes, where they were pursued by the guarders and Souldiers of the Porte. Which *Poris* perceiving, laboured to hasten and encourage the Mariners to shift away: But *Theoxena*, enraged through love and revenge, remembering her first resolution, prepared both weapons and poison, and presenting them to their sight, thus shee bespake them: Oh my deare children, take a good heart, death is now the onely meane of your defence and libertie, and shall bee a just cause vnto the Gods for their holy justice. These bright-keene blades, these full cuppes shall free you the passage vnto it. Courage therefore, and thou my eldest childe, take this sworde to die the strongest death. Who on the one side having so vndanted a perswader, and on the other their enemies ready to cut their throates, in furious manner ranne all to that which came next to his hand. And so all goared and panting were throwne into the Sea. *Theoxena*, proude shee had so glorieuslie provided for her childrens safety, lovingly embracing her husband, saide thus vnto him; Oh my deare heart, let vs follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one selfe same grave, And so close-claspt together, they flung themselves into the maine: So that the ship was brought to shoare againe, but emptie of hir Maisters. Tyrants to act two things together, that is, to kill and cause their rage to be felt, have employed the vtmost of their skill, to devise

devise lingering deaths. They will have their enemies die, yet not so soone, but that they may have leisure to seele their vengeance. Wherin they are in great perplexitie: for if the torments be over-violent, they are short; if lingering, not grievous enough. In this they imploy their wits and devises. Many examples whereof we see in antiquities; and I wot not, whether wittingly we retaine some spice of that barbarisme. *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, seemeth to mee meere crueltie.* Our justice cannot hope, that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any sort be troubled with the imagination of a languishing fire, of a wheele, or of burning pincers. And I wot not, whether in that meane time we bring him to despaire: For, what plight can the soule of a man be in, that is broken vpon a wheele, or after the olde fashion, nailed vpon a Crosse, and xxiiij. houres together expects his death? *Iosephus* reporteth, that whilest the Romane warres continued in *Iurie*, passing by a place where certaine Iewes had beene crucified three dayes before, hee knew three of his friends amongst them, and having gotten leave to remoove them, two of them died, but the third lived long after. *Chalcondylas* a man of credite, in the memories he left of matters happened in his time and there-about, maketh report of an extreame torment, the Emperor *Mechmed* was often wont to put in practise, which was by one onely blow of a Cimitary or broad Persian Sword, to have men cutte in two parts, by the waste of the body, about the Diaphragma, which is a membrane lying overthwart the lower part of the breast, seperating the heart and lights from the stomake, which caused them to dy two deaths at once: and affirmeth that both parts were seene ful of life, to moove and stirre long time after, as if they had bin in lingering torment. I do not thinke, they felt any great torture in that mooving. *The gastliest torments to looke vpon, are not alwaies the greatest to be endured:* And I find that much more fiercely-horrible, which other Historians write and which he vsed against certaine Lordes of *Epirus*, whom faire and leasurely he caused to be fleade al over, disposed by so malicious a dispensation, that their lives continued fifteen daies in that langor and anguish. And these twoo others; *Cræsus* having caused a Gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by *Pantaleon* his brother, ledde him into a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with Cardes and Teazls belonging to that trade, he made him to be carded, scraped, and teazled so long vntill he died of it. *George Sechell* Ring-leader of the Contrymen of *Polonia*, who vnder the title of a *Croysada*, wrought so many mischiefs, having beene defeated in a battel by the *Vayvoda* of *Transilvania*, and taken Prisoner, was for three dayes together tyed naked to a woden-horse, exposed to al maner of tortures, any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept fasting. At last, he yet living, saw *Lucat* his deare brother, and for whose safety he sued and entreated, forced to drink his blood, drawing all the envy and hatred of his misdeedes vpon him selfe. And twentie of his most favoured Captaines were compelled to feed vpon his flesh, which with their teeth they must teare off, and swallow their morsels. The rest of his body and entrailes, he being dead, were boiled in a pan, and given for foode to other of his followers.

The eight and twentieth Chapter.

All things have their season.

7

Those who compare *Cato* the Censor, to *Cato* the yonger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one vnto another. The first exploited his, sundrie waies, and excelleth in militarie exploits, and villitie of his publike vacations. But the yongers vertue (besides that it were blasphemie, in vigor to compare any vnto him) was much more sincere and vnspotted. For, who will discharge the Censores of envie and ambition, that durst counter-checke the honor of *Scipio*, in goodnes and all other parts of excellencie, farre greater and better then him or any other man living in his age? Amongst other things reported of him, this is one, that in his eldest yeares he gave himselfe, with so earnest a longing to learne the Greek tong, as if it had bin to quench a long burning thirst: A thing in mine opinion not very honorable in him. It is properly that which we call doting

orto become a childe againe. All things have their season, yea the good and all. And I may say my *pater noster* out of season. As *T. Quintius Flaminius* was accused, forasmuch as being Generall of an armie, even in the houre of the conflict, he was seene to withdrawe himselfe apart, ammusung himselfe to pray God, although he gained the battle.

livre. sat. 6 344

Imponit finem sapiens & rebus honestis.

A wise-man will vse moderation,

Even in things of commendation.

Endemonidas seeing *Xenocrates* very olde, laboriously apply himselfe in his schoole-lectures, said, when will this man know something, since he is yet learning? And *Philopæmen*, to those who highly extolled King *Ptolomey*, because he daily hardned his body to the exercise of armes: It is not (said he) a matter commendable in a King of his age, in them to exercise himselfe, he should now realy & substancially imploy them. Wise men say, that *yong men should make their preparations, and old men enjoy them*. And the greatest vice they note in vs, is, that our desires doe vncessantly growe yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning a newe to live. Our studies and our desires should sometimes have a feeling of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursuities are but new-borne.

Hor. car. lib. 2. 1.
od. 18. 17.

Tu secunda marmora

Locas sub ipsum funus, & sepulcri

Immemor, struis domos.

You, when you should be going to your grave,

Put marble out to worke, build houses brave,

Vnmindfull of the buriall you must have.

The longest of my desseignes doth not extend to a whole yeare; now I onely apply my selfe to make an end: I shake off all my newe hopes and enterprises: I bid my last farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispossesse my selfe of what I have. *Olim iam nec perit quicquam mihi, nec acquiritur: Plus superest viatici quam via.* It is a good while since I neither loose nor get any thing; I have more to beare my charges then way to goe.

Virg. Æn. lib. 4
653.

Vixi, & quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.

I have liv'd and the race have past,

Wherein my fortune had me past.

To conclude, it is all the ease I finde in my age, and that it suppresseth many cares and desires in me, wherewith life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds-course, the care of ritches, of greatnes, of knowledge, of health and of my selfe. This man learneth to speake, when he should rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwaies continue his studie, but not schooling. O fond-foolish for an old man to be ever an *Abcedariane*.

Catul. eleg. 1.
103.

Diversos diversa iuvant, non omnibus annis.

— *Omnia conveniunt.*

Diverse delights to diverse, nor to all

Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needs studie let vs studie something forteable to our condition, that we may answer, as he did, who being demanded what his studies would steade him in his decrepitie, answered; *that he might the better, and with more ease leave this world*. Such a studie was yong *Catoes*, in fore-feeling his approaching end, who lighting vpon *Platoes* discourse of the soules immortalitie. Not, as it may be supposed, that long before he had not stored himselfe with all sorts of munition for such a dislodging. Of assurance, of constancie and instruction, he had more then *Plato* hath in all his writings: His Science, and his courage, were in this respect above all Philosophie. Hee vnderooke this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one, who did not so much as interrupt his sleepe, in a deliberation of such consequence, whoever without choise or change continued his wonted studies, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The same night, wherein the Pretorship was refused him, he passed over in play. That, wherein he must die, he spent in reading. The losse of life or office was all one to him.

The nine and twentieth Chapter.

Of Vertue. 3

Finde by experience, that there is great difference betweene the sodaine fits and fantasies of the soule, and a resolute disposition and constant habitude: And I see, there is nothing but we may attaine vnto, yea, as some say, to exceede Divinitie it selfe; forsomuch as it is more to become impassible of himselfe, then to be so by his originall condition: and that one may joyne a resolution and assurance of God to mans imbecilitie. But it is by fits. And in the lives of those Heroes or noble worthies of former ages, are often found wonderfull parts, and which seeme greatly to exceede our naturall forces: but they are pranks or parts consonant to truth: and it may hardly be believed, mans soule may so be tainted and fed with those so high-raised conditions, that vnto it they may become as ordinary and naturall. It hapneth vnto our selves, who are but abortive broodes of men, sometimes to rowze our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred vp by the discourses, or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion, which vrgeth, mooveth, agitateth and in some sorte ravisheth her from out her selfe: for, that gust overblowne, and storme past, we see, it will vnawares vnbend and loose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at least to be no more the same she was: so that vpon every slight occasion, for a bird lost, or for a glasse broken, we suffer our selves to be mooved and distempered very neere as one of the vulgar sort. *Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and defective man.* Therefore say wisemen, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controled, and he must every day be surpris'd in his worky-day clothes. *Pyrrho*, who framed so pleasant a Science of ignorance, assaide (as all other true Philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forsomuch as hee maintained the weakenesse of mans judgement, to be so extreame, as it could take nor resolution, nor inclination: and would perpetually suspend it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things, as indifferent: It is reported of him, that he ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance: If he had begunne a discourse, he would end it, though the partie to whom he spake, were gone: And if he went any where, he would not goe an inche out of his path, what let or obstacle somever came in his way; being kept from falls, from cartes or other accidents by his friends. For, to feare or shunne any thing, had beene to shooke his propositions, which remooved all election and certainty from his very senses. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cauterized, with such constancie, as he was never scene so much as to shrug, twitch, move or winke with his eyes. It is something to bring the minde to these imaginations, but more to joine the effects vnto it, yet is it not impossible. But to joyne them with such perseverance and constancie, as to establish it for an ordinary course; verily in these enterprises so farre from common vse, it is almost incredible to be done. The reason is this, that he was sometimes found in his house, bitterly scolding with his wife, and chafing with his sister, for which being reproved, as hee that wronged his indifferencie: What? said he, *must this feely woman also serve as a witnesse to my rules?* Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: *It is* (replied he) *very hard, altogether to dispoile and shake off man:* And man must endeavour and enforce himselfe to resist and confront all things, first by effects, but if the worst befall, by reason and by discourse. It is now about seaven or eight yeares since, that a countrie man, yet living, not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed and troubled in minde, for his wives jealousie; one day comming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed maner welcomming and entertaining him with brawling and scowlding, as one vnable to endure her any longer, fell into such a moodie rage, that sodainely with a Sickle, which he held in his hand, he cleane cut off those parts, that were the cause of her jealousie, and flung them in her face. And it is reported, that a yong gentleman of *France*, amorous and lustie, having by his perseverance at last mollified the heart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because comming to the point of his so long sued-for businesse, he found himselfe vnable and vnprepared, and that

Catul. ad Pri-
ap. 7. 4.

—non viriliter

Iners senile penis extulerat caput.

as soone as he came home, he deprived himselfe of it : and sent it as a cruell and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourse or for religions sake, as the priestes of *Cybele* were wont to do, what might we not say of so haughty an enterprize? Not long since at *Bragerac*, five leagues-distance from my house, vp the river of *Dordogne*, a woman, having the evening before bin grievously tormented, and sore beaten by hir husband; froward and skittish by complexion, determined, though it should cost hir the price of hir life, by one meane or other, to escape his rudenesse, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visite hir neighbours, to whom in some sort she recommended the state of hir affaires, than taking a sister of hers by the hand, ledde hir along vntill shee came vpon the bridge that crosseth the River, and having bid hir hartily farewell; as in the way of sport, without shewing any maner of change or alteration, headlong threw herselfe downe into the River, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in hir, is, that this hir determination ripened a whole night in hir head. But the Indian Wives may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: Whose custome is, that Husbands have many Wives, and for hir that is dearest vnto hir Husband, to kil herselfe after him : Every one in the whole course of hir life, endevoereth to obtaine this privilege and advantage over all hir fellow-wives: And in the good offices and duties they shew their husbands, respect no other recompence, than to be preferred to accompany them in death.

Propert. lib. 3.
el. 12. 17.

Vbi mortifero iacta est fax ultima lecto,

— *Vxorum fufis, stat pia turba comis:*

Et certamen habent Lathi, qua viva sequatur

— *Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori:*

Ardent victrices, & flamma pectora præbent,

— *Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.*

When for his death-bed last flame is appli'de

With loose haire many kind wives stand beside,

And strive for death, which alive may be next

Hir wedlocke, who may not is sham'd and vex't

They that oecome, are burn'd, to flames give way,

Their bodies burnt on their burnt husbands lay.

A late Writer affirmeth, that himselfe hath seene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indiaes, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as hee hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widdow may, if she will (but fewe doe it) request two or three Moneths space to dispose of hir busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsebacke, and with a cheerful countenance, telleth every body, she is going to lie with her bridegroom, holding in her left hand a looking-glasse, and an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid vp and downe in great pompe and magnificence, accompanied with her friendes and kins-men, and much concourse of people, in feast and jollitie, she is brought vnto a public-like place, purposely appointed for such spectacles. Which is a large open place, in the midst wherof is a pit or grave full of Wood, and neere vnto it an vpraised scaffold, with foure or five steppes to ascend, vpon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banquet; Which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good, commandeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth downe againe, and taking the nearest of hir Husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the next River, where shee strippes hir selfe all naked, and distributeth her jewels and clothes among hir friends, then plungeth herselfe in the Water, as if she meant to wash away hir sins; then comming out she enwrappeth herselfe in a yellow piece of linnen cloth, about the length of fourteene yards; And giving hir hand againe vnto hir Husbands Kins-man, they returne vnto the Mount, where she speakes vnto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth hir Children. Betweene the Pitte and Mount, there is commonly a Curtaine drawne, lest the sight of that burning furnace might dismay them: Which many, to shew the greater courage, will not have it drawne. Her speech ended, a Woman presenteth her with a Vessell full of Oyle, therewith to annoint hir head and bodie, which done, she casteth the rest into the fire, and there-

therewithall sodainely flings herselfe into it: Which is no sooner done, but the people cast great store of Faggots and Billets vpon hir, lest she should languish over-long: and all their joy is converted into griefe and sorrow. If they be persons of meane quality, the dead mans body is carried to the place where they intend to bury him, and there he is placed sitting; his Widdow kneeling before him with hir armes close about his middle, and so keepeth herself, whilest a Wall is erected vp about them both, which raised to the height of her shoulders, some other kindred taking hir by the head behind, wrings her neck about; and having given the last gaspe, the wall is immediately made vp close over their heades, wherein they remaine buried. In the same Country, there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wise-men, who not by menaces or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour, but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their maner was, according as they attained vnto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatned by some sicknesse, to caule a pile of Wood to be erected, and vpon it a rich bedde; and having cheerefully feasted their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laide themselves downe in that bedde, that fire set vnto it, they were never seene to stir nor hand nor foote: And thus died one of them, named *Calanus*, in the presence of all the army of *Alexander* the Great. And who had not so made himselfe away, was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy amongst them; sending his soule purged and purified by fire, after it had consumed whatsoever was mortall and terrestriall in it. This constant premeditation of al the life, is that which makes the wonder. Amongest our other disputations, that of *Fatum*, hath much entermedled it selfe; and to joyne future things, and our will it selfe vnto a certaine vnavoidable necessity, we yet stand vpon that argument of former times: since God foreseeeth all things must thus happen, as vndoubtedly he doeth: They must then necessarily happen so. To which our Clarke and Masters answer, that to see any thing come to passe, as we doe, and likewise God (for hee being present in full essence, rather seeth than foreseeeth) is not to force the same to happen: yea we see, because things come to passe, but things happen not because we see. The hapning makes the science or knowledge, and not knowledge the happening. What we see come to passe, happeneth; but it might come to passe otherwise. And God in the eternall register of the causes of happenings, which he hath in his prescience, hath also those, which are called casual; & the voluntary, which depend of the liberty, he hath given vnto our free wil, and knoweth we shall faile, because our will shall have beene to faile. I have seene divers encourage their troupes with this fatall necessitie: For, if our houre be tied vnto a certaine point, neither the musket-shottes of our enemies, nor our courage, nor our flight and cowardize, can either advance or recoyle the same.

This may well be saide, but seeke you who shall effect it: And if it be so, that a strong and lively faith, doth likewise draw actions after it; truly this faith (wherewith we so much fill our mouths) is marvelous light in our times: except the contempt it hath of workes, make her disdain their company. So it is, that to the same purpose, the Lord of *Loimville*, as credible a witnesse as any other, tells vs of the Bedoins, a nation entermingled with the Saracines, with whom our King Saint *Lewes* had to deale in the holy land, who so confidently believed in their religion, the dayes of every one to be prefixed and numbred from all eternitie, by an inevitable preordnance, that they went all bare and naked to the warres, except a Turkish Glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linnen-cloth: And for their bitterest curse, if they chanced to fall out one with another, they had ever in their mouth: *Cursed be thou, as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death.* Here is another maner of triall of a belefe or faith, then ours. In this rank may likewise be placed that, which those two religious men of *Florence*, not long since gave vnto their countrymen. Being in some controversie betweene themselves about certaine points of learning; they accorded to goe both into the fire, in presence of all the people, and in the open market place, each one for the verifying of his opinion; and all preparations were ready made, and execution to be performed, but that by an vnexpected accident it was interrupted. A yong Turkish Lord, having atchieved a notable piece of service in armes, and with his owne person, in full view of the two battels between *Ammurath* & *Huniades* ready to be joyned together, being demanded by *Ammurath* his Prince, who (being so yong & vnexperienced, for it was the first warre or service he had seene before) had replenished him with so generous and vndanted vigor of courage? answered, that a Hare had beene his soveraigne maister and onely teacher of valour; and thus

thus began his speech. Being one day a hunting, I found a Hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good gray-houndes with me in a slip or leash, I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to use my bow; for she was a very faire mark: I beganne to shoote my arrowes at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were iust so many) yet could I never hurt her, no not so much as start her: After all this, I let slip my gray-hounds, who could doe no more then I had done: by which I learnt, that she had beene sheltered and defended by her destinie; and that nor glaives nor arrowes never hit, but by the permission of our fatalitie, which it lieth not in vs to avoide or advance. This storie may serve to make vs perceive by the way, how flexible our reason is to allsorts of Objects. A notable man, great in yeares, in name, in dignitie and in learning, vaunted himselfe vnto me, that he was induced to a certaine most important change of his religion, by a strange and fantastick incitation: and in all things so ill-concluding, that I deemed the same stronger and more forcible, being taken contrary. He termed it a myracle, and so did I, but in a different sense. Their Historians say, that perswasion having popularly beene scattered amongst the Turkes, of the fatall and imployable prescription of their dayes, doth apparantly ayde to warrant and embolden them in dangers. And I know a great Prince, who happily thrives by it, be it he believe it, or take it for an excuse to hazard himselfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not soone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution, than of those two villaines that conspired the death of the Prince of Orange: It is strange, how the last, who perfourmed the same could be induced or encouraged to vndergoe such an enterprise, wherein his fellow (though he had resolutely attempted it, and had all might be required for such an action) had so ill successe, and miscarried. And following the same steps, and armed with so late an instruction of distrust; mighty in friends and followers; puissant of bodily strength; in his owne hall; amidst his servants and garde; and in a City wholly at his devotion. It must of force be saide, that in performing it, he employed a well-directed and resolute hand, and a dreadlesse courage, mooved by a vigorous passion. A Poynard is more sure to wound a man, which forso-much as it requireth more motion and vigor of the arme, than a pistole, it's stroke is more subject to be hindred or avoided. That the first ranne not to an assured death, I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherewith hee might be entertained could not harbour in a well settled and resolute minde; and the conduct of his exploit, sheweth, he wanted no more that, then corage. The motions of so forcible a perswasion may be diverse; for, our fantasie disposeth of her selfe and of vs as she pleaseth. The execution committed neere Orleans had no coherence with this, wherein was more hazard, then vigor; the blow was not mortall, had not fortune made it so: and the enterprise to shoote on horse-backe and farre-off, and to one who mooved still according to the motion of his horse, was the attempt of a man, that rather loved to misse of his effect, then faile to save himselfe. What followed did manifestly shew it. For, he was so amazed and drunken with the thought of so haughtie an execution, as he lost all his senses, both to worke his escape, and direct his tongue in his answeres. What needed he have done more, then recover his friends by crossing of a river? It is a meane, wherein I have cast my selfe in farre lesse dangers, and which I thinke of small hazard, how broade soever, alwayes provided your horse finde an easie entrance, and on the further side you foresee an easie and shallow landing, according to the course or streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, answered stowtly, *I was prepared for it, and I shall amaze you with my patience.* The Assassines, a nation depending of Phœnicia, are esteemed among the Mahometists of a soveraigne devotion and puritie of maners; they hold, that the readiest and shortest way to gaine Paradise, is to kill some one of a contrary religion: therefore hath it often beene seene, that one or two in their bare doublets have vndertaken to assault mightie enemies, with the price of an assured death, and without any care of their owne danger. And thus was our Earle Raymond of Tripoli murthered or assassinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the midst of his Cittie, during the time of our warres in the holy land: And likewise Conrade Marquis of Monferato, his murtherers being brought to their torture, were seene to swell with pride; that they had performed so worthy an exploit.

Assassines

and with the lyke weapons to undertake to assault a prince,

The

The thirtieth Chapter.

Of a monstrous Childe.

4

THIS discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to Phisicians to treat of. I sawe two daies since a childe, whom two men and a nurce (which named themselves to be his father, his Vnckle, and his Aunt) carried about with intent to get some money with the sight of him, by reason of his strangenes. In all the rest, he was as other children are. He stode vpon his feete, went and pratted in a manner as all other of his age: Hee would never take nourishment, but by his nurces breast; and what in my presence was offred to be put in his mouth, he chewed a little, and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others. He was iust fourteene moneths old. Vnder his paps he was fastned and joyned to an other childe, but had no head, and who had the conduite of his body stopped, the rest whole. One of his armes was shorter then the other, and was by accident broken at their birth. They were joyned face to face, and as if a litle child would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning and space whereat they were closed together, was but foure inches broade, or thereabouts; in such sort that if you thrust vp the imperfect childe, you might see vnder the others navill: And the seame was betweene the paps and his navill. The navill of the imperfect one could not be seene, but all the rest of his belly might. Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joyned, as armes, buttockes, thighes and legges, did hang and shake vpon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His Nurce tolde me, he made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living, and in the same state as the others, except only, they were lesse & thinner. This double body, and these different members, having reference to one onely head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King, to maintaine the factions and differing parties of this our kingdome vnder an vnitie of the lawes. But least the successe should prove it contrarie, it is not amisse to let him runne his course: For in things already past their neede no divination. *Ut quum facta sunt, tum ad coniecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur: So as when they are done, they then by some construction should be revoked to coniecture:* As it is reported of Epimenides, who ever devined contrarie. I come now from seeing of a shepheard at Medoc, of thirtie yeares of age, or thereabouts, who hath no signe at all of genitorie parts: But where they should be, are three little holes, by which his water doth continually trill from him. *Those which we call monsters are not so with God, who in the immensitie of his worke seeth the infinitie of formes therein contained.* This poore man hath a beard, and desireth still to be fumbling of women. And it may be thought, that any figure which doth amaze vs, hath relation vnto some other figure of the same kinde, although vnkowne vnto man. *From out his all-seeing wisdom proceedeth nothing but good, common, regular and orderly; but we neither see the sorting, nor conceive the relation. Quod crebro videt, non miratur, etiam si, cur fiat nescit. Quod ante non videt, id, si evenerit, ostendunt esse censet. That which he often seeth, he doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; But if that happen, which he never saw before, he thinkes it some portentuous wonder.* We call that against nature, which commeth against custome. There is nothing, whatsoever it be, that is not according to hir. Let therefore this vniversall and naturall reason, chase from vs the error, and expell the astonishment, which noveltie breedeth, and strangenes causeth in vs.

Cic. divin. lib. 2.

Cic. divin. lib. 2.

The one and thirtieth Chapter.

Of anger and choller.

5

Xp

PLutarke is every where admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth, may be perceived in the comparison of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*.

N n

Numa, speaking of the great simplicitie we commit, in leaving yong children vnder the government & charge of their fathers and parents. Most of our policies, or Common-wealths, saith *Aristotle* (as the Cyclopes were wont) commit the conduct of their wives, and charge of their children, to all men, according to their foolish humor or indiscreete fantazies. And wel-nigh, none but the Lacedemonian and Cretensian, have resigned the discipline of children to the lawes. *Who seeth not, that in an estate all things depend of nurture and education?* And all the while, without descretion, it is wholly left to the parents mercie, how foolish and wicked forever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streetes) have I desired to have a play or comedie made in reuerge of yong boyes, which I sawe thumpte, misused, and well nigh murdered by some hare-brained, moodie, and through choller-raging Fathers and Mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle,

Inv. sat. 6. 548

——— *rabie iecur incendente feruntur*

Præcipites, ut saxa ingis abrupta, quibus mons

Subtrahitur, clinoque latus pendente recedit:

They headlong runne with rage, which doth enflame their livers

Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops in shivers,

The hill withdrawes, and they are rould,

From hanging cliffe which leaves their hold.

(And according to *Hypocrates*, the most dangcrous infirmities, are those which disfigure the face) and with a loud thundring voice often to follow children that came but lately from nurce; Which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dull-pated with blowes: And yet our lawes make no account of it, as if these spraines, and vnjoyntings of lims, or these maimes were no members of our Common-wealth.

Inv. sat. 14. 70.

Gratum est quod patriæ civem populoque dedisti,

Si facis ut patriæ sit idoneus utilis agris,

Vtilis & bellorum & pacis rebus agendis.

That you to th' countrie give a man, 'tis acceptable,

If for the countrie fit you make him, for field's able,

Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

There is no passion so much transports the sinceritie of iudgement, as doth anger. No man would make conscience to punish that Iudge by death, who in rage or choller had condemned an offender. And why should fathers be allowed to beate, or schoolemasters be suffered to whip children, or to punish them being angrie? It is no longer correction, but revenge. *Punishment is unto children as phisike; and would any man endure a phisicion, that were angrie and wroth against his patient?* Our selves (did we well) during the time of our anger, should never lay hands on our servants. So long as our pulse panteth, and we feele any concitation, so long remit we the partie: And things will seeme farre otherwise vnto vs, if we once come to our senses againe, and shall better bethinke vs. Then is it passion that commandes. It is passion that speaketh and not we. Athwart it, faults seeme much greater vnto vs, as bodies doe athwart a foggie mist. Who so is hungrie, vseth meate, but who so will vse chastisement, should never hunger nor thirst after it. Moreover, corrections given with discretion and moderation, are more gently received, and with more good to him that receiveth them. Otherwise he shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned, by a man who is transported by rage and choller, and for his justification alleadgeth the extraordinarie motions of his maister; the inflammation of his face, his vnwonted othes, his chafing, his ynquietnesse and his rash precipitation.

*Ovid. art. Am.
lib. 3. 53.*

Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine vene,

Lumina Gorgoneo scintilla igne micant.

The face with anger swelles, the veines growe blacke with blood,

The eyes more fiercely shine then *Gorgons* fierie moode.

Suetonius writeth, that *Caius Rabirius*, having by *Cæsar* bin condemned, nothing did him so much good toward the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his sute, as the sharpnes and over boldnes which *Cæsar* had declared in that iudgement. *Saying is one thing, and doing another. A man must consider the sermone apart, and the preacher severall.* Those have made themselves good sport, who in our daies have gone about to checke the veritie of our Church,

Church, by the ministers vice : She fetcheth hir testimonie from elsewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, and which would soone reduce all things to a confusion. *An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth: Yea such a one as beleeveth it not.* Verely, it is a pleasing harmonie, when doing and saying goe together. And I will not deny, but saying, when deedes follow, is of more efficacie and authoritie : As said *Eudamidas*, when he heard a Philosopher discourse of warre : *These speeches are good, but he that speakes them, is not to be beleevd.* For his eares were never accustomed to heare the clang of trumpets, nor rattling of drums. And *Cleomenes* hearing a Rethoritian speake of valour, burst out into an extreame laughter : Whereat the other being offended, he said vnto him : *I would doe as much if it were a Swallowe should speake of it, but were he an Eagle, I should gladly heare him.* Me seemeth I perceiue in ancient mens writings, that he who speakes what he thinketh, toucheth nearer the quicke, then he who counterfaits. Heare *Cicero* speake of the love of libertie; then listen to *Brutus*, their very wordes will tell you and sound in your eare, the latter was a man readie to purchase it with the price of his life. Let *Cicero*, that father of eloquence treat of the contempt of death, and let *Seneca* discourse of the same; the first drawes it on languishing, and you shall plainly perceiue, he would faine resolve you of a thing, whereof he is not yet resolved himselfe. He giveth you no heart, for himselfe hath none : Whereas the other doth rowze, animate and inflame you. I never looke vpon an Author, be they such as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For, the *Ephores* of *Sparta*, hearing a dissolute liver propose a very beneficiall advise vnto the people, commaunded him to hold his peace, and desired an honest man to assume the invention of it vnto himselfe, and to propound it. *Plutarke*s compositions, if they be well favored, doe plainly manifest the same vnto vs: And I am perswaded I knowe him inwardly: Yet would I be glad, we had some memories of his owne life : And by the way I am faile into this discourse, by reason of the thanks I owe vnto *Aulus Gellius*, in that he hath left vs written this storie of his manners, which fitteth my subject of anger. A slave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose eares were somewhat fedde with Philosophicall documents, having for some faults by him committed, by the commandement of *Plutarke* his maister, bin stripped naked, whilst another servant of his whipped him, grombled in the beginning, that he was whipped without reason, and had done nothing : But in the end, mainly crying out, he fell to rayling and wronging his maister, vprading him, that he was not a true Philosopher, as he vanted himselfe to be, and how he had often heard him say, that, *it was an vnseemely thing in a man to be angrie*, And that he had made a booke of it: And now all plunged in rage, and engulfed in choller to cause him so cruelly to be beaten, was cleane contrarie to his owne writing. To whom *Plutarke* with an vnaltered, and milde-settled countenance, said thus vnto him. What? Thou raskall, whereby doest thou judge I am now angrie? Doth my countenance, doth my voice, doth my colour, or doth my speech give thee any testimonie, that I am either moved or chollerike? Me seemeth, mine eyes are not staringly-wilde, nor my face troubled, nor my voice frightfull or distempered : Doe I waxe redde? Doe I foame at the mouth? Dooth any word escape me I may repent hereafter? Doe I startle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For, to tell thee true, these are the right signes of choler and tokens of anger. Then turning to him that whipped, bade him continue still thy worke, whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter. This is the report of *Gellius*. *Architas Tarentinus* returning from a warre, where he had beene Captaine generall, found his house all out of order, his husbandrie all spoiled, and by the ill government of his Bailly, his ground all waste and vnmanured; and having called for him, said thus; *Away bad man, for if I were not angrie, I would have thee whipt for this.* *Plato* likewise, being vexed and angrie with one of his slaves, commaunded *Speusippus* to punish him, excusing himselfe, that now being angrie he would not lay hands vpon him. *Charillus* the Lacedemonian, to one *Elotes*, who behaved himselfe over insolently and audaciously towards him; *By the Gods* (said he) *if I were not now angrie, I would presently make thee die.* It is a passion which pleaseth and flattereth it selfe. How many times being moved by any false suggestion, if at that instant we be presented with any lawfull defence or true excuse, doe we fall into rage against truth and innocence it selfe? Touching this purpose, I have retained a wonderfull example of antiquitie. *Piso* in divers other respects, a man of notable vertue, being angrie, and chafing with one of his Souldiers, who returning from forage or boot-haling, would not give him an account

where hee had left a fellow-Souldier of his, and thereupon concluding hee had killed or made him away, forthwith condemned him to be hanged. And being vpon the gallows readie to die; behold his companion, who had stragled abroad, comming home, whereat all the armie rejoyced very much, and after many embracings and signes of joy betweene the two Souldiers, the hangman brought both vnto *Piso*; all the companie hoping, it would be a great pleasure vnto him; but it fell out cleane contrarie, for through shame & spite his wrath still burning, was redoubled, and with a slie devise his passion instantly presented to his minde, he made three guiltie, for so much as one of them was found innocent; and caused them all three to be dispatched. The first Souldier because he was already condemned; the second, which had stragled abroad, by reason he was the cause of his fellowes death; and the hangman, for that he had not fulfilled his Generalles commaundement. Those who have to deale with froward and skittish women have no doubt seene what rage they will fall into, if when they are most angrie and chafing, a man be silent and patient, and disdaine to foster their anger and wrath. *Celius* the Orator was by nature exceeding fretfull and cholerike. To one who was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and who because he would not moue him, seemed to approve what ever he said, and yeelde to him in every thing; as vnable to endure his peevishnes should so passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage, and said vnto him: *For the love of God deny me something, that we may be two.* So women are never angrie, but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of Love. *Phocion* to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and skolding at him, in most injurious manner, did nothing else but holde his peace and give him what leasure hee would to vent his choller; which done, without taking any notice of it, began his discourse againe where hee had left it off. *There is no reply so sharpe, as such silent contempt.* Of the most chollerike and teastie man of *France* (which is ever an imperfection, but more excusable in a militarie man; for it must needes bee graunted, there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoyde it) I ever say, hee is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choller; it mooveth and transporteth him with such furie and violence,

Virg. Æn. lib. 7
462.

— *magno veluti cum flamma sonore*
Virgea suggeritur costis undantis aheni,
Exultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
Fumidus atque aliè spumis exuberat amnis,
Nec iam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras,
As when a fagot flame with hurring sounds
Vnder the ribbes of boyling cauldron lies,
The water swelles with heate beyond the bounds,
Whence steeming streames raging and foming rise,
Water out-runns it selfe, blacke vapors flye to skies.

that he must cruelly enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part, I know no passion I were able to smother with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not set wisdom at so high a rate. I respect not so much what he doth, as how much it costs him not to doe worse. Another boasted in my presence, of his behaviours order and mildnesse, which in truth is singular: I told him, that indeede it was much, namely in men of so eminent qualitie, as himselfe was: On whom all eyes are fixed, alwayes to shew himselfe in a good temper: but that the cheifest point consisted in providing inwardly and for himselfe; and that in mine opinion, it was no wise mans parte, inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that marke and formall outward apparance, I feared he did. *Choller is incorporated by concealing and smothering the same*, as *Diogenes* said to *Demosthenes*, who fearing to be seene in a *Taverne*, withdrew himselfe into the same: The more thou recoilest backe, the further thou goest into it. I would rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a whirret on the eare, then to dissemble this wise, sterne or severe countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I would rather make shew of my passions, then smother them to my cost: which being vented and exprest, become more languishing and weak: Better it is to let it's point worke outwardly, then bend it against our selves. *Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt: & tunc perniciosissima, quum simulata sanitate subsidunt.* All vices are then lesse perilous when they lie open to be seene, but then most pernicious, when they lurke under counterfeited soundnesse.

Soundnesse. I ever warne those of my household, who by their offices-authoritie may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger; then not to employ it vpon every slight cause; for that impeacheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary brawling is converted to a custome; and that's the reason each man contemnes it: That which you employ against a servant for any theeuing, is not perceived, because it is the same he hath fundry times seene you vse against him, if hee have not washt a glasse well or misplaced a stoole. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but ever have regard their chiding come to his eares with whom they are offended: for, commonly some will brawle before hee come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone,

& secum petulans amentia certat.

Madnesse makes with it selfe a fray,

Which fondly doth the wanton play.

and wreake their anger against his shadow, and make the storme fall where no man is either chastised or interressed, but with the rumour of their voice, and sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. I likewise blame those who being angry, will brave and mutinie when the partie with whome they are offended is not by. These *Rodomantados* must be employed on such as feare them.

Mugitus veluti cum prima in praelia taurus

Terrificos ciet, et que irasci in cornu tentat,

Arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque laceffit

lētibus, & sparsa ad pugnam proludit arena.

As when a furious Bull to his first combate mooves

His terror-bréeding lowes, his horne to anger prooves,

Striving against a trees trunke, and the winde with strokes,

His preface made to fight with scattered sand, provokes.

Claud. in Eut.
148.

Vir. Æn. l. 12.
103.

When I chance to be angry, it is in the earnestest maner that may be, but yet as briefly and as secretly, as is possible. I loose my selfe in hastinesse and violence, but not in trouble: So that, let me spend all maner of injurious wordes at randon and without all heede, and never respect to place my points pertinentely, and where they may doe most hurt: For commonly I employ nothing but my tongue. My boyes scape better cheape in great matters, then in small trifles. Slight occasions surprise me; and the mischief is, that after you are once false into the pit, it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease till you come to the bottom. The fall presseth, hasteneth, mooveth and furthereth it selfe. In great occasions I am pleased, that they are so just, that every body expects a reasonable anger to insue. I glorify my selfe to deceive their expectation. Against these I bandy and prepare my selfe; they make me summon vp my wits, and threaten to carry me very farre, if I would follow them. I easily keepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them, I am strong enough to reject the impulsion of this passion, what violent cause soever it hath. But if it seize vpon and once preoccupate me, what vaine cause soever it hath, it doth cleane transport me: I condition thus with those that may contest with me; when you perceve me to be first angry, be it right or wrong, let me hold-on my course, I wil do the like to you, when ever it shall come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrence of cholers, which are easily produced one of another, and are not borne at one instant. Let vs allow every man his course, so shall we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shall sometime seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just emotion. According as my age yeeldeth my humors more sharpe or peevish, so doe I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them; and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be lesse froward and not so teastie, as I shall have more excuse and inclination to be so; although I have heretofore beene in their number that are least. A word more to conclude this Chapter: *Aristotle* saith, *Choller doth sometimes serve as armes unto Vertue and Valour.* It is very likely: notwithstanding such as gaine say him, answer pleasantly, it is a weapon of a new fashion and strange vse: For we moove other weapons, but this mooveth vs: our hand doth not guide it; but it directeth our hand; it holdeth vs, and we hold not it.

The two and thirtieth Chapter.

A defence of Seneca and Plutarke. 5

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 The familiarity I have with these two men, and the ayde they affoord me in my old age, and my Booke meerey framed of their spoiles, bindeth me to wed and maintaine their honour. As for *Seneca*, amongst a thousand petty-Pamphlets, those of the pretended-reformed religion have published for the defence of their cause, which now and then proceed from a good hand, and which, pittie it is, it should not be employed in more serious and better subjects: I have heretofore seene one, who to prolong and fill vp the similitude, he would finde betweene the government of our vnfortunate late king *Charles* the ninth, and that of *Nero*, compareth the whilom lord Cardinall of *Lorene* vnto *Seneca*; their fortunes to have beene both chiefe men in the government of their Princes, and therewithall their maners, their conditions and their demeanours: wherein (in mine opinion) he doth the saide lorde Cardinall great honour: for, although I be one of those that highly respect his spirite, his woorth, his eloquence, his zeale toward his religion and the service of his King; and his good fortune to have beene borne in an age, wherein hee was so new, so rare, and therewithall so necessarie for the common-wealth, to have a Cleargie-man of such dignitie and nobilitie, sufficient and capable of so weightie a charge: yet to confesse the truth, I esteeme not his capacitie such, nor his vertue so exquisitely vnspotted, nor so entire or constant, as that of *Seneca*. Now this Booke whereof I speake, to come to his intention, maketh a most injurious description of *Seneca*, having borrowed his reproaches from *Dion the Historian*, to whose testimony I give no credite at all: For, besides, he is inconstant, as one who after he hath called *Seneca* exceeding wise, and shortly after termed him a mortall enemy to *Neroes* vices, in other places makes him covetous, given to vsurie, ambitious, base-minded, voluptuous and vnder false pretences, and fained shewes, a counterfet Philosopher; his vertue appeareth so lively, and wisdom so vigorous in his writings; and the defence of these imputations is so manifest, as well of his riches, as of his excessive expences, that I beleeve no witness to the contrarie. Moreover, there is great reason wee should rather give credite to Roman Historians in such things, then to Græcians and Strangers, whereas *Tacitus* and others speake very honourably of his life and death, and in all other circumstances declare him to have beene a most excellent and rarely-vertuous man. I will alleadge no other reproch against *Dions* judgement, then this, which is vnayoydable: that is, his vnderstanding of the Roman affaires, is so weake and ill advised, as he dareth defend and maintaine *Iulius Cæsars* cause against *Pompey*, and blusherh not to iustifie *Antonius* against *Cicero*. But let vs come to *Plutarke*: *John Bodine* is a good moderne Author, and endowed with much more judgement then the common-rabble of Scriblers and blur-papers which now adayes stuffe Stationers shops, and who deserveth to be judged, considered and had in more then ordinary esteeme. Neverthelesse I finde him somewhat malapert and bolde in that passage of his *Methode of Historie*, where he accuseth *Plutarke*, not onely of ignorance (wherein I would have let him say his pleasure, for that is no part of my subject) but also that he often writeth, things altogether incredible and meerey fabulous (these are his very words). If he had simply said things otherwise than they are, it had beene no great reprehension: for, what we have not seene, we receive from others and vpon trust: And I see him sometimes, wittingly and in good earnest report one & same story diversly: As, the judgement, of the three best captains that ever were, spoken by *Hannibal*, is otherwise in *Flaminius* his life, & otherwise in *Pyrrhus*. But to taxe him, to have taken incredible and impossible things for ready payment, is to accuse the most judicious author of the World of want of judgement. And see heere his example: As (saith he) when he reportes, that a Childe of *Lacedemon* suffered all his belly and guttes to be torne out by a Cubbe or yoong Foxe, which he had stolne, and kept close vnder his Garment, rather than he would discover his theft. First, I finde this example ill chosen: Forasmuch as it is verie hard to limite the powers of the soules-faculties, whereas of corporall

porall forces, we have more law to limite and know them: And therefore, had I beene to write of such a subject I would rather have made choyce of an example of this second kinde. And some there be lesse credible. As amongst others, that which he reportes of *Pyrrhus*, who being sore wounded, gave so great a blow with a sword vnto one of his enemies, armed at all assayes, and with al pieces, as he cleft him from the Crowne of the head downe to the grime, so that the body fell in two pieces. In which example I finde no great wonder, nor do I admit of his excuse, wherewith he cloaketh *Plutarke*, to have added this Word, (as it is said) to forewarne vs, and restraîne our beliefe. For, if it be not in things received by authoritie and reverence of antiquity or religion, neither would himselfe have received, nor proposed to vs, to believe things in themselves incredible: And that (as it is saide) hee doeth not heere sette downe this phrase to that purpose, may easily be perceived, by what himselfe in other places telleth vs vpon the subject of the Lacedemonian Childrens patience, of examples happened in his time, much harder to be perswaded: As that which *Cicero* hath also witnessed before him, because, (as he saith) he had beene there himselfe: That even in their times, there were Children found prepared to endure all maner of patience, whereof they made trial before *Dianæ*s Aulter, and which suffered themselves to bee whipped, till the blood trilled downe all partes of their body, not onely without crying, but also without sobbing: and some who voluntarily suffered themselves to bee scourged to death. And what *Plutarke* also reporteth, and a hundreth other witnesses averre, that assisting at a sacrifice, a burning coale happened to fall into the sleeve of a Lacedemonian Childe, as he was busie at incensing, suffered his arme to burne so long, vntil the smel of his burnt flesh came to all the by-standers. There was nothing; according to their custome, so much called their reputation in question, and for which they endured more blame and shame, than to be surpris'd stealing. I am so well instructed of those mens greatnesse of courage, that this report, doth not onely not seeme incredible to me, as to *Bodine*, but I doe not so much as deeme it rare, or suppose it strange: The Spartane story is full of thousands of much more rare and cruell examples; then according to this rate, it containeth nothing but myracles. Concerning this point of stealing, *Marcellinus* reporteth, that whilest hee lived, there could never be found any kinde of torment ^{that} might in any sort compell the *Ægyptians* surprized filching (which was much vsed amongst them) to confesse and tell but their names. A Spanish Peasant being laide vpon the racke, about the complices of the murder of the Pretor *Lucius Piso*, in the midst of his torments cried out, his friends should not stir, but with all securitie assist him, & that it was not in the power of any griefe or paine to wrest one word of confession from him: & the first day nothing else could possibly be drawne from him: The next morow as he was led toward the racke, to be tormented a new, he by strong violence freed himselfe from out his keepers hands, and so furiously ranne with his head against a Wall, that he burst his braines out, and presently fell downe dead. *Epicharis*, having glutted & wearied the moody cruelty of *Neroes* Satelites or officers, and stoutly endured their fire, their beatings, & their engins a whole day long, without any one voice or word of revealing hir conspiracy, & the next day after, being againe brought to the torture, with hir limbs all bruized & broken, conveyed a lasset or skirt of hir Gowne over one of the pillars of the Chaire, wherein she fate, with a sliding knot in it, into which sodainely thrusting hir head, she strangled herselfe with the weight of hir body: Having the courage to dye so, and steale from the first torments; seemeth shee not purposely to have lent hir life to the triall of hir patience of the precedent day, only to mocke that Tyrant, and encourage others to attempt the like enterpize against him? And he that shal enquire of our Argoleptiers or Free-booters, what experiences they have had in these our late Civill wars, shall no doubt find effects & examples of patience, of obstinacy and stiff-neckednes in these our miserable dayes, and amidst these effeminate, and puling worldlings far beyond the *Ægyptian*, and well worthy to be compared to those already reported of Spartan vertue. I know, there have beene found seely boores, who have rather endured to have their feet broiled vpon a Greedyron, their fingers endes crusht and wrung with the lock of a Pistole, their eyes all bloody to be thrust out of their heades with wringing and wresting of a corde about their foreheads, before they would so much as be ransomed. I have seene and spoken with one, who had beene left all naked in a ditch for dead, his necke all bruised, and swolne, with a halter about it, wherewith he had beene dragged a whole night at a horses taile through thick and thinne, with a hundred thrusts in his body, given him with daggers, not to kill outright, ^{him}

but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he past more then one full death) then promise any ran- some; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his countrie. How many have bin seene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and roasted for vnknowne & wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others? My selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred wo- men (for, the saying is, Gaskoine heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of yron, then recant an opinion, they had concei- ved in anger. They will be exasperated and growe more fell against blowes and compul- sion. And he who first invented the tale of that woman, which by no threatens or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowse, and being cast into a pond and duckt vnder water, lifted vp her hands, and joyning her two thumbs-nailes in a ct to kill lice above her head, seemed to call him lousie still, devised a fable, whereof in truth we dayly see the expresse image in diuers womens obstinacie and wilfulnesse. And yet *obstinacie is the sister of constancy*, at least in vigor and stedfastnesse.

A man must not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our sense and vnderstanding, as I have already saide else- where. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of *Bodine*) to make a difficultie in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perswades himselfe, that the chiefe-forme of humane na- ture is in himselfe; according to her must all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hirs, are false and fained. Is any thing proposed vnto him of another mans faculties or actions? The first thing he calls to the judgement of his consultation, is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, so goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous sottish- nesse, and intolerable foppery! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my selfe, namely amongst those ancient ones; and though I manifestly acknowledge mine owne insufficiencie to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces, I cease not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and springs that raise them so high; the feedes whereof I somewhat perceive in my selfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreame basenes, which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I see the turne those give to wind vp themselves, and I admire their greatnesse; and those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and if with my strength I reach not vnto them, at least my judgement doth most willingly apply it selfe vnto them. The other example, he alledgeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by *Plutarke*, is, that *Agésilas* was fi- ned by the Ephores, because he had drawne the hearts and good wills of all his fellow-citti- zens vnto himselfe alone. I know not what marke of falsehood, or shew of impossibilitie he findes in it; but so it is, that *Plutarke* speakes there of things, which in all likelihood were bet- ter knowne to him, then to vs: And it was not strange in *Greece*, to see men punished and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witnesse the *Ostracisme* amongst the Athenians, and the *Petalisme* among the Siracusans. There is another accusation in the same place, which for *Plutarke*s sake doth somewhat touch me, where he saith, that he hath very well and in good truth sorted the Romanes with the Romanes, and the Græcians amongst themselves, but not the Romanes with the Græcians; witnesse (saith he) *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*; *Cato* and *Aristides*; *Sylla* and *Lysander*; *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*; *Pompey* and *Agésilas*, deeming thereby that hee hath favoured the Græcians, in giving them so vnequall companions. It is a just reprooving of that, which is, most excellent and commendable in *Plutarke*: For, in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion hee so much pleased himselfe), the faithfullnesse and sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. He is a Philosopher that teacheth vs vertue. But let vs see, whether wee can warrant him from this reproch of prevarication and falsehood. That, which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement, is, that great and farre-spreading lustre of the Romanes names, which still are tingling in our eares, and never out of our mindes. We doe not thinke, *De- mosthenes* may equall the glory of a Consul, of a Proconsul, & a Questor of this great Com- monwealth of *Rome*. But he that shall impartially consider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which *Plutarke* did chiefly aime at, and more to ballance their customes, their
naturall

naturall dispositions and their sufficiencie, then their fortune : I am of a cleane opposite opinion to *Bodine*, and thinke that *Cicero* and old *Cato* are much behinde or short of their ~~self~~ ^{parallels}. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of yong *Cato* compared to *Phocion* : for in that paire might well be found a more likely disparitie for the Romanes advantage. As for *Marcellus*, *Sylla* and *Pompey*, I see very well, how their exploitcs of warre, be more swolne, glorious and pompous, then the Græcians, whome *Plutarke* compareth vnto them; but the most vertuous and fairest actions, no more in warre, then elsewhere, are not alwayes the most famous. I often see the names of some Captaines smothered vnder the brightnesse of other names of lesser desert: witnesse *Labienus*, *Ventidius*, *Telesinus* and diuerse others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complaine for the Græcians, might not I say, that *Camillus* is much lesse comparable vnto *Themistocles*, the *Gracchi* to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, and *Numa* to *Lycurgus*? But it is follie at one glance to iudge of things with so many and diuerse faces. When *Plutarke* compares them, he doth not for all that equall them. Who could more eloquently, and with more conscience note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploitcs of armes, the power of the armies conducted by *Pompey* and his triumphs, vnto those of *Agésilas*? I doe not believe (saith he) that *Xenophon* himselfe (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of *Agésilas*, durst ever dare to admit any comparison betweene them. Seemeth he to equall *Lyfander* to *Sylla*? There is no comparison (saith he) neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battells betweene them : for, *Lyfander* onely obtained two sea-battels, &c. This is no derogation from the Romanes. If he haue but simply presented them vnto the Græcians, what ever disparitie may be betweene them, he hath not in any sort wronged them. And *Plutarke* doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others; He compareth the parts and the circumstances one after another, and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any would goe about to convince him of fauour, hee should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in generall and plaine termes say, he hath missed in sorting such a Græcian to such a Romane, forasmuch as there are other more sortable and correspondent, and might better be compared, as having more reference one vnto another.

The three and thirtieth Chapter.

The History of *Spurina*.

The Virtnes & Vices
of *Julius Cesar* are
of chief subiect of this
essay

Philosophy thinketh, she hath not ill employed hir meanes, having yeilded the soveraine rule of our minde, and the authoritie to restraine our appetites vnto reason. Amongest which, those who iudge there is none more violent, than those which love begetteth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possessed with them: so that health it selfe dependeth of them, and phisike is sometimes constrained to serve them insteede of Pandership. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the commixture of the body doth bring abatement and weakenesse vnto them; because such desires are subject to facietie and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continuall alarumes, which this appetite did assaile them with, have vsed incisions, yea and cut-off the mooving, turbulent and vnruely parts. Others have played the force & fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow & vinegar. The haire-cloths which our forefathers vsed to weare for this purpose, wherof some made shirts, and some waste-bands or girdles, to torment their reignes. A Prince tolde me not long since, that being very yoong, and waiting in the Court of King *Francis* the first, vpon a solemne feastival day, when all the Court indeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor possessed him to putte-on a shirt of haire-cloth, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possessed him, he could not possibly endure vntill night to put it off againe, and was sick a long time after, protesting he thought no youthly heat could be so violent, but the vse of this receipt would coole and alay; of which he perhappes never assayed

assayed the strongest: For, experience sheweth vs, that such an emotion doth ofte n main-
taine it selfe vnder base, rude and slovenly cloathes : and haire-cloathes doe not ever make
those poore that weare them. *Zenocrates* proceeded more rigorously ; for, his Disciples to
make triall of his continencie, having conveyed that beautilous and famous curtizan *Lais* na-
ked into his bed, saving the weapons of hir beauty, wanton alurements, and amorous or love-
procuring pocions, feeling that maugre all Philosophicall discourses, and strict rules, his skit-
tish body beganne to mutinie, he caused those members to be burned, which had listened
to that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousnesse and
others, trouble reason much more : for, it can have no ayde but from it's owne meanes ; nor
are those appetites capable of facietie, but rather sharpened by enjoying, and augmented by
possession. The example alone of *Julius Caesar* may suffice to shew vs the disparitie of these
appetites, for never was man more given to amorous delights. The curious and exact care he
had of his body, is an authentickall witnesse of it, forsomuch as hee vsed the most lascivious
meanes that then were in vse, as to have the haire of his body smeered and perfumed all o-
ver, with an extreame and labored curiositie; being of himselfe a goodly personage, white,
of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerfull & seemly countenance, his face full and round, and
his eies browne and lively; if at least *Suetonius* may be believed: For, the statues which now-
adays are to be seene of him in *Rome*, answer not altogether this portraiture wee speake of.
Besides his wives, which he changed foure times, without reckoning the bies; or Amours in
his youth with *Nicomedes* King of *Bythinia*, hee had the Maiden-head of that so farre, and
highly-renowned Queene of *Egypt*, *Cleopatra*, witnesse yong *Cesarion*, whom he begotte
of hir. He also made love vnto *Eunoë* Queene of *Mauritania*, and at *Rome*, to *Posthumia*,
wife vnto *Servius Sulpitius*; to *Lolia*, wife to *Gabinus*; to *Tertulla*, of *Crassus*; yea vnto *Mulia*,
wife to great *Pompey*, which, as Historians say, was the cause hir Husband was divorced from
her. Which thing *Plutarke* confesseth not to have knowne. And the *Curions* both father
and sonne, twitted *Pompey* in the teeth, at what time he tooke *Cesar's* Daughter to wife, that
he made himselfe Sonne in law to one, who had made him Cuckold, and himselfe was wont
to call *Egyptus*. Besides all this number, he entertained *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and mo-
ther to *Marcus Brutus*, whence (as divers hold) proceeded that great affection, he ever bare
to *Marcus Brutus*; for his Mother bare him at such a time, as it was not vnlikely he might be
borne of him. Thus, (as me seemeth) have I good reason to deeme him a man extreamelie
addicted to all amorous licenciousnesse, and of a wanton-lascivious complexion. But the o-
ther passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely infected, and much tainted, when he
came once to withstand the same, it made him presently to give ground. And touching this
point, when I call *Mahamet* to remembrance (I meane him that subdued *Constantinople*, and
who brought the final extermination of the name of *Græcians*) I know not where these two
passions are more equally ballanced: equally an indefatigable letcher, and a never-tired soul-
dier. But when in his life they seeme to strive and concurre one with another, the mutinous
heate, doeth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of naturall
season did never attaine to a full and absolute authority, but when he perceived himselfe to be
so aged, that he was vterly vnable longer to vndergoe the burthen of Warre. That which
is aleaged, as an example on the contrary side, of *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, is very wel worth
the noting, who though he were an excellent, couragious and ambitious Captaine, propo-
sed vnto himselfe, as the principall scope of his ambition, the execution of his sensuality, and
enjoying of some rare and vnmached beauty. So was his death : Having by a continuall
tedious siege brought the City of *Florence* to so narrow a pinch, that the inhabitantes were
ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeilded the same to them, vpon condition they would de-
liver into his hands a wench of excellent beauty that was in the citty, of whom he had heard
great commendations; which they were enforced to graunt him, and so by a private injury to
warrant the publike ruine of the City. Shee was the Daughter of a notable rare Phisicion,
and whilest he lived chiefe of his profession : Who seeing himselfe engaged in so stuprous a
necessity, resolved vpon an haughtie enterprize; Whilest all were busie adorning his daugh-
ter, and besetting her with costly jewelles, that she might the more delight and please this
new Kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought, and sweetly-perfumed handkir-
cher, to vse in their first approaches and embracements; a thing commonly in vse amongst
the Women of that Country. This Handkercher strongly empoysoned according to the
cunning

cunning skill of his Art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open pores, did so readily convey and disperse it's poyson, that having sodainly changed their heate into colde, they immediately deceased one in an others armes. But I will now returne to *Cesar*. His pleasures could never make him loose one minute of an houre, nor turne one step from the occasions, that might any way further his advancement. This passion did so sovereignly overway all others, and possessed his minde with so vncontrouled an authority, that shee carryed him whither she list. Truly I am grieved, when in other things I consider this mans greatnesse, and the wondrous partes that were in him; so great sufficiencie in all manner of knowledge and learning, as there is almost no science wherein he hath not written; He was so good an Orator, that diuers have preferred his eloquence before *Ciceroes*: And himselfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought himselfe nothing short of him. And his two *Antti-Catoes*, were especially written to over-balance the eloquence which *Cicero* had imploid in his *Cato*. And for all other matters; was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his? And doubtlesse, it was also embellished with sundry rare seedes of vertue. I meane lively, natural and not counterfet. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeding, that *Oppius* reporteth, how vppon a time, through a certaine Cookes negligence, his meat being dressed with a kinde of medicinable Oyle, in stead of Olive-oyle, and so brought to the boorde, although he found it, yet he fed hartily of it, only because he would not shame his Hoste. Another time he caused his Baker to be whipped, because hee had served him with other, than common household bread. *Cato* himselfe was wont to say of him, that hee was the first sober man, had addrest himself to the ruine of his country. And whereas the same *Cato* called him one day drunkard, it hapned in this maner. Being both together in the Senate house, where *Catelines* conspiracie was much spoken of, wherein *Cesar* was greatly suspected to have a hand; a note was by a frend of his brought, & in very secret sort delivered him, which *Cato* perceiving, supposing it might be something, that the Conspiratours advertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which *Cesar* to avoide a greater suspicion, refused not: It was by chance an amorous letter, which *Servilia Catoes* sister writ to him: *Cato* having read it, threw it at him, saying, hold it againe thou drunkard. I say, it was rather a word of disdain & anger, than an expresse reproch of this vice; as often we nicke-name those that anger vs, with the first nicke-names of reproaches, that come into our mouth, though meerly impertinent to those with whom wee fall out. Considering, that the vice wherewith *Cato* charged him, hath neere coherencie vnto that, wherein he had surprised *Cesar*: for *Venus* and *Bacchus* (as the vulgar Proverb saith) agree well together; but with me *Venus* is much more blithe and game-some, being accompanied with sobrietie.

The examples of his mildnes and clemencie, towards such as had offended him, are infinite: I meane, besides those he shewed during the civill warres, which (as by his owne writings may plainly appeare) he vsed to blandish and allure his enemies, to make them feare his future domination and victorie the lesse. But if any shall say, those examples are not of validitie to witnes his genuine and naturall affabilitie, we may lawfully answer, that at least they shew vs a wonderfull confidence, and greatnes of courage to have beene in him. It hath often befallen him, to send whole armies backe againe to his enemies, after he had vanquished them, without dayning to binde them so much, as with an oath, if not to favour, at least not to beare armes against him. He hath three or foure times taken some of *Pompeys* chiefe Captaines prisoners, and as often set them at libertie againe. *Pompey* declared all such as would not follow and accompanie him in his wars, to be his enemies; and he caused those to be proclaimed as friends, who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arme themselves against him. To such of his Captaines as fled from him, to procure other conditions, he sent them their weapons, their horses and all other furniture. The Citties he had taken by maine force, he freed to follow what faction they would, giving them no other garison, then the memorie of his clemencie and mildnes. In the day of his great battle of *Pharsalia*, he expressly inhibited, that vnlesse they were driven to vnavoidable extremitie, no man should lay hands vpon any Romane citizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder, if in the civill warres or tumultuous broiles, we have now ^{on} foote, those that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their countrie, as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinarie meanes, and which onely belong to *Cesars* fortune, and to his admirable fore-fight, successefully to direct, and happily to conduct them.

When

When I consider the incomparable greatnes and vnvaluable worth of his minde, I excuse Victorie, in that she could not well give him over, in this most vniust and vnnaturall cause. But to returne to his clemencie; we have diuers genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his al-swaying gouernment, when all things were reduced into his hands, and he needed no longer to dissemble. *Caius Memmius*, had written certaine detracting and railing orations against him, which hee at full and most sharpely had answered, neuerthelesse he shortly after helped to make him Consull. *Caius Calpurnius*, who had composed diuers most injurious Epigrams against him, having employed sundrie of his friends to be reconciled to him againe, *Cæsar* descended to write first vnto him. And our good *Catullus*, who vnder the name of *Mammurra* had so rudely and bitterly railed against him, at last comming to excuse himselfe, *Cæsar* that very night made him to suppe at his owne table. Having beene advertised how some were overlavish in rayling against him, all he did was but in a publike oration to declare how he was advertised of it. His enemies, he feared lesse then he hated them. Certaine conspiracies and conventicles were made against his life, which being discovered vnto him, he was contented by an edict to publish, how he was thoroughly enformed of them, and never prosecuted the Authors. Touching the respect hee ever bare vnto his friends; *Caius Oppius* traveling with him, and falling very sicke, having but one chamber he resigned the same vnto him, and himselfe was contented to lie all night abroad and vpon the bare ground. Concerning his justice, he caused a servant of his, whom he exceedingly loved, to be executed, forsomuch as he had laine with the wife of a Roman Knight, although no man sued or complained of him. Never was man, that shewed more moderation in his victorie, or more resolution in his aduerser fortune. But all these noble inclinations, rich gifts, worthy qualities, were alured, smothered and eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition; by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre misledde, that it may well be affirmed, she onely ruled the Sterne of all his actions. O a liberall man, she made him a common theefe, that so he might the better supply his profusion and prodigality; and made him vtter that vile and most injurious speach; That if the wickedst and most pernicious men of the world, had for the service and furtherance beene faithfull vnto him, he would to the vtmost of his power have cherished and preferred them, as well as if they had beene the honestest. It so besotted, and as it were made him drunke with so extreame vanitie, that in the presence of all his fellow-cittizens he durst vaunt himselfe, to have made that great and farre-spread Roman Common-wealth, a shapelesse or bodilesse name; and pronounce, that his Sentences or Answers should thence forward serve as Lawes: And sitting, to receive the whole bodie of the Senate comming toward him; and suffer himselfe to be adored, and in his presence divine honours to be done him. To conclude, this onely vice (in mine opinion) lost, and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest genuitie that ever was; and hath made his memorie abominable to all honest mindes, insomuch as by the ruine of his countrey, and subversion of the mightiest State and most flourishing Common-wealth, that ever the worlde shall see, he went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diuerse examples of great persons, whome pleasure hath made to forget the conduct of their owne affaires, as *Marcus Antonius*, and others: but where love and ambition should be in one equall balance, and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt, but *Cæsar* would gaine the prize and goale of the victorie. But to come into my path againe. It is much, by discourse of reason, to bridle our appetites, or by violence to force our members, to containe themselves within the bounds of duty. But to whippe vs for the interest of our neighbors, not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth vs with the selfe-joying pleasure, we apprehend and feel to see our selves gratefull to others, and of all men beloved and sued vnto: but also to hate and scorne those graces, which of it are the cause; and to contemne our beauty, because some others will be set on fire with it, I have seene few examples like to this. *Spurina* a yong Gentleman of *Thuscanie*,

Virg. Æn. l. 10.
134.

*Qualis gemma micat fulvum qua dividit aurum,
Aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem,
Inclusum buxo aut Ercia terebintho,
Lucet ebur.*

As when a precious stone cleare rayes doth spread,
Set in pure golde, adorning necke or head:

Or

Or as faire Iv'ry shines in boxe enclos'de,

Or workemanly with Mountaine gumme dispos'de.

being endowed with so alluringly-excessive and singular beantie, that the chafteft eyes could not possibly gainstand or continently resist the sparkling glances thereof; not contented to leave so great a flame succourlesse, or burning fever remediesse, which he in all persons, and every where enkindled, entred into so furious despite against himselfe and those rich gifts, nature had so prodigally conferred vpon him (as if they must beare the blame of others faults) that with gasches, and skars, he wittingly mangled, & voluntarily cut that perfect proportion and absolute feature, which nature had so curiously observed in his vnmatched face; whereof to speake my opinion, such outrages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire, then honour such actions. His intent was commendable, and his purpose consciencious, but in my seeming somewhat wanting of wisdom. What? if his deformitie or vglinessse was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the sinne of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of so rare commendation; or of slander, interpreting his humour to be a frantike ambition; Is there any forme, whence vice (if so it please) may not wrest an occasion, in some maner to exercise it selfe? It had beene more just, and therewithall more glorious, of so rare gifts of God, to have made a subject of exemplar vertue and orderly methode. Those which sequester themselves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornie and so many-faced rules, which in civill life, binde a man of exact honesty and exquisite integritie: in mine opinion reape a goodly commoditie, what peculiar sharpenesse soever they enjoyne themselves. *It is a kinde of death, to avoide the paine of well-doing, or trouble of well-living.* They may have another prise, but the prise of vneasiness me thinks they never had. Nor that in difficulty, there be any thing that is amid the waves of the worldly multitude, beyond keeping himselfe vpright and vntainted, answering loyally and truly discharging all members and severall parts of his charge. It is happily more easie, for one, in honest sort to neglect and passe over all the sexe, then duly and wholly to maintaine himselfe in his wives companie. And a ^{man} may more incuriously fall into povertie, then into plenteousnesse; being justly dispensed. Custome, according to reason, doth leade to more sharpnesse, then abstinence hath. *Moderation is a vertue much more toyle some, then sufferance.* The chaste and well living of yong Scipio, hath a thousand severall fashions; that of Diogenes but one. This doth by so much more exceede all ordinary lives in innocencie and vnspottednesse, as those which are most exquisite and accomplished, exceede it in profite and outgoe it in force.

The foure and thirtieth Chapter.

Observations concerning the meanes to warre after the maner
of Iulius Caesar.

7

Here he keeps close to his Text

IT is reported of divers chiefe Generalles in warre, that they have particularly affected some peculiar booke or other: as Alexander the great highly esteemed Homer; Scipio, Africanus, Xenophon: Marcus Bruius, Polybius; Charles the fifth, Philip de Comines: And it is lately averred, that in some places, and with some men, Machiavell is much accompted of: But our late Marshall Strozzi, who had made especiall choise to love Caesar; without doubt, I thinke of all other chose best: for truly he ought to be the Breviary of all true Souldiers; as beeing the absolute and perfect chiefe patterne of Military profession. And God hee knowes with what grace, and with what decorum, hee hath embellished this rich subject, with so pure a kinde of speech, so pleasing and so absolutely perfect, that to my taste, there are no writings in the world, which in this subject may be compared to his. I will here register certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of warre, which yet remaine in my memory. His Armie being somewhat afrighted, vpon the reporte that ranne of the great forces, which king Iuba broght against him, instead of abating the opinion his soldiers had conceived of it, and to diminish the meanes or forces of his enemy, having caused them

to be assembled altogether, thereby to assure and incorage them, he tooke a cleane contrary course, to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do: for he bade them trouble themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces, which his enemies brought against him, for himselfe had already true knowledge & certaine intelligence of them: and told them a number farre exceeding both the trvth and reporte of them: following what *Cyrus* commandeth in *Xenophon*. Forasmuch as the deceipt is not of like interest, for a man to finde his enemies in effect weaker then he hoped, then stronger indeede, having once conceived an opinion of their weakenesse. He enured all his Souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gaine-saying or speaking of their Captaines desseignes, which he never communicated vnto them, but vpon the last point of execution: and was pleased, if by chance they had any inkling of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion: And having prefixt a place to quarter-in at night, he hath often beene scene to march further, and lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were foule, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in *Gaule*, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the Roman countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding shew them very good lookes, and tooke certaine dayes respite to give them an answer, during which time he might have leasure to assemble his Armie together. These poore people knew not how well he could husband time: For he often repeated, that *the skill to embrace occasions in the nicke, is the chiefe part of an absolute Captaine*: And truely the diligence he vsed in all his exploits, is incredible; and the like was never heard-of. If he were not over consciencious in that, vnder colour of some treatie, parlie or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies: he was as little scrupulous, in that *he required no other vertue in his Souldiers, but valour*; and except mutinie and disobedience, he punished not greatly other vices. After his victories, he often gave them the reines to all licenciousnesse, for a while dispensing them from all rules of military discipline; saying moreover, his souldiers were so well instructed, that though they were in their gayest clothes, pranked vp, musked and perfumed, they would notwithstanding runne furiously to any combate. And in truth he loved to see them richly armed, and made them weare gilt, graven and silvered armours, that their care to keepe them cleane and bright, might make them more fierce, and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, hee ever called them by the name of Fellow-souldiers; a name vsed at this day by some Captaines; which his successour *Augustus* afterward reformed, esteeming he had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, and to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily;

Lucan. l. 5. 289.

—— *Rheni mihi Caesar in undis*

Dux erat, hic socius, facinus quos inquinat, aequat.

When *Caesar* past the *Rhine*, he was my Generall,

My fellow heere: sinne, whom it stains, makes fellowes-all.

but that this custome was over-lowelie for the dignitie of an Emperor, & chiefe Generall of an Armie, and brought vp the fashion againe to call them only Souldiers. To this curtesie, *Caesar* did notwithstanding intermixe a great severity, to suppress & keep them humble. His ninth Legion having mutined neere vnto *Placentia*, hee presently cashiered the same with great ignominie vnto it, notwithstanding that *Pompey* were yet on foote and strong; and would not receive it into favour, but with humble petitions and earnest entreatie. Hee did more appease them by authoritie and audacitie, then by mildenesse and affabilitie. Where he speaketh of his passage over the river of *Rheine*, towards *Germanie*, he saith, that deeming it vnworthy the honour of the Romane people, his Armie should passe over in ships, he caused a bridge to be built, that so it might passe over drie-foote. There he erected that admirable bridge, whereof he so particularly describeth the frame: For he never more willingly dilates himselfe in describing any of his exploits, then where he endevoreth to represent vnto vs the subtiltie of his inventions, in such kindes of manuell workes. I have also noted this in his booke, that he much accompteth of the exhortations he made to his Souldiers before any fight: for where he would shew to have beene either surprisid or vrged, he ever alledgeth this, that he had so much leasure as to make an oration to his Souldiers or Armie. Before that great battell gainst those of *Tournay*; *Caesar* (saith he) having disposed of the rest, ranne sodainely whither fortune carried him, to exhort his men: and meeting with the tenth Legion, hee had not leasure to say any thing else vnto them, but that *they should*

remember

remember their former wonted vertue, they should nothing be danted, they should stoutly resist the encounter of their adversaries; and forasmuch as the enemy was come within an arrow-shoote vnto him, he gave the signall of the battell; and sodainly going elsewhere, to encourage others, he found them already together by the eares; See here what himselfe saith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath in diuers places much bestead, and done him notable service, and even whilst he lived, his militarie eloquence was so highly regarded, that many of his Armie were scene to copie and keepe his orations; by which meanes diuers volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death. His speech had particular graces, so that his familiar friends, and namely *Augustus*, hearing that rehearsed, which had beene collected of his, knew by the Phrases and words, what was his or not. The first time that with any publike charge he issued out of *Rome*, hee came in eight dayes to the river of *Rhone*, having ever one or two Secretaries before him, who continually writ what hee endited, and one behinde him that carried his sword. And surely, if one did nothing but runne vp and downe, he could very hardly attaine to that promptitude, wherewith ever being victorious, having left *Gaule*, and following *Pompey* to *Brundisium*, in eightene dayes he subdued all *Italie*; returned from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, and thence went even to the hart of *Spaine*, where he past many extreame difficulties, in the warres betweene *Affranus* and *Pretreius*, and at the long siege of *Marseille*: from whence he returned into *Macedon*, overthrew the *Romane* Armie at *Pharsalia*; thence pursuiug *Pompey* hee passed into *Egipt*, which he subdued; from *Egipt* he came vnto *Siria*, and into the countrie of *Pontus*, where he fought with *Pharnaces*; thence into *Affrica*, where he defeated *Scipio* and *Iuba*, and thence through *Italie* he returned into *Spaine*, where he overthrew *Pompeys* children.

Lucan. l. 5. 405.

Ocior & calis flammis & tigride fæta.

Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice præcepit
Cum ruit avulsam vento, seu turbidus imber
Proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,
Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actus,
Exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque,
Involvens secum.

Virg. Æn. li. 12
684.

Swifter then breed-yong Tiger, or heav'ns flash.
And as from mountaines top a headlong stone
Rent-off by winde, or by stormes troublous dash
Washt-off, or loos'd by age of yeares ore-gone,
Crosse-carried with great force that hill-like masse
Bounds on the earth, and rowles with it in one,
Woods, heards, and men, and all that neere-it was.

Speaking of the siege of *Avaricum*, he saith, that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workemen, as he had set a worke. In all enterprises of consequence he was ever the first skout-man, or survayer of any place: and his Armie never approched place, which hee had not viewd or survayed himselfe. And if wee may believe *Suetonius*, at what time he attempted to passe over into *England*, he was the first man that founded the passage. He was wont to say, that he esteemed that victorie much more, which was conducted by advise, and managed by counsell, then by maine strength and force. In the warre against *Pretreius* and *Affranus*, Fortune presenting an apparant occasion of advantage vnto him, he saith, that he refused it, hoping with a little more time, but with lesse hazard, to see the overthrow of his enemy. Where he also plaide a notable part, to command all his Armie to swimme over a river, without any necessitie,

rapuitque ruens in prælia miles,
Quod fugiens timuisset iter, mox vda receptis
Membra fervent armis gelidosque à gurgite, cursu
Restituunt artus.

Lucan. l. 4. 151.

The Souldier rids that way in haste to fight,
Which yet he would have fearde in haste of flight;
His limbs with water wet and cold before,
With armes he covers, running doth restore.

I finde him somewhat more warie and considerate in his enterprises, then *Alexander*; for, the

Alexander
et
Cæsar

the latter seemeth to seeke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging torrent, which without heede, discretion, or choise, shockes and checke-mates what ere it meeteth withall.

Hor. car. lib. 4.
ed. 14 25

*Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui Regna Danni perfluit Appuli
Dum sedit, horrendamque cultis
Diluvium meditatur agris.*

So Bull-fac't *Aufidus* still rowling growes,
Which through *Apulias* ancient kingdome flowes,
When he doth rage in threatning meditation
To bring on faire fields fearefull inundation.

And to say truth, his hap was to be most employed in the spring-time, and first heate of his age; whereas *Cesar* was well stricken in yeares, when he beganne to follow armes. *Alexander* was of a more chollerike, sanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee stirred vp with wine, whereof *Cesar* was verie abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his person. As for me, me seemeth I reade in diverse of his exploits, a certaine resolution rather to loose himselfe, than to abide the brunt or shame to be overthrowne. In that great battell, which he fought against those of *Turnay*, seeing the vangarde of his Army somewhat enclining to route, even as hee was, without shield or target, hee ranne headlong to the front of his enemies: Which many other times happened vnto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, he past disguised through the midst and thickest of his enemies campe, so to encourage and awe them with his presence. Having crossed the way to *Dyrrhachium*, with verie few forces, and perceiving the rest of his Armie (the Conduet whereof hee had left vnto *Antonius*,) to be somewhat slowe in comming, he vndertooke all alone, to repasse the Sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging Tempest; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: All the havens on that side, yea and all the Sea being possessed by *Pompey*. And concerning the enterprises he vnder-went with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceede all discourse of militarie reason: for, with how weake meanes vndertooke he to subdue the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and afterward to front the forces of *Scipio* and *Iuba*, which were tenne partes greater than his? Me thinks such men have had a kinde of more than humane confidence of their fortune: And himselfe was wont to say, that *Haughtie enterprises were to be executed and not consulted vpon*. After the battell of *Pharsalia*, having sent his Armie before into *Asia*, and himselfe with only one ship passing through the straite of *Hellespont*, he mette on the Seas with *Lucius Cassius*, attended on with tenne tall ships of Warre; he was so farre from shunning him, that he durst not onely stay for him, but with al haste make toward and summon him, to yeeld himselfe to his mercie; which he did. Having vndertaken that furious siege of *Alexia*, wherein were fourescore thousand men of Defence, and all *France* vp in armes, with a resolution to runne vpon him and raise the siege, and having an Armie on foote of one hundred and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fortie thousand foote; What a fond-hardy and outrageous confidence was it in him, that he would never give over his attempt and resolve in two so great difficulties together? Which he notwithstanding vnder went: And after he had obtained so notable a battell of those which were without, he soone reduced those that were besieged in the Towne to his mercie. The verie like happened to *Lucullus* at the siege of *Tigranocerta*, against King *Tigranes*, but with an vnlike condition, seeing his enemies demissenesse, with whom *Lucullus* was to deale. I will heere note two rare and extraordinarie events, touching the siege of *Alexia*; the one, that the French-men being all assembled together with a purpose to meete with *Cesar*, having diligently survaied and exactly numbred all their forces, resolved in their counsell, to cutte-off a great part of this huge multitude, for feare they might breede a confusion. This example is new, to feare to be over many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely, that *The bodie of an Armie ought to have a well proportioned greatnesse, and ordered to indifferent bounds*. Whether it be for the difficultie to feed the same, or to leade it in order and keepe it in awe. And we may easily verifie by examples, that *These numerous and infinite Armies have seldome brought anie notable thing to passe*: According to *Cirrus* his saying in *Xenophon*. *It is not the multitude of men, but the number of good men, that causeth an advantage*:

vantage: The rest rather breeding confusion and trouble, than helpe or availle. And *Baiazeth* tooke the chiefe foundation of his resolution, against the advise of all his Captaines, to joyne fight with *Tamburlane*, onely because the innumerable number of men, which his enemy brought into the field, gave him an assured hope of route and confusion. *Scanderbeg*, a sufficient and most expert Iudge in such a case, was wont to say, that tenne or twelve thousand trusty and resolute fighting men, ought to suffice any sufficient Chieftaine of Warre, to warrant his reputation in any kinde of military exploire. The other point, which seemeth to be repugnant both vnto custome and reason of Warre, is, that *Vercingetorix*, who was appointed chiefe Generall of all the forces of the revolted *Gaules*, vndertooke to immure and shutte himselfe into *Alexia*. For, *He that hath the commaundement of a whole Countrey, ought never to engage himselfe, except in cases of extremitie*, and where all his rest and last refuge goeth on it, and hath no other hope left him, but the defence of such a place. Otherwise he ought to keepe himselfe free, that so he may have meanes to provide in all partes of his Government. But to returne to *Cesar*, he became in time somewhat more slow, heedie, and considerate, as witnesseth his familiar friend *Oppius*; deeming, he should not so easily hazard the honour of so many Victories, which one onely disaster, or mis-encounter, might make him loose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or blame or reproach any man with this overdaring, or rash fond-hardinesse, which is often seene in yoong men, calling them, *Bisognosi d'onore*, as much to say as needie of honour: And that being yet hungrie, greedy and voyde of reputation, they have reason to seeke after it, whatsoever it may cost them; Which they should never doe, that have already acquired the same. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some facietie in this appetite, as well as in others; Divers doe so practize it. He was farre from that religion of the auncient Romans, who in their Warres would never prevaile but with meere and genuine vertue: But rather joyned more conscience vnto it, than now-adayes we should doe; And would never allow of all meanes, were he never so certaine to get the victory. In his Warres against *Arriovistus*, whilst he was in Parly with him, some tumult or insurrection happened betweene the two armies, which beganne by the fault or negligence of some of *Arriovistus* horsemens. In which hurlie-burly *Cesar* found himselfe to have a great advantage over his enemies, which notwithstanding he would not embrace, for feare he might be taxed or suspected to have proceeded falsly, or consented to any tretchery. At what time som-ever he went to fight, he was accustomed to weare a verie rich garment, and of a sheene and garish colour, that so he might the better be marked. When his Souldiers were neereft vnto their enemies, he restrained and kept them very short. When ever the Græcians would accuse or tax any man of extreame insufficiencie, they vsed this common Proverbe; *That he could neyther read nor swimme*: And himselfe was of this opinion, that the art of swimming was most necessary and beneficiall in Warre; and a Souldier might reape divers commodities by it. If he were in haste, and to make speede, he would ordinarily swimme over al the Rivers he met withal: and loved greatly to travell on foote, as *Alexander the Great* was wont. In *Egypt* being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to leape into a little Whirry or Boate, and so many of his people following him, that he was in danger to sinke, hee rather chose to fling himselfe into the Sea, which he did; and swimming came into his fleete, that was more than two hundred paces from him, holding his writing-Tables in his left hand out of the Water, and with his teeth drawing his Coate of Armes after him, that his enemies might not enjoy it: and this did he being well stricken in yeares. No Generall of Warre had ever so much credite with his Souldiers. In the beginning of his civill warres, his Centeniers offered him every one, at their owne chardges to pay and finde him a man at Armes, and his foote-men to serve him for nothing, and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needie.

Our late Admirall of France Lord *Chastillon*, in our late civill warres shewed such an example: For, the French-men of his armie, at their proper cost and charges helped to pay such strangers as followed him. Few examples of so loving and earnest affection may be found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves vnder the ancient pollicie of their lawes. *Passion hath more sway over vs, then reason*: Yet hath it chanced in the warres against *Hanniball*, that imitating the example of the Romane peoples liberalitie in the Cittie, the Souldiers and Captaines refused their pay; and in *Marcellus* his campe, those were called mercenarie, that tooke any pay. Having had some deffeaite

neere vnto *Dyrachium*, his Souldiers came voluntarily before him, and offred themselves to be punished; so that he was more troubled to comfort, then to chide them. One onely of his *Cohortes* (whereof ten went to a Legion) held fight above foure howres with foure of *Pompeies* whole Legions, vntill it was well-nigh all defeated with the multitude and force of arrowes: And in his trenches were afterward found one hundred and thirtie thousand shafts. A Souldier of his, named *Scava*, who commanded one of the entrances, did so invincibly defend and keepe himselfe, that he had one of his eyes thrust out, and one shoulder and one thigh thrust through, and his shield flawed and pearced in two hundred and thirtie severall places. It hath befallne to many of his Souldiers, being taken prisoners, to chuse rather to die then promise to follow any other faction, or receive any other entertainment. *Granius Petronius* taken by *Scipio* in *Affrike*: After *Scipio* had caused all his fellowes to be put to death, sent him word that he gave him his life, forsomuch as he was a man of ranke and a Questore: *Petronius* answered, that *Casars* Souldiers were wont to give life to others, and not accept it themselves; And therewithall with his owne handes killed himselfe. Infinit examples there are of their fidelitie. That part, which they acted, who were besieged in *Salonna*, a Cittie, which tooke part with *Cesar* against *Pompey*, must not be forgotten, by reason of a rare accident that there hapned. *Marcus Octavius*, having long time beleagred the Towne, they within were reduced to such extremitie and pinching necessitie of all things, that to supply the great want they had of men, most of them being already or hurt or dead; they had set all their slaues at libertie, and for the behoofe of their engines, were compelled to cut-off all their womens haire, to make ropes with them; besides a wonderfull lacke of victualles, resolving notwithstanding never to yeeld themselves: After they had a long time lingered the siege, and that *Octavius* was thereby become more carelesse, and lesse heeding or attentive to his enterprize; they one day about high noone (having first ranged their wives and children vpon the walles, to set the better face vpon the matter) rushed out in such a furie vpon the besiegers, that having put to rout and defeated the first, the second, and third *corps de garde*; then the fourth and the rest; and having forced them to quit their trenches, chased them even to their shippes; and *Octavius* with much a doe saved himselfe in *Dyrachium*, where *Pompey* was. I remember not at this time, to have read of any other example, where the beleagred doe in grosse beate the beleagrers, and get the maistrie and possession of the field; nor that a fallie hath drawne a meere and absolute victorie of a battle into consequence.

The five and thirtieth Chapter.

Of three good Women.

They are not to be had by dozens, as each one knowes, namely in rights and duties of mariage; For, it is a bargaine full of so many thornie circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keepe hir selfe whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to do. The touchstone and perfect triall of a good mariage, respects the time that the societie continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde, loyall and commodious. In our age, they more commonly reserve to enstall their good offices, and set foorth the vehemence of their affections toward their lost husbands: And then seeke they at least to yeeld some testimonie of their good will. Oh late testimonie and out of season, whereby they rather shew, they never love them but when they are dead. Life is full of combustion, the decay of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceale affection toward their children; so they, to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This misterie answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselves; let me enquire of a chamber-maide or of a secretarie, how they were, how they did, and how they have lived together: I can never forget this good saying, *Lactantius marent, quamini dolent, They keepe a howling with most* ostentat-

ostentation, who are lesse, sorrowfull at heart. Their lowring and pouting is hatefull to the living, and vaine to the dead. *We shall easily dispence with them to laugh at vs when we are dead, vpon condition they smile vpon vs while we liue.* Is not this the way to revive a man with spite; that he who hath spitten in my face when I was living, shall come and clawe my feete when I am dead? If there be any honor for a woman to weepe for hir husband, it belongs to hir that hath smiled vpon him when she had him. Such as have wept when they lived, let them laugh when they are dead, as well outwardly as inwardly. Moreover, regarde not those blubred eyes, nor that pittie-mooving voyce; but view that demeanor, that colour and cheerefull good plight of those cheekes, vnder their great vailles; thence it is she speakes plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily growe better and better; a qualitie that cannot lie. This cerimonious countenance looketh not so much backward, as foreward: It is rather a purchase then a payment. In mine infancie, an honest and most faire Ladie (who yet liveth, the widdowe of a Prince) had somewhat more I wot not what in hir attires, then the lawes of widowehood would well permit. To such as blamed hir for it: It is (said she) because I frequent no more new acquaintances, and have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether dissent from our custome, I have here made choise of three women, who have also employed the utmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection, about their husbands deathes. Yet are they examples somewhat different and so vrging that they hardly drawe life into consequence. *Plinie* the yonger, had dwelling neere vnto a house of his in *Italie*, a neighbour wonderfully tormented with certaine vlcers, which much troubled him in his secret parts. His wife perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him she might leasurely search and neerely view the qualitie of his disease, and she would more freely then any other tell him what he was to hope for: Which having obtained, and curiously considered the same, she found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect, was but to leade a long, dolorous, and languishing life; and therefore for his more safetie and soveraigne remedie, perswaded him to kill himselfe. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprise: Thinke not my deare friend (quoth shee) but that the sorrowes and griefes, I see thee feeble, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as thy selfe, and that to be rid of them, I will applie the same remedie to my selfe, which I prescribe to thee. I will accompanie thee in thy cure, as I have done in thy sicknesse: remove all feare, and assure thy selfe, we shall have pleasure in this passage, which shall deliver vs from all torments, for we will happily goe together. That said, and having cheered vp her husbands courage, she determined they should both headlong throw themselves into the sea from out a window of their house, that overlooked the same: and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never to be severed affection to the end, wherewith she had during his life embraced him, shee would also have him die in her armes; and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall, or feare or apprehension her holde-fast might be loosed, she caused herselfe to be fast bound vnto him by the middle: And thus for the ease of her husbands life she was contented to forgoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune: and amide such condition of people, it is not so strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplate goodnesse.

The Author
doth all along
extol such as
kill them selves

— extrema per illos

Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Iustice departing from the earth did take

Of them her leave, through them last passage make.

Virg. Georg. li.
2. 473.

The other two are noble and rich; where examples of vertue are rarely lodged. *Arria* wife vnto *Cecinna Patus*, a Consular man, was mother of another *Arria*, and wife to *Thrasea Patus*; he whose vertue was so highly renowned during the time of *Nero*; and by meanes of this sonne-in-law, grandmother to *Fannia*: For, the resemblance of these mens and womens names and fortunes, hath made diverse to mistake them. This first *Arria*, her husband *Cecinna Patus*, having beene taken prisoner by the Souldiers of *Claudius* the Emperour, after the overthrow of *Scribonianus*, whose faction hee had followed, entreated those who led him prisoner to *Rome*, to take her into their ship; where for the service of her husband, she should be of lesse charge and incommodie to them, then a number of other persons, which they must necessarily have; and that she alone might supply and steade him in his chamber, in his kitchin and all other offices; which they vterly refused, and so hoised sailes, but shee

leaping

leaping into a Fishers boate, that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shoare of *Sclavonia*. Being come to *Rome*, one day, in the Emperours presence, *Iunia* the widdow of *Scribonianus*, by reason of the neerenesse and societie of their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these wordes, thrust her away. What (quoth shee) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou saiest: Thou, in whose lappe *Scribonianus* thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest? and thou yet breathest? These words with divers other signes, made her kinsfolkes and friendes perceiue, that shee purposed to make herselfe away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And *Thrasea* her sonne in law, taking hold of her speeches, beseeching her, that she wold not so vnheededly loose her selfe, he thus bespake her. What? If I were in *Cecinnaes* Fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to doe so? What else? make you a question of it? (answered she) Yes mary would I, had she lived so long and in so good-agreeing sort with thee, as I have done with my husband. These and such-like answeres, encreased the care they had of her, and made them more heedfully to watch, and neerely to looke vnto her. One day, after she had vttered these words to her keepers; you may looke long enough to mee, well may you make me die worse, but you shall never be able to keepe me from dying: and therewith furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire (wherein she sate) with all the strength shee had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next wall; with which blowe having sore hurt her selfe, and falling into a dead swowne, after they had with much adoe brought her to her selfe againe: Did I not tell you (quoth she) that if you kept me from an easie death, I would choose another, how hard and difficult soever? The end of so admirable a vertue was this. Her husband *Petus* wanting the courage to doe himselfe to death, vnto which the Emperors crueltie reserved him; one day, having first employed discourfes and exhortations, besitting the counsell she gave him to make himselfe away, shee tooke a Dagger that her Husband wore, and holding it outright in her hand, for the period of her exhortation: Doe thus *Petus* (saide she) and at that instant, stabbing herselfe mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the Dagger out againe, she reached the same vnto her husband, and so yeilded vp the ghost, vttering this noble, generous and immortal speech, *Pate non dolet*, she had not the leasure to pronounce other than these three wordes, in substance materiall and worthy her selfe, *Holde Petus, it hath done me no hurt.*

*Adwt. lib. 2. epig.
14. l.*

Casto suo gladium cum traderet Arria Peto,

Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis:

Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit.

Sed quod tu facies, id mihi Pate dolet.

Chaste *Arria* when she gave her *Petus* that sharpe sword,
Which from her bowells she had drawne forth bleeding new.
The wound I gave and have, if you will trust my word,
Griev's not, said she, but that which shall be made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne naturall, and of a richer Sense; for both her husbands wound and death, and her owne hurts, shee was so farre from grieving to have beene the counselor and motive of them, that she rejoiced to have performed so haughtie and courageous an act, onely for the behoofe of her deare husband, and at the last gaspe of her life, she onely regarded him; and to remove all feare from him, to follow her in death; which *Petus* beholding, he immediatly wounded himselfe with the same dagger, ashamed (as I suppose) to have had need of so deare an instruction, and precious a teaching. *Pompea Paulina*, an high and noble-borne yong Roman Lady, had wedded *Seneca*, being very aged. *Nero* (his faire disciple) having sent his Satelites or officers toward him, to denounce the decree of his death to him: which in those dayes was done after this maner. When the Roman Emperors had condemned any man of qualitie to death, they were wont to send their officers vnto him, to chuse what death he pleased, and to take it within such and such a time, which according to the temper of their choller, they prescribed vnto him, sometimes shorter, and sometimes longer, giving him that time to dispose of his affaires, which also by reason of some short warning they divers times tooke from him: And if the condemned partie seemed in any sort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, where cutting the veins of his armes & legs, they compelled him to take and swallow poison. But men of honour stayed not that pinch, but to that effect vsed their owne Phisitions or Surgeons.

Surgeons. *Seneca*, with a repofed and vndanted countenance liftend attentively to their charge, and prefently demaunded for paper and inke to make his laft will and testament, which the Captaine refufing him, hee turned toward his friends, and thus befpoke them. Sith (my loving friends) I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at leaft the richeft and beft portion I have, that is, the image of my maners and my life, which I befeech you to keepe in memory; which doing, you may acquire the glory & purchafe the name of truly-fincere, & abfolutely-true friends. And therewithall fometimes appeafing the sharpnes of the forow he faw them endure for his fake, with mild & gentle fpeeches, fometimes raifing his voyce to chide them; Where are (faid he) thofe memorable precepts of Philofophy? What is becom of thofe provifions, which for fo many yeares together we have laid vp, againft the brunts, and accidents of Fortune? Was *Neroes* innated cruelty vnknewen vnto vs? What might we expect or hope-for at his hands, who hath mured his Mother, & massacred his Brother, but that he would alfo do his Tutor & Governour to death, that hath foftred and brought him vp? Having vttered thefe words to all the by-ftanders, he turned him to his wife, as ſhe was ready to fincke downe, and with the burthen of hir griefe to faint in heart and ftrengh; hee colled and embraced her about the necke, and heartily entreated hir, for the love of him, fomwhat more patiently to beare this accident; and that his houre was come, wherein he muſt ſhew no longer by difcourſe and diſputation, but in earneſt effect, declare the fruite he had reaped by his ſtudie; and that vndoubtedly he embraced death, not onely without griefe, but with exceeding joy; Wherefore my deere-deere heart, doe not diſhonour it by thy teares, leſt thou ſeeme to love thy ſelfe more than my reputation. Affwage thy ſorrowes, and comfort thy ſelfe in the knowledge thou haſt had of mee and of my actions; leading the reſt of thy life by the honeſt occupations to which thou art addicted. To whom *Paulina*, having fomwhat rouzed hir drooping ſpirites, and by a thrice-noble affection awakened the magnanimitie of her high-ſetled courage, answered thus: No *Seneca*, thinke not that in this neceſſitie I will leave you without my companie.

I would not have you imagin that the vertuous examples of your life have not alſo taught me to die: And when ſhall I be able to doe or better, or more honeſtly, or more pleaſing me, then with your ſelfe? And be reſolved I will goe with you, and be partaker of your fortune. *Seneca* taking ſo generous a reſolve, and glorious a determination of his wife in good part, and to free himſelfe from the feare he had to leave her after his death, to his enemies mercie and crueltie: Oh my deare *Paulina*! I had (quoth hee) perſwaded thee what I thought was convenient, to leade thy life more happily, and dooſt thou then rather chooſe the honour of a glorious death? Affuredly I will not envy thee: Be the conſtancie and reſolution answerable to our common end; but be the beautie and glory greater on thy ſide. That ſaide, the veines of both their armes were cut, to the end they might bleede to death; but becauſe *Senecaes* were ſomwhat ſhrunken vp through age and abſtinence, and his bloud could have no ſpeedy courſe, he commaunded the veines of his thighes to be launced: And fearing leſt the torments he felt, might in ſome ſort entender his wifes heart; as alſo to deliver himſelfe from the affliction, which greatly yearned him to ſee her in ſo pitteous plight: after he had moſt lovingly taken leave of her, he beſought her to be pleaſed he might be carried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all thoſe incifions being vnable to make him die, he willed *Statius Annuus* his Phiſition to give him ſome poyſoned potion, which wrought but ſmall effect in him; for through the weakenefſe and colde- nefſe of his members, it could not come vnto his heart. And therefore they cauſed a warme bath to be prepared, wherein they layde him; then perceiving his end to approach, ſo long as he had breath, he continued his excellent diſcourſes, concerning the ſubject of the eſtate, wherein he found himſelfe, which his Secretaries, ſo long as they could heare his voyce, collected very diligently; whoſe laſt words continued long time after in high eſteeme and honour amongſt the better ſort of men, as Oracles; but they were afterward loſt, and great pittie it is they never came vnto our handes. But when he once beganne to fee the laſt pangs of death, taking ſome of the water, wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith waſhed his head, ſaying, I vow this water vnto *Jupiter* the Deliverer. *Nero* being advertized of all this, fearing leſt *Paulinaes* death (who was one of the beſt allied Ladies in *Rome*, and to whome he bare no particular grudge) might cauſe him ſome reproach, ſent in all poſte-
haſte

haste to have her incisions closed vp againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life; which her seruantes, vnwitting to her, performed, she being more than halfe dead and voyde of any sence. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived, it was very honourable, and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew and wanne colour of her face, how much of her life she had wasted by her incisions. Loe heere my three true Stories, which in my conceite, are as pleasant and as tragicall, as any wee devise at our pleasures, to please the vulgare sort withall: and I wonder, that those who invent so many fabulous tales, do not rather make choise of infinite excellent, and quaint Stories, that are found in Books, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write them, and might doubtlesse proove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader. And whosoever would vndertake to frame a compleate and well-joynted bodie of them, neede neyther employ nor adde any thing of his owne vnto it, except the ligaments, as the folding of an other mettall, and by this meanes might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them, according as the beauty and lustre of the worke should require: And very neere, as *Ouid* hath sowne and contrived his *Metamorphosis*, with that strange number of diuers fables. In the last couple, this is also worthy consideration, that *Paulina* offreth willingly to leave hir life for hir husbands sake, & that hir husband had also other times quit death for the love of hir. There is no great counterpoize in this exchange for vs: but according to his Stoicke humor, I suppose hee perswaded himselfe to have done as much for hir in prolonging his life for hir avails, as if he had died for hir. In one of his letters, he writeth to *Lucilius*, after he hath given him to vnderstand, how an ague having surpris'd him in *Rome*, contrary to his wifes opinion, who would need have stayed him, he sodainely tooke his Coach, to goe vnto a house of his into the Country; and how he told hir that the ague he had, was no bodily fever, but of the place: and followeth thus: *At last she let me goe, earnestly recommending my health vnto me. Now I who knowe, how her life lodgeth in mine, beginne to provide for my selfe, that consequently I may provide for hir: The priuiledge my age hath bestowed on me, in making me more constant, and more resolute in many things, I loose it, when-euer I call to minde, that in this aged corps there harboureth a yong woman, to whome I bring some profite. Since I cannot induce her to love me more couragiously, she induceth me to love my selfe more curiously; for something must be lent to honest affections, and sometimes, although occasions vrge vs to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must be held fast with ones teeth, since the lawe to live in honest men, is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not his wife or a friend so much, as that hee will not lengthen his life for them, and will obstinately die, that man is over-nice, and too effeminate: The soule must command that vnto her selfe, when the utilitie of our friends requireth it: we must sometimes lend our selves vnto our friends, and when we would die for vs, we ought for their sakes to interrupt our selves. It is a testimony of high courage, to returne to life for the respect of others, as diuerse notable men have done: and to preserve age is a parte of singular integritie (the chiefe commoditie whereof, is the carelesnesse of her continuance, and a more couragious and disdainefull vse of life) if a man perceiue such an office to be pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend. And who dooth it, receiveth thereby a gratefull meede and pleasing recompence: for, what can be sweeter, than to be deere vnto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more deere vnto himselfe? So my *Paulina*, hath not onely charged me with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for me to consider, how resolutely I might die, but I have also considered, how irresolutely shee might endure it. I have enforced my selfe to live: And to live is sometimes magnanimitie: Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellent as is his vsage.*

The sixe and thirtieth Chapter. 7

Of the worthiest and most excellent men.
Homer Alexander Epaminondas: All Grecians

IF a man should demand of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge, I would make choise of, me seemeth, I finde three, who have beene excellent above all others. The one is, *Homer*, not that *Aristotle* or *Varro*, (for example sake) were not peradventure

venture as wise and as sufficient as he : Nor that *Virgil*, (and possibly in his owne arte) be not comparable vnto him. I leave that to their judgements that know them both. I who know but one of them, according to my skill may onely say this, that I cannot be perswaded, the Muses themselves did ever goe beyond the Roman.

Tale facit carmen docta testudine, quale

Cynibius impositis temperat articulis.

He on his learned Lute such verse doth play,

As *Phoebus* should thereto his fingers lay.

In which judgement, this must notwithstanding not be forgotten, that *Virgil* doth especially derive his sufficiency from *Homer*, and hee is his guide and Schoolemaister; and that but one only glance or sentence of the *Illiad*, hath given both bodie and matter to that great and divine Poem of the *Aeneidos*. My meaning is not to accompt so : I entermix divers other circumstances, which yeeld this man most admirable vnto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truely I am often amazed, that he who hath produced, and by his authoritie brought so manie Deities in credit with the World, hath not obtained to be reputed a God himselfe. Being blind and indigent; having lived before ever the Sciences were redacted into strict rules and certaine observations, hee had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish Pollicies or Common-wealths, to manage warres, and to write either of Religion or Philosophie, in what Sect soever or of all Artes, have made vse of him, as of an absolutely-perfect Maister in the knowledge of all things; and of his Bookes, as of a Seminarie, a Spring-garden or Store-house of all kinds of sufficiency and learning.

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,

Plenus ac melius Chrysippo ac Crantore dicit.

What is faire, What is foule, What profit may, What not,

Better than *Crantor* or *Chrysippus*, *Homer* wrot.

And as another saith :

— à quo cœu fonte perrenni

Vatum Pierijs labra rigantur aquis.

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,

With Muses liquor Poets lippes are bath'd to sing.

And another :

Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum vnus Homerus

Astra potius.

Muses companions adde to these, of all

One onely *Homer* hath in heav'n his stall.

And another :

— cuiusque ex ore profuso

Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,

Annemque in tennes ausa est deducere rivos:

Vnius fecunda bonis.

From whose large mouth for verse all that since live

Drew water, and grew bolder to derive,

Into thinne shallow rivers his deepe floods:

Richly Luxuriant in one mans goods.

It is against natures course, that he hath made the most excellent production, that may be; for, the ordinarie birth of things, is imperfect: They are augmented by encrease, and corroborated by growth. He hath reduced the infancie of Poetic, and divers other Sciences to beripe, perfect and compleate. By which reason he may be termed the first and last of Poets, following the noble testimony, antiquitie hath left vs of him, that having had no man before him, whome he might immitate, so hath he had none after him, could immitate him. His wordes (according to *Aristotle*) are the onely words that have motion and action: they are the onely substantiall Wordes. *Alexander* the Great, having lighted vpon a rich casket amongst *Darius* his spoiles, appoynted the same to be safely kept for himselfe, to keepe his *Homer* in : saying, he was the best adviser, and faithfullest counselor he had in his military affaires. By the same reason saide *Cleomenes*, sonne to *Anaxandrides*, that he was the Lacedemonian

Propert. li. 2. el.

34. 79.

Hor. li. epist. 2 3

Ovid. ad m. l. 3.

el. 8. 25.

Lucr. l. 3. 1081.

Manil. astr. l. 2.

8.

demonians Poet; for he was an excellent good teacher or Maister of Warre-like discipline. This singular praise and particular commendation hath also bin given him by *Plutarke*, where he saith, that he is the onely Author in the World, who yet never distasted Reader, or glutted man; ever shewing himselfe other, and different to the Readers; and ever flourishing with a new grace. That *Wagge Alcibiades*, demanding one of *Homer's* bookes of one who professed letters, because he had it not, gave him a Whirrit on the eare; as if a man should finde one of our Priests, without a Breviarye. *Zenophanes* one day made his moane to *Hieron* the Tyrant of *Siracusa*, that he was so poore as he had not wherewithall to finde twoo servants: How commeth that to passe? (answered *Hieron*) *Homer*, who was much poorer than thou art, dead as he is, findeth more then tenne thousand. What left *Panetius* vnsaide, when he named *Plato* the *Homer* of Philosophers? Besides, what glory may be compared to his? There is nothing liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes; nothing so knowne and received as *Troy*, as *Hellen* and her Warres, which paradvantage never were. Our Children are yet called by the names hee invented three thousand yeares since and more. Who knoweth not *Hector*? Who hath not heard of *Achilles*? Not onely some particular races, but most Nations seeke to derive themselves from his inventions. *Machomet*, second of that name, Emperour of Turkes, writing to Pope *Pius* the second: I wonder (saith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common off-spring, from the *Troyans*; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of *Hector* vpon the *Gracians*, whom they favour against mee. Is it not a woorthy Comœdie, whereof Kings, Common-wealths, Principalities and Emperours, have for many ages together played their parts, & to which this great Vniverse serveth as a Theatre: seven cities of *Greece* strived amongst themselves about the place of his birth. So much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

A. Gel. nost.
Att. l. 3. c. 11.

Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ,
Rhodes, Salamis, Colophon, Chios, Argos, Smyrna, with Athens.

2
Alexander

The other is *Alexander* the great. For, who shall consider his age, wherein hee beganne his enterprises; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a desseigne vpon: the authoritie he attained vnto in his infancie, amongst the greatest Commaunders, and most experienced Captaines in the world, by whom he was followed: the extraordinarie favour, wherewith fortune embraced him, and seconded so many of his haughtie-dangerous exploits, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

Lucan. l. 1. 148.

Impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret gaudensq; viam fecisse ruina.
While he shot at the high'st, all that might stay
He for'st, and joyde with ruine to make way.

That eminent greatnesse, to have at the age of thirtie yeares passed victorious through all the habitable earth, and but with halfe the life of a man to have attained the vtmost endeavour of humane nature; so that you cannot imagine his continuance lawfull, and the lasting of his increase in fortune, and progresse in vertue even vnto a iust terme of age, but you must suppose something above man, to have caused so many Royal branches to issue from out the loines of his Souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared betweene foure successors, simple Captaines of his Armie, whose succeeders, have so long time since continued, and descendents maintained that large possession. So infinite, rare and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberalitie, integritie in words, love toward his, and humanitie toward the conquered. For in truth, his maners seeme to admit no iust cause of reproach: in deede some of his particular, rare and extraordinary actions, may in some sort be taxed. For it is impossible to conduct so great, and direct so violent motions with the strict rules of justice. Such men ought to be judged in grosse, by the mistis end of their actions. The ruine of *Thebes*; the murder of *Menander*, and of *Ephesiions* Phisitian; the massacre of so many Persian prisoners at once: of a troupe of Indian Souldiers, not without some prejudice vnto his word and promise: and of the *Cossians* and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For, concerning *Clitus*, the fault was expiated beyond it's merite; and that action, as much as any other, witnesseth the integritie and cheerefulness of his complexion, and that it was a complexion in it selfe excellently formed to goodnesse; And it was wittily saide of one, that he had vertues by nature, and vices by accident. Concerning

ning the point, that he was somewhat to lavish a boaster, and over impatient to heare himselfe ill-spoken-of, or detracted; and touching those cratches, those armes, and those bits, which he caused to be scattered in *India*, respecting his age and the prosperitie of his fortune, they are in my conceit pardonable in him. He that shall also consider his many military vertues, as diligence, foresight, patience, discipline, policie, magnanimitie, resolution and good fortune; wherein, if *Haniballs* authoritie had not taught it vs, he hath beene the first and chiefe of men: the rare beauties, matchlesse features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison, and wonder-breeding; his carriage, demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so yong, so vermeill, and heart-enflaming:

*Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes.
Extulit os sacrum caelo, tenebrasque reseruit.*

*Virg. Aen. l. 3.
589.*

As when the day-starre washt in Ocean-streames,
Which *Venus* most of all the starres esteemes,
Shewes sacred light, shakes darkenesse off with beames.

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacitie; the continuance and greatnesse of his glorie, vnspotted, vntainted, pure and free from all blame or envie: insomuch as long after his death, it was religiously believed of many, that his jewels or any thing he had worne, boaded and presaged them good lucke, that wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his gestes and actions, then any other historians, of what qualitie soever, have registred the gests, or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: And that even at this day, the Mahometists, who contemne all other histories, by speciall priviledge, allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which promises duely considered together, he shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before *Cesar* himselfe, who alone might have made me doubt of my choise. And it must needs be granted, that in his exploits there was more of his owne; but more of fortunes in *Alexanders* achievements. They have both had many things mutually alike, and *Cesar* happily some greater. They were two thunder bolts, two fire-brands, or two swift torrents, able sundry ways to over-runne, and turne the world topsitury.

*Et velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
Arentem in silvam, & virgulta sonantia lauro:
Aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, & in aquora currunt,
Quisque suum populatus iter.*

Lib. 12. 321.

As when on divers sides fire is applied
To crackling bay-shrubs, or to woods Sunne dried,
Or as when foaming streames from mountaines hie,
With downefall swift resound, and to sea flie;
Each-one doth havocke-out his way thereby.

But grant *Cesars* ambition were more moderate, it is so vnhappy, in that it met with this vile subject of the subversion of his countrey, and vniversall empairing of the world; that all parts imparcially collected and put together in the ballance, I must necessarily bend to *Alexanders* side. The third, and in my judgement, most excellent man, is *Epaminondas*. Of glorie he hath not so much as some, and is farre short of diverse (which well considered is no substantiall part of the thing) of resolution and true valour, not of that which is set-on by ambition, but of that, which wisdom and reason may settle in a well-disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. He hath in mine opinion, made as great triall of his vertues, as ever did *Alexander* or *Cesar*: for although his exploits of warre be not so frequent, and so high-raised, yet being thoroughly considered, they are as weightie, as resolute, as constant, yea and as authentically a testimonie of hardines and militarie sufficiencie, as any mans else. The *Græcians*, without any contradiction afforded him the honour, to entitle him the chiefe and first man among themselves: and to be the first and chiefe man of *Greece*, is without all question to be the chiefe and first man of the world. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine amongst vs, that never was man who knew so much, nor never man that spake lesse then he. For he was by Sect a *Pithagorian*; and what he spake, no man ever spake better: An excellent and most perswasive Orator was he.

Epaminondas

3

And concerning his manners and conscience therein hee farre outwent all that ever medled with managing affaires: For in this one part, which ought especially to be noted, and which alone declareth what we are, and which onely I counterpoise to all others together, he giveth place to, no Philosopher; no not to *Socrates* himselfe. In whom innocencie is a qualitie, proper, chiefe, constant, vniforme and incorruptible. In comparison of which, it seemeth in *Alexander* subalternall, vncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquitie judged that precisely to sift out, and curiously to prie into all other famous Captaines, there is in every one severally some speciall qualitie, which makes him renowned and famous. In this man alone, it is a vertue and sufficiencie, every where compleate and alike; which in all offices of humane life, leaveth nothing more to be wished-for. Be it in publike or private; in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations; be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no form or fortune of man, that I admire or regard, with so much honor, with so much love. True it is, I finde his obstinacie in povertie, somewhat scrupulous; and so have his best friends pourtrayed-it. And this onely action (high notwithstanding and very worthy admiration) I finde or deeme somewhat sharpe; so as I would nor wish, nor desire the imitation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. *Scipio Aemilianus* alone (would any charge him with as fierce, and noblie-minded an end, and with as deepe and vniversal knowledge of Sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the ballance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nicke, to deprive our eyes, of the chiefe pair of lives, directly the noblest, that were in *Plutarke*, of these two truly-worthy personages: by the vniversal consent of the world, the one chiefe of Græcians, the other principall of Romanes. What a matter, what a workeman! For a man that was no Saint, but as we say, a gallant-honest man, of civill maners and common customes; of a temperate haughtinesse; the richest life I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with the richest qualities, and most to be desired parts (all things impartially considered) in my humour, is that of *Alcibiades*. But touching *Epaminondas*, for a patterne of excessive goodnesse, I will here insert certaine of his opinions. The sweetest contentment he had in all his life, he witnesseth to have beene, the pleasure he gave his father and mother, of his victorie vpon *Leutres*: he staketh much, in preferring their pleasure, before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. Hee thought it unlawfull, yea were it to recover the libertie of his country, for any one to kill a man, except he knew some iust cause. And therefore was he so backward in the enterprise of *Pelopidas* his companion, for the delivrance of *Thebes*. He was also of opinion, that in a battle a man should avoide to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part; and if he met him, to spare him. And his humanitie or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the *Boeotians*, forso much as after he had miraculously forced the *Lacedemonians* to open him a passage, which at the entrance of *Morea* neere *Corinth*, they had vnderaken to make-good, he was contented, without further pursuing them in furie, to have marched over their bellies; was the cause he was deposed of his office of Captaine Generall. Most honourably for such a cause; and for the shame it was to them, soone after to be forced by necessitie to advance him to his first place: and to acknowledge how their glorie, and confesse that their safetie did onely depend on him: victory following him as his shadow, whither soever hee went: and as the prosperitie of his cuntry was borne by and with him, so it died with and by him.

The seaven and thirtieth Chapter

Of the resemblance betweene children and fathers. 7

THIS hudling vp of so much trash, or packing off so many severall pieces, is doone so strangely, as I never lay hands on it, but when an over lazie idlenesse vrgeth me; and no where, but in mine owne house. So hath it beene compact at sundry pauses, and contrived at severall intervalls, as occasions have sometimes for many months together, here and there

*His own violent
paines by ye Ston Collick
Follacies in y^e Arte
of Medicines: but a
little agreeable to y^e
title*

there in other places, detained me. Besides, I never correct my first imaginations by the second; it may happen, I now and then alter some word, rather to diversifie, then take any thing away. My purpose is, to represent the progresse of my humours, that every part be seene or member distinguished, as it was produced. I would to God I had begunne sooner, and knew the tracke of my changes, and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me, supposed, he had gotten a rich boatie, when he stole some parts, which he best liked. But one thing comforts me, that he shall gaine no more, then I lost by them. I am growne elder by seaven or eight yeares since I beganne them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberalitie of yeares acquainted my selfe with the stone-chollike. Their commerce and long conversation, is not easily past-over without some such-like fruite. I would be glad, that of many other presents, they have ever in store, to bestow vpon such as waite vpon them long, they had made choise of some one, that had beene more acceptable vnto me: for they could never possesse me with any, that, even from my infancie, I hated more. Of all accidents incident to age, it was, that I feared most. My selfe have many times thought, I went on too farre; and that to hold out so long a journey, I must of necessitie, in the end, stumble vpon some such vnpleasing chance. I perceived plainly, and protested sufficiently, it was high time to depart, and that according to the rule of skillfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be seared to the quicke, and cut to the sound flesh. *That nature is wont to make him pay untollerable v-
surie, who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time.* I was so farre from being readie to make lawfull tender of it, that in eightheene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yrkesome and vnpleasing plight, I have already learn't to apply my selfe vnto it; and am now entering into covenant with this chollicall kind of life; for therein I finde matter, wherewith to comfort me, and to hope better. *So much are men enured in their miserable estate, that no condition is so poore, but they will accept; so they may continue in the same.* Heare *Mæcenas*.

Debilem facito manu,

Debilem pede, coxa,

Lubricos quate dentes,

Vita dum superest, bene est.

Make me be weake of hand;

Scarfe on my legges to stand,

Shake my loose teeth with paine,

'Tis well, so life remaine.

Sen. epist. 101. f

And *Tamburlane* cloked the fantastickall crueltie, he exercised vpon Lazars or Leprousemen, with a foolish kinde of humanitie, putting all he could finde or heare-of, to death; (as he saide,) to ridde them from so painefull and miserable a life, as they lived. For, there was none so wretched amongst them, that would not rather have bene three times a Leaper, than not to be at all. And *Antisthenes* the Stoicke, being very sicke, and crying out: *Oh who shall delver me from my tormenting evils?* *Diogenes*, who was come to visite him, foorthwith presenting him a knife; Mary this, said he, and that very speedily, if thou please: I meane not of my life, replied hee, but of my sicknesse. The sufferances which simply touch vs in minde, doe much lesse afflict me, then most men: Partly by judgement; For the Worlde deemeth diuers things horrible, or avoydable with the losse of life, which to me are in a manner indifferent: Partly, by a stupide and insensible complexion, I have in accidents, that hitte me not point-blanke: Which complexion I esteeme one of the better partes of my naturall condition. But the truely-essentiall and corporall sufferances, those I taste very sensibly: Yet is it, having othertimes fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weake sight, and by the enjoying of this long health and happy rest, which God hath lent me, the better part of my age, somewhat empai red. I had by imagination conceived them so intolerable, that in good truth, I was more afraide, than since I have found hurt in them: Wherevpon, I daily augment this opinion: That most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe more troubles than steede the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortall, the most remedlesse and the most violent. I have already had triall of five or sixe long and painefull fittes of it: Neverthelesse, eyther I flatter my selfe, or in this plight there is yet something, that would faine keep life and soule together, namely in him, whose minde is free from feare of death, and from the threats,

conclusions and consequences, which phisicke is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe, hath not so sharpe a smarting, or so pricking a sharpenesse, that a settled man should enter into rage or fall into despaire. This commoditie at leaste, I have by the chollicke, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was, altogether to reconcile, and thorowly to acquaint my selfe with death, she shall atchieve; she shall accomplish: for, by how much more she shall importune and vrge me, by so much lesse shall death be fearefull vnto mee. I had already gotten, not to be beholding to life, but onely in regard of life, and for lives sake. She shall also vntie this intelligence, and loose this combination. And God graunt, if in the end her sharpenesse shall happen to surmount my strength, shee cast mee not into the other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse badde, that is, to love and desire to die.

Mart. l. 10. c.
p. 47. vlt.

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

Nor feare thy latest doome,

Nor wish it ere it come.

It is allowable
to complain in
the Extremitie
of Pain.

They are two passions to be feared; but one hath her remedy neerer than the other. Otherwise, I have ever found that precept ceremonious, which so precizely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a settled resolution, and disdainfull carriage, vpon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth liveliness and regardeth effects, ammuze it selfe about these externall apparances? Let her leave this care to Mimikes, to Histrions, and to Rhetoricke Maisters, who make so great account of our gestures. Let her hardly remit this vocall lithernesse vnto evil, if it be neyther cordiall, nor stomachall. And let her lend her voluntary plaints to the kinde of sighes, sobbes, palpitations and palenesse, which nature hath exempted from our puissance. Alwayes provided, the courage be without feare, and wordes sance dispaire; let her be so contented. *What matter is it if we bend our armes, so we writhe not our thoughts?* She frameth vs for our selves, not for others: to be, not to seeme. Let her applie her selfe to governe our vnderstanding, which she hath vnder taken to instruct. Let her in the pangs or fittes of the chollicke, still maintaine the soule capable to acknowledge hir selfe and follow her accustomed course; resisting sorrow and enduring griefe, and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feete: Mooved and chafed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrowen: Capable of ientertainment and other occupations, vnto a certaine limmite. In so extreame accidents, it is crueltie to require so composed a warde at our hands. *If we have a good game, it skills not, though wee have an ill countenance.* If the body be any whit eased by complaining, let him doe it: If stirring or agitation please him, let him turne, rowle and tosse himselfe as long as he list: If with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, he thinke his griefe any thing alayed or vented (as some Phisitians affirme, it somewhat easeth women great with childe, and is a meane of easie or speedie delivery) feare he not to doe it; or if he may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let vs not commaund our voyce to depart, but if she will, let vs not hinder it. *Epicurus* doth not only pardon his wife man to crie-out, when hee is grieved or vexed, but perswadeth him to it: *Pugiles etiam quum feriant, in iactandis castibus ingemiscunt, quia profunda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior.* Men when they fight with sand-baggies or such heavy Weapons, in fetching their blowe and driving it, mis give a groane withall, because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayed, and the stroke cometh with more vehemence. We are vexed and troubled enough with the evil, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I say to excuse those, who are ordinarily scene to rage in the fittes and storme in the assaults of this sicknesse: for, as for me, I have hitherto passd it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without braying and exclaiming. And yet I trouble not my selfe, to maintaine this exterior decency; for, I make small reckoning of such an advantage; In that I lend my sicknesse what it requireth: But either my paine is not so excessive, or I leave it with more constancy than the vulgare sorte. Indeepe I must confesse, when the sharpe fittes or throwes assaile me, I complaine, and vex my self, but yet I never fall into dispaire, as that fellow:

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 2

Cic. ibid.

Eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus

Resonando multum flebiles voces refert.

With howling, groaning, and complaint of fates,

Most lamentable cries he imitates.

I feele

I feele my selfe in the greateſt heate of my ſickenesse; and I ever found my selfe capable and in tune, to speake, to thinke and to answer, as soundly as at any other time, but not so constantly; because my paine doeth much trouble and distract me. When I am thought to be at the lowest, and that such as are about me spare me, I often make a triall of my forces, and propose them such discourſes as are furthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for me, and me thinks I can doe all things vpon a sodaine fitte, so it continue not long. Oh why have not I the gift of that dreamer; mentioned by *Cicero*, who, dreaming, that hee was closely embracing a yong wench; found himselfe ridde of the stone in his sheets! Mine doe strangely dis-wench me. In the entervales or respites of this outrageous paine, when as my Vreters (through which the Urine passeth from the reines to the bladder) languish without gnawing me, I sodainly returne into my ordinarie forme: forsomuch as my mind taketh no other allarume, but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe vnto the care I have had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourſe for such accidents:

—laborum

Nulla mihi nova nunc facies inopinâque surgit,

Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum antè peregi.

No new or vnexpected forme is cast

Of travels in my brest: all I forecast,

In my minde with my selfe I all forepast.

Virg. Æn. l. 6.

113.

I am handled somewhat roughly for a Prentise, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant false from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, vnto the most dolorous, yrkesome and painefull, that can possibly be imagined: For, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, it's beginnings or approaches are in me sharper or more difficult, than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often assaile me, that in a manner I have no more feeling of perfect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirite so seated, as if I can but joyne constancie vnto it, I find my selfe to be in a much better state of life, than a thousand others, who have neither agew nor other infirmities, but such as for want of discourſe they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of subtile humilitie, which proceedeth of presumption: As this: That in many things we acknowledge our ignorance, and are so courteous to avowe, that in Natures workes, there are some qualities and conditions, which to vs are imperceptible, and whereof our sufficiencie cannot discover the meanes, nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscientious declaration, we hope to gaine, that we shall also be beleaved in those, we shall say to vnderstand. Wee neede not goe to cull out myracles, and chuse strange difficulties: me seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see, there are such incomprehensible rarities, as they exceede all difficultie of myracles. What monster is it, that this teare or drop of seede, whereof we are ingendred brings with it; and in it the impressions, not only of the corporall forme, but even of the very thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where dooth this droppe of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances, of so rash, and vnruly a progresse, that the childe's childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, and the nephew to his vnckle? In the family of *Lepidus* the Roman, there have bene three, not successively, but by intervalles, that were borne with one same eye covered with a cartilage or gristle. There was a race in *Thebes*, which from their mothers wombe, bare the forme of a burre, or yron of a launce; and such as had it not, were judged as mis-begotten and deemed vnlawfull. *Aristotle* reporteth of a certaine Nation, with whome all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers, only by their resemblances. It may be supposed, that I am indebted to my father for this stonie qualitie; for he died exceedingly tormented with a great stone in his bladder. He never felt himselfe troubled with the disease, but at the age of fixtie seaven yeares: before which time hee had never felt any likelihoode or motion of it, nor in his reines, nor in his sides, nor elsewhere: and vntill then had lived in very prosperous health, and little subject to infirmities, and continued seven yeares and more with that disease, training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sicknesse, and during the course of his healthy state, his third child. Where was al this while the propension or inclination to this defect, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composed me, how could it for his part, beare so great an impression of it? And how so

Hee hated
phisicke

N

closely covered, that fortie yeares after, I have begunne to have a feeling of it? And hitherto alone, among so many brethren and sisters, and all of one mother. He that shall resolve me of this progresse, I will believe him as many other miracles as he shall please to tell mee: alwayes provided (as commonly they doe) hee goe not about to pay me, with a doctrine much more difficult and fantastick, then is the thing it selfe (let Phisitions somewhat excuse my libertie: for by the same infusion and fatall insinuation, I have received the hate and contempt of their doctrine.) The Antipathie, which is betweene me and their arte, is to me hereditarie. My father lived three score and foureteene yeares: My grandfather three score and nine; my great grandfather very neere foure score, and never tasted or tooke any kinde of Phisicke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary vse amongst them, was deemed a drug. *Phisicke is grounded upon experience and examples*: So is mine opinion. Is not this a manifest kinde of experience and very advantageous? I know not whether in all their registers, they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought vp, and deceased, vnder one rooffe, in one same chimnie, that by their owne direction and regiment have lived so long. Wherein they must needs grant me, that if it be not reason, at least it is Fortune that is on my side. Whereas among Phisitions fortune is of more consequence, then reason. Lowe-brought, and weake as I am now, let them not take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me: for that were *Supercherie*. And to say truth, I have by my familiar examples gained enough vpon them although they would take hold and stay there. Humane things have not so much constancie: It is now two hundred yeares; wanting but eighteene, that this Essay continueth with vs: For, the first was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and two. Some reason there is why this experience should now beginne to faile vs. Let them not vpbraide me with those infirmities, which now have seized vpon me: Is it not sufficient to have lived seaven and fortie yeares in good and perefte health for my part? Suppose it be the end of my carriere, yet it is of the longest. Mine ancessors by some secret instinct and naturall inclination have ever loathed all maner of Phisicke: for the very sight of drugs made my father to abhorre them. The Lord of *Gaviac*, mine vncle by the fathers side, a man of the church, sickish even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold out vntill sixtie seaven yeares; falling once into a dangerous and vehement continuall feaver, it was by the Phisitions concluded, that vnlesse he would aide himselfe (for they often terme that aide, which indeede is impeachment) hee was but a dead man. The good soule, afrighted as he was, at that horrible sentence, answered thus, why then I am a dead man: But shortly after God made their prognostications to proove vaine. The Lord of *Bussagnet* last of the brethren (for they were foure) and by much the last; he alone submitted himselfe to that arte, as I imagine by reason of the frequency he had of in other Sciences; for he was a Counsellor in the Court Parliament, which prospered so ill with him, that though he were in shew of a very strong complexion, hee died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint *Michaell*. It may well be, I have received of them that naturall dispathie vnto Phisicke. Yet if there had beene no other consideration but this, I would have endeoured to force it. For, all these conditions, which without reason are borne in vs, are vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man must fight withall. It may be I had such a propension, but I have settled and strengthened the same by discourses, which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For, I have also the consideration to refuse Phisicke by reason of the sharpenesse of it's taste. It would not easily agree with my humour, who thinke *health worthie to be purchased, with the price of all cauthers and incisions, how painefull soever*. And following *Epicurus*, mee seemeth that *all maner of voluptuousnesse should be avoided, if greater griefes follow them*: And griefes to be sought after, that have greater voluptuousnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewell, and the onely thing, that in pursuite of it deserveth, a man should not onely employ, time, labour, sweate and goods, but also life to get it; forasmuch as without it, life becommeth injurious vnto vs. Voluptuousnesse, Science and vertue, without it tarnish and vanish away. And to the most constant and exact discourses, that Philosophie will imprint in our mindes to the contrarie, wee neede not oppose any thing against it but the image of *Plato*, being visited with the falling sickenesse, or an Apoplexie; and in this presupposition challenge him to call the richest faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring vs vnto health, can not be esteemed of mee either sharpe or deare.

deare. But I have some other apparances, which strangely make me to distrust all this ware. I do not say but there may be some arte of it: It is certaine, that amongst so many of Natures workes, there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I knowe there are some simples, which in operation are moist, and some drie: My selfe have found by experience, that radish-rootes are windie, and senie-leaves breede loosenesse in the belly. I have the knowledge of diverse such experiments, as I knowe that Mutton nourisheth, and Wine warmeth me. And Solon was wont to say, *that eating was as all other Drugges are, a medicine against the disease of hunger.* I disallow not the vse we drawe from the world, nor doubt I of Natures power and fruitfulness, and of her application to our neede. I see, that the Pickrell-fish, and the Swallowes live well by her lawes. I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our Science: in favour of which we have forsaken Nature, and abandoned her rules; wherein we can neither observe limitation, nor keepe moderation. As wee terme Iustice, the composition of the first lawes that come vnto our handes, and their practise and dispensation very often most wicked and vnconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemne it, intend neverthelesse to wrong this noble vertue; but onely to condemne the abuse and profanation of so sacred a title: So likewise in Physicke, I knowe her glorious name, her proposition, and her promise, so profitable to mankind: but what it desaigneth amongst vs, I neither honour nor respect. First, experience makes me feare it, for of all I knowe, *I see no kinde of men so soone sicke, nor so late cured, as those who are under the iurisdiction of Physicke.* Their very health is distempered and corrupted by the constraint of their prescriptions. Physitions are not contented to have the government over Sicknesse, but they make Health to be sicke, lest a man should at any time escape their authoritie. Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future dangerous sicknesse? I have often bene sicke, and without any their help, I have found my sicknesses (though I never medled with the bitterness of their prescriptions) as easie to be tolerated, and as short, as any mans else, and yet I have felt diverse. My health is free and sound, without any rules or discipline, except of mine owne custome and pleasure. I find no difference in places, all are alike to me to dwell in, for being sicke, I neede no other commodities, then those I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without Phisition, without Apothecary, or without phisicall help; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde, as they are with their disease. What? *doth the best Phisition of them all make vs perceive any happinesse or continuance in his life, as may witnesse some manifest effect of his skill and learning?* There is no Nation, but hath continued many ages without phylicke: yea the first ages, which is as much to say, the best and most happy: and the tenth part of the world hath as yet no vse of it. Infinite Nations knowe it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer then we doe: yea and amongst vs, the common sort live happily without it. The Romanes had bene fixe hundred yeares before ever they received it: by meanes or interposition of Cato the Censor, they banisht it their Cittie, who declared how easly man might live without it, having lived himselfe foure score and five yeers, and his wife vntill she was extreamly old, not without Phisicke, but indeede without any Phisition: For, *whatsoever is by experience found healthie for our body and health, may be termed physicke.* He entertained (as Plutarke saith) his familie in health, by the vse (as farre as I remember) of Hares milke: As the Arcadians (saith Plinie) cure all malladies with Cowes milke. And the Lybians (saith Herodotus) doe generally enjoy a perfect health, by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeeres olde, to cauterize and seare the veines of their head and temple, whereby they make a way for all rheumes and defluction. And the countrie-people where I dwell, vse nothing against all diseases, but some of the strongest wine they can get, with store of saffron and spice in it; and all with one like fortune. And to say true, of all this diversitie of rules, and confusion of prescriptions, what other end or effect workes it, but to evacuate the belly? which a thousand home-simples will doe as well. And I knowe not whether it be as profitable (as they say) and whether our nature require the residence of her excrements, vntill a certaine measure, as wine doth his lees for his preservation. You see often men very healthy, by some strange accidents to fall into violent vomites, and fluxes, and voyd great store of excrements, without any praecedent neede, or succeeding benefite: yea with some empaireing and prejudice. I learn't of Plato not long since, that of three motions, which belong to vs, the last and worst, is that of purgations, and that

no man, except he be a foole, ought to vndertake it; vnlesse it be in great extremitie. The evill is troubled & stirred vp by contrary oppositions. It is the forme of life, that gently must diminish, consume and bring it to an end. Since the violent twinges of the drug and maladie are ever to our losse: since the quarrell is cleared in vs, and the drug a trustlesse helpe; by it's owne nature an enemy to our health, and but by trouble hath no accesse in our state. Let's give them leave to go on. *That order which provideth for Fleas and Moles, doth also provide for men, who have the same patience to suffer themselves to be governed, that Fleas and Moles have.* We may fairely cry bo-bo-boc; it may well make vs hoarse, but it will nothing advance it. It is a proud and impetuous order. Our feare and our despaire, in lieu of envying the same vnto it, doth distaste and delay it of our helpe: he oweth his course to evill, as well as to sicknesse. To suffer himselfe to be corrupted in favour of one, to the prejudice of the others rights, he will not doe it; so should they fall into disorder. Let vs goe on in the name of God; let vs follow; He leadeth-on such as follow him: those that follow him not, he haleth-on, both with their rage and phisicke together. Cause a purgation to be prepared for your braine; it will be better employed vnto it, then to your stomacke. *A Lacedemonian being asked, what had made him live so long in health, answered, The ignorance of physicke.* And *Adrian the Emperour*, as he was dying, ceased not to crie out, that *the number of Physitions had killed him.* A bad Wrestler became a Physition. Courage saide *Diogenes* to him, *thou hast reason to do so, for now shalt thou help to put them into the ground, who have heretofore ayded to lay thee on it.* But according to *Nicocles*, they have this happe, *That the Sunne doth manifest their sucresse, and the earth doth cover their fault.* And besides, they have a very advantageous fashon among themselves, to make vse of all manner of events; for, whatsoever either Fortune or Nature, or any other strange cause (whereof the number is infinit) produceth in vs, or good or healthfull, it is the priviledge of Physicke to ascribe it vnto herselfe. All the fortunate successes that come to the patient, which is vnder their government, it is farre from physicke he hath them. The occasions that have cured me, and which heale a thousand others, who never send or call for physitions to help them, they vsurpe them in their subjects. And touching ill accidents, either they vtterly disavow them, in imputing the blame of them to the patient, by some vaine reasons, whereof they never misse to finde a great number; as he lay with his armes out of the bed, he hath heard the noyse of a coach;

rhedarum transitus arcto

Vicorum inflexu.

Coaches could hardly passe,

The lane so crooked was.

His Window was left open all night; He hath laine vppon the left side, or troubled his head with some heaue thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them deemed a sufficient excuse, to free themselves from all imputation: Or if they please, they will also make vse of this empaire, and thereby make vp their businesse; and as a meane which can never faile them, when by their applications the disease is growne desperate, to pay vs with the assurance, that if their remedies had not beene, it would have beene much woorse. He, whom but from a colde they have brought to a Cotidian Ague, without them should have had a continuall feaver. *They must needes thrive in their businesse, since all ills redownd to their profit.* Truly they have reason to require of the pacient an application of favourable confidence in them; which must necessarily be in good earnest, and yeelding to apply it selfe vnto imaginations, over-hardly to be believed. *Plato* said very well, and to the purpose, that *freely to lie belonged onely to Physitions*, since our health dependeth on their vanitie and falsehood of promises. *Aesope* an Authour of exceeding rare excellence, and whose graces few discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannicall authoritie vnto vs, which they vsurpe vpon poore soules, weakened by sicknesse, and over-whelmed through feare; for he reporteth, how a sicke man being demaunded by his Physition, what operation he felt by the Phisike he had given him. I have sweate much, answered he; that is good, replied the Physition. Another time he asked him againe how he had done since; I have had a great colde and quivered much, said he: that is very well, quoth the Physition againe. The third time he demaunded of him, how he felt himselfe? He answered, I swell and puffe-vp as it were with the dropsie; That's not amisse, saide the Physition. A familiar friend of his comming afterward to visite him, and to know how he did? Verely (said hee) my friend I die

die with being too too well. There was a more equall Law in *Egypt*, by which for the first three dayes the Phisition tooke the pacient in hand, vppon the patients perrill and fortune; but the three dayes expired, it was at his owne. For, *What reason is there, that Esculapius their Patrone must haue beene stricken with Thunder, forsomuch as hee recovered Hippolitus from death to life?*

Nam pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris,

Mortalem infernis, ad lumina surgere vita.

Ipse repertorem medicina talis, & artis

Fulmine Phœbigenam stygias detrusit ad undas.

Ioue scorning that from shades infernall night,

A mortall man should rise to lifes new light

Apolloes sonne to hell he thunder-threw,

Who such an arte found out, such medicine knew.

and his followers must be absolved; that send so many soules from life to death? A Phisitian boasted vnto *Nicocles*, that his Arte was of exceeding great authoritie, It is true (quoth *Nicocles*) for, it may kill so many people without feare of punishment by Law. As for the rest, had I beene of their counsel, I would surely have made my discipline more sacred and mysterious. They had begunne very well, but the end hath not answered the beginning: It was a good ground; to have made Gods and Demons Authors of their Science, to have assumed a peculiar language and writing to themselves. Howbeit Philosophie supposeth it to be folly to perswade a man to his profit, by wayes not vnderstood: *Ut si quis medicus imperet ut sumat: As if a Phisition should bid a men take.*

Terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam.

One earth-borne, goe-by-grasse, house-bearing, similie-Bloodlesse.

It was a good rule in their arte, and which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine, and supernaturall arts, that the patients beliefe must by good hope and assurance preoccupate their effect and operation. Which rule they holde so farre forth, that the most ignorant and bungling horse-leach is fitter for a man that hath confidence in him, than the skilfullest and learnedst Phisition. The verie choyce of most of their Drugges, is somewhat mysterious and diuine. *The left foote of a Tortoyze; The stale of a Lizard; The dongue of an Elephant; The liver of a Mole; Blood drawne from vnder the right wing of a white Pigeon;* And for vs who are troubled with the stone-chollike (so disdainfully abuse they our misery) *Some Rattes pounded to small powder;* and such other foolish trash, which rather seeme to be magike-spells or charmes, than effects of any solide science. I omitte to speake of *The odde number of their pilles; The destinations of certaine dayes and feastes of the yeere; The destination of houres to gather the simples of their ingredients; And the same reubarbative and severely-grave looke of theirs, and of their port and countenance;* Which *Plinie* himselte mocketh at. But, as I was about to say, they have failed, forsomuch as they have not added this to their faire beginning, to make their assemblies more religious, and their consultations more secret. No profane man should have access vnto them, no more than to the secret ceremonies of *Esculapius*. By which meanes it commeth to passe, that their irresolution, the weakenesse of their Arguments, diuinations and grounds, the sharpenesse of their contestations full of hatred, of ieaousie and particular considerations, being apparant to all men; a man must needes be starke blinde, if he who falleth into their hands, see not himselte greatly endangered. *Who ever saw Phisition use his fellowes receipt, without diminishing or adding somewhat vnto it?* Whereby they greatly betraie their Art; And make vs perceive, they rather respect their reputation, and consequently their profit, than the well-fare or interest of their patients. He is the wisest amongst their Doctors, who hath long since prescribed them, that one alone should meddle to cure a sicke man; for, if it prosper not with him, and he doe no good, the reproach will not be great to the Arte of Phisicke, through the fault of one man alone; and on the other side, if it thrive well with him, the Glorie shalbe the greater. Whereas if they be manie, everie hand-while they discover their mysterie, because *They oftner happen to doe ill than well.* They should have beene content with the perpetuall dis-agreeing, which is ever found in the opinions of the principall Maisters and chiefe Authors of their Science, known but by such as are conversant in Bookes, without making apparant shew of the controversies, and inconstancies of their judgement, which they foster and continue amongst themselves. Will wee have an example

Virg. Aen. lib. 2.
770.

Cic. divin. lib. 2.

Physicians dis-
agree among
themselves

example of the ancient debate of Physicke: *Hierophilus* placeth the originall cause of sicknesse in the humours: *Erasistratus*, in the blood of the Arteries: *Asclepiades*, in the invisible Atomes that passe into our pores: *Alcmeon*, in the abundance or defect of corporall forces: *Diocles*, in the inequalitye of the bodies elements, and in the qualitie of the aire we breathe: *Strato*, in the abundance, cruditie and corruption of the nourishment we take: *Hipocrates* doth place it in the spirits. There is a friend of theirs, whom they know better than I, who to this purpose crieth out; that the most important science in vse amongst vs (as that which hath charge of our health and preservation) is by ill hap, the most vncertaine, the most confused, and most agitated with infinite changes. There is no great danger to mistake the height of the Sunne, or misse-reckon the fraction of some Astronomical supputation; but herein, wheron our being and chiefe free-hold doth wholly depend, it is no wisdom, to abandon our selves to the mercy of the agitation of so manifold contrarie winds. Before the Pelopenesian warre, there was no great newes of this science. *Hipocrates* brought it into credite. Whatsoever he established, *Chrysippus* overthrew. Afterward *Erasistratus* Grand-Childe to *Aristotle*, re-enversit what ever *Chrysippus* had written of it. After these, start vp the Emperikes, who concerning the managing of this Arte, tooke a new course, altogether different from those ancient fathers. And when their credite began to grow stale; *Hierophilus* brought another kinde of Phisike into vse, which *Asclepiades* when his turne came impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of *Themison* to be in great authoritie, than those of *Musa*, and afterward those of *Vexius Valens*, a famous Phisition, by reason of the acquaintance he had with *Messalina*. During the time of *Nero*, the soveraintie of Phisike fell to the handes of *Thessalus*, who abolished and condemned whatsoever had beene held of it before his time. This mans Doctrinne was afterward wholly overthrowne by *Crinas* of *Marseille*, who a new revived and framed, that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the *Ephemerides* and motions of the starres, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what houre it should please *Luna* and *Mercurie*. His authority was soone after supplanted by *Charinus*; a Phisition of the same Towne of *Marseilles*, who not onely impugned ancient Phisicke, but also the vse of warme and publike bathes, which had beene accustomed so many ages before. He caused men to be bathed in cold Water; yea, were it in the deepe of Winter he plunged and dived sicke men into the running streame of Rivers. Vntill *Plinies* time no Roman had ever dained to exercise the Arte of Phisike, but was ever vsed by Strangers and Græcians, as at this daie it is vsed in France by Latinizers. For, as a famous Phisition saith, we do not easilie admit and allow that phisike, which wee vnderstand, nor those Drugs we gather our selves. If those Nations from whom we have the Wood *Guaicum*, the *Salapareille*, and the Wood *Desquine*, have any Phisition amongst them, how much thinke we by the same commendation of the strangenesse, rarenesse and dearth, they will rejoyce at our coleworts and parsley? For, who dareth contemne things sought and fetcht so far-off, with the hazard of so long and dangerous a peregrination? since these auncient mutations of phisicke, there have beene infinite others, that have continued vnto our dayes, and most often entire and vniversall mutations; as are those which *Paracelsus*, *Fioravanti* & *Argenterius* have produced: for (as it is told me) they doe not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and policie of phisikes whole bodie, accusing such as hitherto have made profession thereof, of ignorance and cosinage. Now I leave to your imagination, in what plight the poore pacient findeth himselfe. If we could but be assured, when they mistake themselves, their phisike would doe vs no harme, although not profit vs; It were a reasonable composition, for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so hee endangered not himselfe to loose by it. *Asope* reporteth this Storied, that one who had bought a Moore-slave, supposing his blacke hew had come vnto him by some strange accident, or ill vsage of his former Maister, with great diligence caused him to be medicined with divers bathes and sundry potions: It fortuneth the Moore did no whit mend or change his swarthie complexion, but lost his former health. How often commeth it to passe, and how many times see we phisitions charge one another with their patients death. I remember a popular sickenesse, which some yeares since, greatly troubled the Townes about me, very mortall and dangerous; the rage whereof being overpast, which had carried away an infinite number of persons: One of the most famous phisitions in all the country, published a booke, concerning that disease, wherein he adviseth himselfe, that they had done amisse to vse phlebotomie, and confesseth,

it had beene one of the principall causes of so great an inconvenience. Moreover, their Authors holde, that *there is no kinde of Physicke, but hath some hurtfull parte in it*. And if those that fit our turne, doe in some sort harme vs; what must those doe, which are given vs to no purpose, and out of season? As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous, and of great prejudice for him who loaths the taste, or abhorres the smell of a potion, to swallow it at so vnconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much distempereth a sicke man, namely in a season he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider but the occasions, on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sicknesses; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue, *That a very small error in compounding of their Drugges, may occasion vs much detriment*. Now if the mistaking in a Physition be dangerous, it is very ill for vs: for it is hard, if he fall not often into it. *He hath neede of many partes, divers considerations and severall circumstances to proportion his desseigne iustly*. He ought to know the sicke mans complexion, his temper, his humors, his inclinations, his actions, his thoughts and his imaginations. He must be assured of externall circumstances; of the nature of the place; the condition of the ayre; the qualitie of the weather; the situation of the Planets, and their influences. In sickness, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and criticall dayes: In drugges he should understand their weight, their vertue and their operation, the country, the figure, the age, the dispensation. In all these partes, hee must knowe how to proportion and referre them one vnto another; thereby to beget a perfect Symmetrie, or due proportion of each parte: wherein if he misse never so little, or if amongst so many wheelles and severall motions, the least be out of tune or temper; it is enough to marre all.

God knowes how hard the knowledge of most of these parts is: As for example, how shall he finde out the proper signe of the disease, every maladie being capable of an infinite number of signes; How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of Urine? Otherwise whence should that continuall altercation come we see amongst them, about the knowledge of the disease? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a Martre for a Foxe? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficultie) I could never yet finde three agreeing in one opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A Gentleman in Paris was not long since cut off the stone by the appointment of Physitions, in whose bladder they found no more stone, then in his hand: Where also a Bilhop, who was my very good friend, had by his Physitions beene earnestly solicited to be cut; and my selfe, because they were of his counsell, vpon their words, aided to perswade him to it; who being deceased and opned, it was found, he had no infirmitie but in his reines. They are lesse excusable in this disease, forso much as it is in some sort palpable. Whereby I judge the arte of Chirurgery much more certaine; For, it seeth and handleth what it doth; and therein is lesse conjecture and divination. Whereas Physitions have no *speculum maricis*, to discover our braine, our lungs and our liver vnto them. *The very promises of phisicke are incredible*. For, being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble vs together, and with a kinde of necessarie relation one vnto another; as the heate of the liver, and the cold of the stomake, they will perswade vs, that with their ingredients, this one shall warme the stomake, and this other coole the liver; the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the bladder, without enstalling his operation any where else, and by reason of it's secret proprietie, keeping his force and vertue, all that long way, and so full of stops or lets, vntill it come to the place, to whose service it is destinated. Another shall drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, *is it not a kind of raving, to hope their severall vertues shall divide and seperate themselves from out such a confusion or commixture, to runne to so diverse charges?* I should greatly feare they would loose or change their tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquide confusion, these faculties be not corrupted, confounded and alter one an other? What? that the execution of this ordonance depends from another officer, to whose trust and mercie wee must once more forsake our lives? As we have doublet and hosemakers to make our clothes, and are so much the better fitted, in as much as each medleth with his owne trade, and such have their occupation more strictly limited, then a Tailer that will make all. And as for our necessary foode, some of our great Lords, for their more commoditie and ease have severall Cookes, as some only to dresse boyled meates, and some to roste, others to bake, whereas if

if one cooke alone would supply all three in generall; he could never doe it so exactly. In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Egyptians had reason to reject this generall mysterie of Physitions, and to sunder this profession for every maladie, allotting each part of the body his distinct workeman. For, every particular parte was thereby more properly attended, and lesse confusedly governed, and forso much as they regarded but the same especially. Our Physitions never remember, that *he who will provide for all, provideth for nothing*; and that the totall and summarie policie of this little world, is vnto them indigestible. Whilst they feared to stop the course of a bloodie flux, because he should not fall into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine, who was more worth then all the rable of them; yea were they as many more. They ballance their divinations of future things, with present evils, and *because they will not cure the braine in preiudice of the stomake, they offend the stomake and empaire the braine, and all by their seditious and tumultuary drugs*. Concerning the varietie and weaknesse of the reasons of this arte, it is more apparant then in any other arte. Things soluble and opening are good for a man troubled with the collike, because opening the passages and dilating them, they adresse this slymie matter, whereof the gravell and stone is ingendred, and so convey downward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifie in the reynes; the matter engendring gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, doe easily seize on the same. They must then by consequence stay great store of that which is conveyed vnto them. Moreover, if by chance it fortune to meete with a body, somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to passe all those strait turnings, which to expell the same they must glide through; that body being mooved by those soluble things, and cast in those strait channells, and coming to stop them, it will doubtlesse hasten a certaine and most dolorous death. They have a like constancy about the counsells they give vs, touching the regiment of our life. *It is good to make water often; for by experience we see, that permitting the same idly to lie still, wee give it leasure to discharge it selfe of her lees and excrements, which may serve to breede the stone in the bladder: It is good to make water but seldome, for the weightie dregs it drawes with it, are not easily carried away, except by violence; as by experiences is seene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeth and cleanseth the place through which he passeth, much more then doth a slow-gliding streame.* Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women; for that openeth the passages, and conveyeth the gravell away: It is also hurtful; for it heateth, wearieth, and weakeneth the reines. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water; forso much as that looseth and moisteneth the places where the gravell and stone lurketh: It is also bad; because this application of externall heate, helpeth the reines to decoct, to harden and petrifie the matter disposed vnto it. To such as are at the bathes, it is more healthfull to eate but little at night, that the water they are to drinke the next morning, finding the stomake empty, and without any obstacle, it may worke the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to eate but a little at dinner, lest a man might hinder the operation of the water, which is not yet perfect, and not to charge the stomake so sodainely, after this other travell, and leave the office of digesting vnto the night, which can better doe it then the day; the body and spirit being then in continuall motion and action. Loe here how they in all their discourses juggle, dally, and trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring me a proposition, but I can presently frame another to the contrary, of like force and consequence. Let them then no longer raile against those who in any sicknesse, suffer themselves gently to be directed by their owne appetite, and by the counsell of nature; and who remit themselves to common fortune. I have by occasion of my travells seene almost all the famous Bathes of Christendome, and some yeares since have begunne to vse them: For, in generall I deeme bathing to be very good and healthy, and I am perswaded, wee incurre no small incommodities in our health, by having neglected and lost this custome, which in former times was generally observed very neere amongst all nations, and is yet with diverse at this time to wash their bodies every day: And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-crusted, and our pores stopt with grease and filth. And touching the drinking of them, fortune hath first made it to agree very well with my taste: Secondly it is naturall and simple; and though vaine, nothing dangerous: whereof this infinitie of people of all sorts and complexions, and of all nations that come to them, doeth warrant me. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having
somewhat

Bathes

somewhat curiously examined the matter, I finde all the reports of such operations, which in such places are reported, and of many believed, to be false and fabulous. *So easily doth the world deceive it selfe, namely in things it desireth, or faine would have come to passe.* Yet have I seene but few or none at all, whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denie, but that they stirre vp a mans appetite, facilitate digestion, and except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would, have none doe) they will adde a kinde of new mirth vnto him. They have not the power to raise men from desperate diseases. They may stay some light accident, or prevent the threatens of some alteration. Whosoever goeth to them, and resolveth not to be merry, that so hee may enjoy the pleasure of the good company resorts to them, and of the pleasant walkes or exercises, which the beauty of those places, where bathes are commonly seated, doth afford and delight men withall; he without doubt looseth the better part and most assured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my selfe and make vse of those, where I found the pleasure of the scituation most delightfome, most conveniencie of lodging, of victualls and companie, as are in France the baths of *Banieres*; those of *Plombieres*, on the frontiers of *Germanie* and *Lorraine*; those of *Baden* in *Switzerland*; those of *Lucca* in *Tuscanie*; and especially those of *Della villa*; which I have vsed most often and at diverse seasons of the yeare. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their vse, and severall lawes and formes how to vse them, and all different: And as I have found by experience the effect in a maner all one. In *Germanie* they never vse to drinke of their waters; but bathe themselves for all diseases, and will lie padding in them, from rise to set of Sunne. In *Italie* if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirtie dayes with it. And commonly they drinke it mixed with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Heere our Physicians appoint vs when wee have drunke to walke vpon it, that so wee may helpe to digest it: There, so soone as they have drunke, they make them lie a bed, vntill they have voided the same out againe, continually warming their stomake and feete with warme clothes. All the *Germanes* whilst they lie in the water, doe particularly vse cupping glasses, and scarifications: And the *Italians* vse their *Doccie*, which are certaine spowts running with warme waters, conuaide from the bathes-spring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout vpon their heads, vpon their stomake, or vpon any other part of the bodie, according as neede requirerh one houre in the forenoone, and as long in the afternoone. There are infinite other differences of customes in every countrie: or to say better, there is almost no resemblance betweene one and other. See how this part of Phisicke, by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which though it be the least artificiall, yet hath she her share of the confusion and vncertaintie, seene in all other parts and every where of this arte. Poets may say what they list, and with more emphatie and grace: witnesse thes two Epigrammes.

Alcon hesterno signum Iovis attigit. Ille

Quamvis marmoreus, vim patitur medici.

Ecce hodie iussus transferri ex ade vetusta,

Effertur, quamvis sit Deus atque lapis.

Alcon look't yesterday on carved Iove.

Iove, though of marble, feels the leeches force,

From his old Church to-day made to remoove,

Though God and Stone, hee's carried like a coarfe.

Lucil.

Anson. epig. 73.

And the other:

Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, cenavit & idem,

Inventus mane est mortuus Androgoras.

Tam subita mortis causam Faustine requiris?

In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem.

Andragoras in health bath'd over night with vs,

And merry supt, but in the morne starke-dead was found.

Of his so sodaine death, the cause shall I discusse.

Hermocrates the Leech he saw in sleepe vnfound.

Mart. l. 6. epig.

53.

Vpon which I will tell you two prettie stories. The Baron of *Campene* in *Chalosse* and I, have both in common the impropriation or patronage of a benefice, which is a very large precinct, situated at the feete of our Mountaines, named *Lahontan*. It is with the inhabi-

tants of that corner, as it is faide to be with those of the valley of *Angrongne*. They leade a kinde of peculiar life; their fashion, their attyre, and their customes apart and severall. They were directed and governed by certaine particular policies and customes, received by tradition from Father to Childe; Whereto, without other Lawes or Compulsion, except the reverence and awe of their custome and vse, they awefully tyed and bound themselves. This petty state had from all antiquitie continued in so happie a condition, that no neighbouring severe judge had ever beene troubled to enquire of their life and affaires, nor was ever Atturrie or pety-fogging Lawyer called-for, to give them advise or counsell; nor stranger sought vnto to determine their quarrelles or decide their contentions; neither were ever beggers seene amongst them. They alwayes avoyded commerce and shunned alliances with the other World, lest they should alter the puritie of their orders and policie; vntill such time (as they say) that one amongst them, in their fathers dayes, having a minde pufft vp with a noble ambition, to bring his name and credit in reputation, devised to make one of his Children *Sir Iohn Lack-latin*, or Maister *Peter-an-Oake*: And having made him learne to write in some neighbour Towne not farre-off, at last procured him to be a Country Notarie, or petty-fogging Clarke. This fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, beganne to disdain their ancient customes, and put the pomp and stateliness of our hither regions into their heades. It fortun'd that a chiefe Gossip of his had a Goate dishorned, whom he importunately solicited to sue the Trespasser, and demaund lawe and right at the Iudge or Iusticers hands, that dwelt there-about; And so never ceasing to sow sedition and breede futes amongst his neighbours, he never left till hee had confounded and marred all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mischiefe of worse consequence, by meanes of a quagge-salver, or Empirike Physition that dwelt amongst them, who would needes be married to one of their daughters, and so endenizon and settle himselfe amongst them.

This gallant beganne first to teach and instruct them in the names of agews, rheums and impostumes; then the scituation of the heart, of the liver and other entrailes: A Science vntill then never knowne or heard-of among them. And in steade of garlike, wherewith they had learned to expell and were wont to cure all diseases, of what qualitie and how dangerous soever they were. He induced and inured them, were it but for a cough or cold, to take strange compositions and potions: And thus beganne to trafficke not onely their health, but also their deaths. They sweare, that even from that time, they have apparantly perceived, that the evening Serene or night-calme bred the head-ach and blasted them; that to drinke being hote or in a sweate empaired their healths; that Autumne windes were more vnwholesome and dangerous, then those of the Spring-time: And that since his slobber-sawces, potions and physicke came first in vse, they finde themselves molested and distempered with legions of vnaccustomed malladies and vnknowne diseases; and plainly feeble and sensibly perceive a generall weakenesse and declination in their antient vigor; and that their lives are nothing so long, as before they were. Loe heere the first of my Discourses. The other is, that before I was troubled with the stone-cholicke and gravell in the bladder, hearing diverse make especiall accompt of a he-goates blood, as of an heavenly *Manna* sent in these latter-ages for the good and preservation of mans-life: and hearing men of good vnderstanding speake of it, as of an admirable and much-good-working drugge, and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subject to all accidents, that may in any sort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, beganne to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and forthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a bucke-goate gotten, and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawne from him in the hottest moneth of Summer, and he must onely be fed with soluble hearbes, and drinke nothing but white wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the verie same day the goate should be killed; wheresome of my people came in haste to tell me, that my Cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongst his meate shocked one against an other. I was so curious as I would needes have all his garbage brought before me; the thicke and large skinne whereof I caused to be opened, out of which came three great lumps or bodies, as light as any sponge, so framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very firme, bemotted with diverse dead and wannish colours: The one perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesser, and not
so

so round, yet seemed to growe towards it. I have found (after I had made diligent inquirie among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a feld-scene, and vnhcard-of accident. It is very likely they were such stones as ours be, and cozen-germanes to them; which if it be, it is but vaine for such as be troubled with the stone or gravel to hope to be cured, by meanes of a beasts blood, that was drawing neere vnto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to aleadge the blood cannot participate of that contagion, and doth no whit thereby alter his accustomed vertue, it may rather be inferred, that nothing ingendreth in a body, but by consent and communication of all the partes. The whole masse dooth woorke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another; whereby it manifestly appeareth, that in all parts of this bucke-goate, there was some grettie or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chance, or in regard of my self, that I was so curious of this experiment; as in respect, that as well in mine owne house, as else-where in sundry other places, it commeth to passe, that many women doe often gather and lay vp in store, diuers such kindes of slight drugges to help their neighbours, and other people with them, in time of necessitie; applying one same remedy to an hundred severall diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take themselves; with which they often have good lucke, and well thrives it with them. As for me, I honour Physitions, not according to the common-received rule, for necessitie sake (for to this passage another of the Prophet may be alleaged, who reprooved King A/a, because he had recourse vnto Physitions) but rather for the love I beare vnto themselves; having seene some, and knowne diuers honest men amongst them, and worthily all love and esteeme. *It is not them I blame, but their Arte;* yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profit by our foolishnesse (for most men do so) and it is a thing common to all worldlings. *Diverse professions and many vacations, both more and lesse worthe than theirs, subsist and are grounded onely upon publike abuses and popular errors.* I send for them when I am sicke, if they may conveniently be found; and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authoritie to enioyne me to keepe my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwise. They may chuse, be it either leekes or lettuce, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoynt me either white or claret to drinke; and so of other things else, indifferent to my taste, humor or custome. I know well it is nothing to them, for so much as *Sharpenesse and Strangenesse are accidents of Physicks proper essence.* *Lycurgus* allowed and appoynted the sicke men of *Sparta* to drinke wine. Why did he so? Because being in health, they hated the vse of it. Even as a Gentleman who dwelleth not farre from me, vseth wine as a soveraigne remedie against agews, because being in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as death. How many of them see we to be of my humour? That is, to disdain all Physicke for their owne behoofe, and live a kinde of formall free life, and altogether contrarie to that, which they prescribe to others? And what is that, but a manifest abusing of our simplicitie? For, they holde their life as deare, and esteeme their health as pretious as we doe ours, and would apply their effects to their skill, if themselves knew not the vncertaintie and falsehoode of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the impatience of the disease and griefe; an indiscreete desire and headlong thirst of health, that so blindeth them, and vs. It is meere faintnes that makes our conceits, and pusillanimitie forceth our credulitie, to be so yeelding and pliable. The greater parte of whome doe notwithstanding not beleieve so much, as they endure and suffer of others: For I heare them complaine, and speake of it no otherwise than we doe. Yet in the ende are they resolved. What should I doe then? As if impatience were in it selfe a better remedie than patience. Is there any of them, that hath yeelded to this miserable subjection, that doth not likewise yeelde to all manner of impostures? or dooth not subject himselfe to the mercie of whomsoever hath the impudencie to promise him recoverie, and warrant him health?

The Babilonians were wont to carry their sicke people into the open streetes; the common sort were their physitions: Where all such as passed by were by humanitie and civilitie to enquire of their state and maladie, and according to their skill or experience, give them some sound advise and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: There is no poore Woman so simple, whose mumbling and muttering, whose flibber-flabbers and drenches wee doe not employ. And as for mee, were I to buy any medicine, I would rather spend my money in this kinde of physike, than in any other; because therein is no danger or hurt

to befeared what *Homer* and *Plato* faide of the *Ægyptians*, that they were all *Physitians*, may well be faide of all people. There is neyther Man nor Woman, that vanteth not himfelfe to have fome receipt or other, and doeth not hazard the fame vpon his neighbour, if he will but give credite vnto him.

I was not long fince in a companie, where I wot not who of my fraternitie, brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true accoumpt, composed of a hundred and odde severall ingredients; Whereat wee laughed very heartely, and made our selves good sporte: For, what rocke so harde were able to resist the shooke, or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a batterie? I vnderstand neverthelesse, of such as tooke of them, that the least graine of gravell dained not to stirre at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needs say a worde or two, concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have vs take as a warrantize or assurance of the certainty of their drugges and pocions. The greatest number, and as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinable vertues, consist in the quintessence or secret propriety of simples, whereof we can have no other instruction but vse and custome. For, *Quintessence is no other thing than a qualitie, whereof we cannot with our reason finde out the cause.* In such trials or experiments, those which they affirme to have acquired by the inspiration of some Demon, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for, touching miracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respects fall often in vse with vs: As if in Wooll, wherewith we wont to clothe our selves, some secret exicating or drying qualitie, have by accident beene found, that cureth kibes or chilblaines in the heeles; and if in reddishes, wee eat for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. *Galen* reporteth, that a leprous man chaunced to be cured, by meanes of a Cuppe of Wine he had drunke, forso much as a Viper was by fortune fallen into the Wine-caske. In which example we finde the meane, and a very likely directorie to this experience. As also in those, to which *Physitians* affirme, to have beene addressed by the examples of some beastes. But in most of other experiences, to which they say they came by fortune, and had no other guide but hazard, I finde the progresse of this information incredible. I imagine man, heedfully viewing about him the infinite number of things, creatures, plants and mettalls. I wot not where to make him beginne his Essay; And suppose he cast his first fantasie vpon an Elkes-Horne, to which an easie and gentle credulitie must be given; he will be as farre to seeke, and as much troubled in his second operation: So many diseases and several circumstances are proposed vnto him, that before he come to the certaintie of this point, vnto which the perfection of his experience should arrive, mans witte shalbe to seeke, and not know where to turne himselfe; And before (amiddest this infinitie of things) he finde out what this Horne is: Amongest the numberlesse diseases that are, what an Epilepsie is; the sundrie and manifolde complexions in a melancholy man; So manie seasons in Winter; So diverse Nations amongest French-men; So many ages in age; So diverse coelestiall changes and alterations, in the conjunction of *Venus* and *Saturne*; So severall and many partes in a mans body, nay in one of his fingers. To all which, being neyther guided by argument, nor by conjecture, nor by example, or divine inspiration, but by the onely motion of fortune; it were most necessarie, it should be by a perfectly artificiall, well-ordred, and methodicall fortune. Moreover, suppose the disease thorowlie cured, how shall he rest assured, but that eyther the evill was come to his vtmost periode, or that an effect of the hazard, caused the same health? Or the operation of some other thing, which that day he had eyther eaten, drunke or touched? Or whether it were by the merite of his Grand-mothers prayers? Besides, suppose this experiment to have bin perfect, how many times was it applied and begunne anew? And how often was this long and tedious Webbe of fortunes and encounters woven over againe, before a certaine rule might be concluded? And being concluded, by whom is it I pray you? Amongest so many millions of men, you shall scarce meete with three or foure, that will duely observe, and carefully keepe a register of their experiments; shall it be your, or his happe, to light truely, or hitte just with one of them three or foure? What if another man? Nay what if a hundred other men have had and made contrary experiments, and cleane opposite conclusions, and yet have sorted well: We should peradventure discern some shew of light, if all the judgements and consultations of men were knowne vnto vs. But *That three Wines and three Doctors shall sway all mankind, there*

is no reason. It were requisite, humane nature had appointed and made special choise of them, and that by expresse procuracion and letter of attorny they were by her declared our Iudges and deputed our Attornies.

To my Ladie of Duras. 4.

Hee speaks much of him self & makes an Excuse for writing against Physicians

MAdame, the last time it pleased you to come and visite me, you found me vpon this point. And because it may be, these toyes of mine may happily come to your hands: I would have them witnesse, their Authour reputeth himselfe highly honoured, for the favours it shall please you to shew them. Wherein you shall discerne the very same demeanor and selfe-countenance, you have seene in his conversation. And could I have assumed vnto my selfe any other fashion, than mine owne accustomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it: For, all I seeke to reape by my writings, is, they will naturally represent and to the life, pourtray me to your remembrance. The very same conditions and faculties, it pleased your Ladi-ship to frequent and receive, with much more honor and curtesie, than they any way deserve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration and change) into a solide body, which may happily continue some dayes and yeares after mee: Where, when-soever it shall please you to refresh your memory with them, you may easilie finde them, without calling them to remembrance; which they scarcely deserve. I would entreate you to continue the favour of your Friend-ship towards mee, by the same qualities, through whose meanes it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and esteemed better being dead, than alive. The humor of *Tyberius* is ridiculous and common, who endeavoured more to extinguish his glory in future ages, than yeeld himselfe regardfull and pleasing to men of his times. If I were one of those, to whome the Worlde may be indebted for praise, I would quit it for the one moytie, on condition it would pay me before-hand: And that the same would hasten, and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than lasting. And let it hardly vanish with my knowledge, and when this sweete alluring sound shall no more tickle mine eares. It were a fond conceite, now I am readie to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about, annew to begget my selfe vnto them.

I make no accompt of goods, which I could not employ to the vse of my life. Such as I am, so would I be elsewhere then in paper. Mine art and industrie have beene employed to make my selfe of some worth. My studie and endeavour to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my skill and devoire to frame my life. Loe-heere mine occupation and my worke. I am a lesse maker of bookes, then of any thing else. I have desired and aimed at sufficiencie, rather for the benefite of my present and essentiall commodities, then to make a store-house, and hoarde it vp for mine heires. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, maners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrells, of sport and play or bed-matters, at boarde or else-where; or be it in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private houshold matters. Those whom I see make good bookes, having tottred hosen and ragged clothes-on, had they believed me they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning Rethorician, then an excellent Souldier: nay were I asked, I would say, a good Cooke, had I not some to serve me. Good Lord (Madame) how I would hate such a commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shallow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: yet had I rather be a foole, both here and there, then to have made so bad a choise, wherein to employ my worth. So farre am I also from expecting, by such trifles to gaine new honour to my selfe, as I shall thinke I make a good bargaine, if I loose not a part of that little, I had already gained. For, besides that this dombe and dead picture, shall derogate and steale from my naturall being, it sadgeth not and hath no reference vnto my better state, but is much false from my first vigor and naturall jollitie, enclining to a kind of drooping or mouldinesse. I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I should not have dared so boldly

to have ripped vp the mysteries of Phisicke, considering the esteeme and credite your selfe, and so many others, ascribe vnto it, and hold it in; had I not beene directed thereunto by the authors of the same. I thinke they have but two ancient ones in Latine, to wit *Plinie* and *Celsus*. If you fortune at any time to looke into them, you shal finde them to speake much more rudely of their Arte, then I do. I but pinch it gently, they cut the throate of it. *Plinie* amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsomuch as when they are at their wits-end, and can goe no further, they have found out this goodly-shift, to send their long-turmoiled, and to no end much-tormented patients, with their drugs and diets, some to the help of their vows and miracles, and some others to hot Baths and waters. (Be not offended noble Lady, he meaneth not those on this side, vnder the protection of your house, and all *Gramontoises*.) They have a third kinde of shift or evasion to shake vs-off, and discharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches, wee may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the surway and government, as they have no more inventions or devises left them, to amuse vs with; that is, to send vs, to seeke and take the good aire of some other countrie. Madam, wee have harped long enough vpon one string; I hope you will give me leave to come to my former discourses againe, from which for your better entertainment, I had somewhat digressed.

It was (as farre as I remember) *Pericles*, who being demanded, how he did; you may (said he) judge it by this, shewing certaine scroules or briefes hee had tied about his necke and armes. He would inferre, that he was very sicke, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had suffered himselfe to be so drest. I affirme not, but I may one day be drawne to such fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercie, discretion and regiment of Phisitions. I may happily fall into this fond madnesse; I dare not warrant my future constancie. And even then if any aske me how I doe, I may answere him as did *Pericles*; You may judge, by shewing my hands fraughted with six drammes of Opium. It will be an evident token of a violent sicknesse. My judgement shal be exceedingly out of temper. If impacionce or feare get that advantage vpon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized vpon my minde. I have taken the paines to pleade this cause, whereof I have but small vnderstanding, somewhat to strengthen and comfort naturall propension, against the drugs and practise of our Phisicke, which is derived into mee from mine ancestors: lest it might onely be a stupide and rash inclination; and that it might have a little more forme. And that also those, who see me so constant against the exhortations and threatens, which are made against me, when sicknesse commeth vpon me, may not thinke it to be a meere conceite, and simple wilfullnesse; And also, lest there be any so peevish, as to judge it to be some motive of vaine glory. *It were a strange desire, to seeke to draw honour from an action, common both to me, to my gardiner, or to my groome.* Surely my heart is not so puffed vp, nor so windie, that a solide, fleshy and marowie pleasure, as health is; I should change it for an imaginarie, spirituall and aerie delight. Renowme or glorie (were it that of *Aymons* foure sonnes) is over-deerely bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him but three violent fits of the chollike. Give me health a Gods name. Those that love our Phisicke, may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong. I hate no fantasies contray to mine. I am so farre from vexing my selfe, to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the societie or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then mine own; that contrariwise (as varietie is the most generall fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the mindes, then in the bodies; forsomuch as they are of a more

supple and yeelding substance, and susceptible or admitting of formes) I finde it

more rare to see our humour or desseignes agree in one. And never

were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than

two haire, or two graines. *Diversitie is the*

most univversall qualitie.

The end of the second Booke.

THE ESSAYES

Or

Morall, Politike and Millitarie
Discourses

of

Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,

Knight

*Of the noble Order of S^r Michaell, and one of the
Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry
the third his Chamber.*

The third Booke.

(* *)

THE ESSAYS

OF
MORAL, POLITICAL AND MILITARY
DISCOURSES

OF
LIEUTENANT MICHAEL DE MONTIGNY

ESQ.

OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL, AND ONE OF THE
GENTLEMEN OF THE CHAMBER OF THE FRENCH KING, HENRY
FOURTH

THE THIRD BOOK

(22)

1652



To the right Honorable and all-vertue-accomplished
Ladies, Ladie Elizabeth Grey, wife to the right Noble
 Maister Henrie Grey; daughter to the right Honorable
 Earle of Shrewsburie.

A N D,

Ladie Marie Nevill, daughter to the right Honorable Lord high
 Treasurer of England; wife to Sir Henrie Nevill
 of *Abergevenny*.



Our Honorable Ladieships excelling in Musike, as in all other admirable qualities, can tell me of a French branle (as I take it) wherein one man, like Mercurie betweene the radiant orbes of Venus and the Moone, leadeth a daunce to two women. In resemblance whereof; though much I want the eloquence of Mercurie to move you, much more his abilitie or agilitie to guide you, most of all his nobilitie to comfort you, yet, as for your exercise, or more perfection, sometime you practise with meaner than a teacher, or a teacher much meaner then your selves: vouchsafe me your unworthie, but herein happy teacher ioyntly to usher you to this French motion. French hath long time beene termed the language of Ladies: So doth it grace your tongues; so doe your tongues grace it; as if written by men it may have a good garbe, spoken by you it hath a double grace: for so have I heard some of you speake it, as no man, few women, could come neare their sweete-relished ayre of it. That as Tullie averred of his Roman Ladies for Latine, so not onely for our mother-tongue, but also for the principall, Italian and French, not onely our princely Mother of Maiestie, Magnificence, omnisufficiencie, but (for instance) I avowe, you my five honored Schollers (whom as ever in heart, so would I honor now by these my laboures) are the purest, finest, and clearest speakers. So as where I have cause to love those languages above all, because they are my living, I never like or love them so well, as when I heare you reade or speake them. Whereby as Virgil in his yong Euryalus conceited vertue more gracious, because it came from a faire-gracious kodie; so prize I more those glorious gemmes of your languages and knowledge, because they are set in the pure golde of your Nobilitie, and worne on the faire front or bright bosome of your beauties. Resplendent is the Sunne at the lowest; relucient the Moone at the least, rising, or sitting; but most radiant, reviving, influent, when they are at highest. Learning and languages in any place will shew some sparkes of light, but most life and lustre in illustrious pallaces, to cheere, grace, and cleare their owners and their neighbours. This state heareth well, that some learned are ennobled: much better may it heare, that our Nobles are many learned. Be nobilitie a succour to learning, as learning is an honor to nobilitie. A rich coyne is nobilitie, but without stampe of language scarce-currant out of our owne countrie; and in our country for no trade or traffike with Strangers. We have scene (with some shame and sorrowe) some of our golden-fleece Knights and Colosian Courtiers, when forraine Princes came in presence, perhaps beare the presence, but scarce the sense, lesse the speech,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

Mont. lib. 3. c. 3

least of all the sociablenesse of a man, vnlesse by signes and noddies, or Noes, or Ouzes; yea be faine to intreate their Mistresses speake for them, but find tongue enough to faine a treatie to their Mistresses. Yet as the supreame Mistresse and glorious Lady of vs all, and all excellence hath often excellently spoken for all: So (to my ioy and glory) some of you, Ladies, haue I heard, not only entertaine, but satisfie best spoken strangers with their applause and admiration. Herein now could I beate, and lawes would breake the legges of that dog-Satyrist, who causlesse barks, bites, and is bitter, even to deprave that untaintable Cornelia, whom Princes of her time, and all men of good minds did honor ever since. Nor do I well brooke in that behalfe even this Satyrizing censor my prototype, that he after him in this your part affordes you small share of Rhetorique, Logique, Law; whose tongue to him is Rhetorique, reason Logique, and commandement Law. Your other perfections ô let him not draw downe to imperfection. If you by them may rule Regents; more may you do it, if you haue more perfections. In Poesie, in Historie, yea in Philosophy if you haue good allowance, why should you haue any limites? And if you meane to make your selues by them, what meanes are there to them, but the languages you haue learn't? Be you (as he there scoffeth) capsula tota, All hid, all cabinets (which I the rather heere expound, because I there omit) but so hidde, as much more good is in you than knowne of you; such Cabinets of Natures treasures, Vertues iewelles, learnings modelles, as all the Muses and Graces can scarce shew the like. What neede you to enquire but what you neede? You are rich, and may require such ornaments as fitte your state. Preheminnence it is; it is not superfluitie: for as a man excelleth a beast that hee can speake, a man excelles a man that hee can speake much better: So to a woman in naturall guifts if man must yeelde prioritie, in artificiall complements if she come neare him, shee may goe farre afore him. Nor is it curiositie; it is due care. Woulde not your noble Husbandes, even in house-affaires, dislike to speake to you, or you to them, by a trouchman? How then would you like it in strange matters to talke with a Stranger by an interpreter? How can you knowe his sufficiencie? How dare you trust his faithfulness? Tenne to one he knowes not, or shoulde not knowe what he speakes of: or more, or lesse, or worse hee expresseth, one or both. And why should men, more then you, talke with the dead, the truest, and take counsell of Bookes, the best Counsellours? Wittes you haue as good, if not better; wordes (they say) you haue more; Why should you then not vnderstand as much? If tongue be a womans armes, why should you not arme you with best choice thereof? Olde Ennius coulde bragge hee had three harties, because hee knew three tongues. And may not you Ladies boast as much, whose tongues can speake as many, and be as hartie with one head, one hart, one tongue? So hath the loving care, and carefull loue of your right Honorable and most prudent Parents (thrice-honored Lady GREY) as well in language for more knowledge, more knowledge for all vertue, as in high linage for rich dowrie, rich dowrie for great match provided for you. An acte most worthie their Progenitors, the olde Worthies of SHREVSBERIE, to make you so well worthie by your match to inherite a house no lesse ancient; the antient house of KENT. Whereof to wisb you answerable ioy, to the honor of both Houses, demerite of your selues, comfort of all your friendes, let me but adde my wish: God giue my wish effect, and your selues shall wish no better. And so to you (my in-hart-honored, since best-deserving Ladie NEVILL) I knowe not, if native inclination, proceeding from a Father, in wisdome none greater; a Mother, in goodnesse none better; or informing instruction, applied by his prudent direction, vsed by her kinde discretion, receiued by your quicke ingenuitie, or confirming example of both them aboue all example, and your noble husband excellently qualified; exquisitely languaged, and your as learned as well graced brothers; or all these in concourse haue made-uppe such accomplishment, as againe I knowe not, if you, or wee all, owe more to them for you. This I knowe and acknowledge, as to your right Honorable Father, this ages Cato, our Englands Hospitalis, I owe and vow
all

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all service for many-many favours hee hath done me, more hee may, and to those other for some other: So to your Ladieship for all, who not onely with them, but many more, have not onely wrought me credite to give countenance, but brought mee kindnesse to afforde commoditie. As therefore of aught else I ever may, so of this I have heere done, your Ladieship may challenge no small parte, since no small parte thereof was done under your Fathers roose, under your regiment. Wherefore to both your Honors (renowmed GREY and NEVILL) as to Iuno in Greece, or Vesta in new Rome on the Altare of your vertues, I consecrate without idolatrie, prophanenesse, or blasphemie, both the incense of Praise and Thanks, and the never-failing fire of an ever-faithfull affection, which the Vestall Virgins of pure thoughts shall still-keep alive, that while I live, and when I die, I may be as I am


Your Honors servant

in true hart,

JOHN FLORIO.



TO THE RIGHT HO-
 norable Ladie *Elizabeth*
Grey.


 F Honorable TALBOT honor'd-farre,
 The forecast and the fortune, by his Word
Montaigne here describes; what by his Sword,
 What by his wit; this, as the guiding starre;
 That, as th' Ætolian blast, in peace, or warre,
 At sea, or land, as cause did vse afforde,
 AVANT LE VENT, to tacke his sailes a-borde,
 So as his course no orethwart crosse might barre;
 But he would sweetly saile *before the wind*;
 For Princes service, Countries good, his fame.
 Heire-Daughter of that prudent-constant kinde,
 Ioyning thereto of GREY as great a name,
 Of both chiefe glories shrining in your minde,
 Honor him, that your Honor doth proclaime,

Il Candido.



TO THE RIGHT
Noble and vertuousLadie
Marie Nevill.

IF ornaments to men, to Ladies more,
If to meane persons, more to noble minde,
Study and languages have beene assignde;
How should we then admire, applaude,adore
You Madame,so adorn'd,as few before?
As if your Fathers, Husbands, Brothers kinde
You were to equall or excell inclinde :
Such knowledge keeping keyes of vertues store.
Though this you know no better in your owne,
Then it you knew in French, or had it beene,
In *Tuscane* writ, as well you had it knowne;
Though lesser grace in this, than that, be seene;
Yet, as your owne,since you love publike-weale,
Take well, we vnknowne goods to all reveale.

Il Candido.



THE ESSAYES

of Michael Lord of
Montaigne.

The third Booke.

The first Chapter.

Of profit and honestie. 6



O man liuing is free from speaking foolish things ; the ill luck is , to speake them curiously :

*Na iste magno conatu magnas nugas
dixerit.*

This fellow sure with much a doe,
Will tell great tales and trifles too.

*Ter. Heaut.
act. 4. sc. 2.*

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That concerneth not me ; mine slip from me with as little care, as they are of small worth : whereby they speede the better. I would sudainly quit them, for the least cost were in them : Nor doe I buie, or sell them, but for what they waighe. I speake vnto paper, as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what followes. *To whom should not trectherie be detestable, when Tiberius refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of Germanie, that if he thought it good, Ariminus should be made away by poison. He was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely vsed them vnder Varus, and who onely empeached the encrease of his domination in that countrie. His answer was ; that the people of Rome were accustomed to be reuenged on their enemies by open courses, With weapons in hand ; not by subtil sleights, nor in hugger mugger : thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (you will say) a cosener. I beleuee it ; that's no wonder, in men of his profession. But the confession of vertue, is of no lesse consequence in his mouth that hateth the same, for so much as truth by force doth wrest it from him, and if he will not admit it in him, at least, to adorne himselfe, he will put it on. Our composition, both publike and priuate, is full of imperfection ; yet is there nothing in nature vnseruiceable, no not inuilitie it selfe, nothing thereof hath beene insinuated in this huge vniuerse, but houldeth some fit place therein. Our essence is symented with crased qualities ; ambition, jealousie, enuie, reuenge, superstition, dispaire, lodge in vs, with so naturall a possession, as their image is also discerned in beasts : yea and crueltie, so vnnaturall a vice : for in the midst of compassion, we inwardly feele a kinde of bitter-sweete-pricking of malicious delight, to see others suffer ; and children feele it also :*

*Suauem mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.*

Tis sweete on ground seas, when windes waues turmoyle,
From land to see an others greuous toyle.

Lucr. l. 2. 3.

The seede of which qualities, who should roote out of man, should ruine the fundamentall
S f condi-

conditions of our life : In matter of policie likewise, some necessary functions are not onely base but faultie : vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselues in the stitching vp of our frame ; as poisons in the preseruatiō of our health . If they become excusable, because we have need of them, and that common necessitie effaceth their true propertie ; let vs resigne the acting of this part to hardie Cittizens, who stick not to sacrifice their honours and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their countries avails and safetie . We that are more weake, had best assume taskes of more ease and lesse hazard. The Common-wealth requireth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massacre : leave we that commision to people more obedient and more plyable. Truly, I have often beene vexed, to see our judges, by fraude or false hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to betray his offence, employing therein both cozinage and impudencie . It were fit for iustice, and *Plato* himselfe, who fauoureth this custome, to furnish me with meanes more sutable to my humor. Tis a malicious justice, and in my conceite no lesse wounded by it selfe, then by others. I answered not long since, that hardlie could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very sory to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loathe not onely to deceave, but that any be deceived in me; wherto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little businesse I have managed betweene our Princes, amid the diuisions and subdiuisions, which at this day teare & turmoile vs so ; I have curiously heeded, that they mistake me not, nor muffled themselues in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselues most covert; pretending & counterfetting the greatest indifference and neerenesse to the cause they can. As for me, I offer my selfe in my liveliest reasons, in a forme most mine owne : A tender and yong Negotiator, & who had rather faile in my businesse, then in my selfe. Yet hath this bin hitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principall actor) that few have dealt betweene party and party with lesse suspition, and more inward favour . I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easie to insinuate and give it selfe credite at first acquaintance. Sinceritie, plainenesse, and naked truth, in what age so ever, finde also their oportunitie & employment. Besides, their libertie is little called in question, or subiect to hate, who deale without respect of their owne interest. And they may truly vse the answer of *Hippelides* vnto the Athenians, complaining of his bitter inuectives and sharpnesse of his speach : *Consider not, my masters whither I am free, but whither I be so, without taking ought, or bettering my state by it.* My libertie also hath easilie discharged me from all suspition of faintnesse, by it's vigor (nor forbearing to speake any thing, though it bit or stung them ; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an apparant shew of simplicitie and carelesnesse. I pretend no other fruite by negotiating, then to negotiate ; and annexe no long pursuites or propositions to it. Every action makes his particular game, winne he if he can. Nor am I vrged with the passion of love or hate vnto great men ; nor is my will shackled with anger, or particulare respect. I regarde our kings with an affection simply-lawful, and meerelie civill, neither moued nor vnmoued by private interest ; for which I like my selfe the better. The generall and iust cause bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subiect to these piercing pledges and inward gages . Choller and hate are beyond the duty of justice, and are passions fitting onely those, whose reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty : *Utatur motu animi, qui viri ratione non potest, Let him vse the motion of his minde, that cannot vse reason.* All lawfull intentions are of themselues temperate : if not, they are altered into sedicious and vnlawfull . It is that makes me marche every where with my head aloft, my face and hart open. Verilie (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easilie for a neede, bring a candle to Saint *Michell*, and another to his Dragon, as the good olde woman . I will followe the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choose. If neede require, let *Montaigne* my mannor-houise be swallowed vp in the publike ruine ; but if there be no such necessitie, I will acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto fortune if she please to save it ; and for it's safetie employ as much scope as my endeouours can affoorde me. Was it not *Atticus*, who cleaving to the right (but loosing side) saved himselfe by his moderation, in that generall shipwracke of the worlde, amidst so many changes and diuers alterations ? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of businesses, I thinke one dealeth justly, not to be too forward to insinuate or inuite himselfe : To holde a staggering or midle course, to beare an vnmoued affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his country, and publike diuisions, I deeme neither seemely nor honest : *Ea non media, sed nulla via est,*

est, velut euentum expectantium, quo fortuna consilia sua applicent, That is not the mid-way, but a mad way, or no way, as of those that expect the euent with intent to apply their dissignes as fortune shall fall out. That may be permitted in the affaires of neighbours. So did Gelon the tirant of Siracusa suspend his inclination in the Barbarian wars against the Greekes, keeping Ambassadors at Delphos, with presents, to watch on what side the victory would light, and to apprehend the fittest occasion of reconciliation with the victors. It were a kinde of treason to doe so in our owne affaires and domestlicall matters, wherein of necessity one must resolve and take a side: but for a man that hath neither charge, nor expresse commaundement to vrge him; not to busie or entermedle himselfe therein, I holde it more excusable; (Yet frame I not this excuse for my selfe) then in foraine and strangers wars, wherewith according to our lawes, no man is troubled against his will. Neuerthelesse those, who wholly ingage themselves into them, may carry such an order, and temper as the storme (with out offending them) may glide ouer their heads. Had we not reason to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of Orleans, Lord of Moruilliers? And I know some, who at this present worthilie bestirre themselves, in so euen a fashion or pleasing a manner, that they are likely to continue on foote, whatsoeuer iniurious alteration or fall, the heavens may prepare against vs. *I holde it onely fit for Kirgs to be angry with Kirgs:* And mocke at those rash spirits, who from the brauery of their harts offer themselves to so vnproportionate quarrels. For one vndertaketh not a perticuler quarrell against a Prince, in marching against him openly and couragiously, for his honour, and according to his duty: If he love not such a man, he doth better; at least he esteemeth him. And the cause of lawes especially, and defence of the auncient state, hath euer found this priuiledge, that such as for their owne interest, disturbe the same, excuse (if they honour not) their deffenders. But we ought not to terme duty (as now a dayes we do) a *sewer rigour, and intestine crabbednesse, proceeding of priuate interest and passion; nor courage; a treacherous and malicious proceeding.* Their disposition to frowardnesse and mischief, they entitle zeale: That's not the cause doth heate them, 'tis their owne interest: They kindle a warre, not because it is just, but because it is warre. *Why may not a man beare himselfe betweene enemies fearly and faithfully?* Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admit different measure) at least with a sober affection, which may not so much engage you to the one, that he looke for all at your hands. Content your selfe with a moderate proportion of their fauour, and to glide in troubled waters without fishing in them. *The other manner of offering ones uttermost endeuours to both sides, implyeth lesse discretion then conscience.* What knowes he, to whom you betray another, as much your friend as himselfe, but you will doe the like for him, when his turne shall come. He takes you for a villaine; the whilst he heares you, and gathers out of you, and makes his best vse of your disloyaltie: For, *double fellowes are onely beneficiall in what they bring, but we must looke, they carry away as little as may be.* I carry nothing to the one, which I may not (hauing opportunity) say vnto the other, the accent onely changed a little: and report, either but indifferent or knowne, or common things. No benefit can induce me to lye vnto them, what is entrusted to my silence I conceale religiously, but take as little in trust as I can. *Princes secrets are a troublesome charge, to such as haue nought to doe with them.* I euer by my good will capitulate with them, that they trust me with very little; but let them assuredly trust what I disclose vnto them. I alwayes knew more then I would. *An open speech, opens the way to another, and drawes all out, euen as Wine, and Loue,* Philipides in my minde, answered king Lismachus wisely, when he demaunded of him, what of his wealth or state he should impart vnto him; *Which and what you please* (quoth he) *so it be not your secrets.* I see euery one mutinie, if another conceale the deapth or misterie of the affaires from him, wherein he pleaseth to employ him, or haue but purloyned any circumstance from him. For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his businesse then he will haue me know or deale in, nor desire I, that my knowledge exceede or restraîne my word. If I must needes be the instrument of cozonage, it shall at least be with safety of my conscience. I will not be esteemed a seruant, nor so affected, nor yet so faithfull, that I be iudged fit to betray any man. *Who is vnfaithfull to himselfe, may be excused if he be faithlesse to his Maister.* But Princes entertaine not men by halfes, and despise bounded and condicionall seruices. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for, a slave

I must not be but vnto reason, which yet I cannot compasse: And they are to blame, to exact from a free man, the like subiection vnto their seruice, and the same obligation, which they may from those they haue made & bought; and whose fortune dependeth particularly & expressly on theirs. The lawes haue deliuered me from much trouble: they haue chosen me a side to follow, and appointed me a maister to obey: all other superioritie and duty, ought to be relatiue vnto that and be restrained. Yet may it not be concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport me, I would presently afforde my helping hand vnto it. *Will and desires are a law to themselves*, actions are to receiue it of publike institutions: All these proceedings of mine, are somewhat dissonant from our formes. They would produce no great effects, nor holde out long among vs. *Innocencie it selfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor trafficke without lying*. Neither are publike functions of my dyet; what my profession requires thereto, I furnish in the most priuate manner I can. Being a childe, I was plunged into them vp to the eares, and had good successe; but I got loose in good time. I haue often since shunned meddling with them, seldome accepted, and neuer required; euer holding my backe toward ambition: but if not as rowers, who go forward as it were backward; Yet so, as I am lesse beholding to my resolution, then to my good fortune, that I was not wholly embarked in them. For, there are courses lesse against my taste, and more comfortable to my carriage, by which if heretofore it had called me to the seruice of the common-wealth, and my aduancement vnto credit in the world; I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my conceite. Those which commonly say against my profession, that what I terme liberty, simplicity and plainenesse in my behauour, is art, cunning and subtilty: and rather discretion, then goodnesse; industry, then nature; good wit, then good hap; do me more honour then shame. But truely they make my cunning ouercunning. And whosoever hath traced me and nearely looked into my humoures, he loose a good wager, if he confesse not, that there is no rule in their schoole, could, amid such crooked pathes and dyuers windings, square and raport this naturall motion, and maintaine an appearance of liberty and licence, so equall and inflexible; and that all their attention and wit, is not of power to bring them to it. *The way to truth is but one and simple*; that of perticular profit and benefit of affaires a man hath in charge, double, vneuen and accidentall. I haue often seene these counterfet and artificiall liberties in practise, but most commonly, without successe. They saue of *Esopes Asses*; who in emulation of the dogge, layde his two fore-feete very iocundly on his maisters shoulders; but looke how many blandishments the pretty dogge receiued, vnder one, so many bastonadoes were redoubled on the poore Asses backe. *Id maxime quemque decet, quod est cuiusque suum maxime*: that becomes euery man especially, which is his owne especially: I will not deprive cousinage of her ranke; that were to vnderstand the woulde but ill: I know it hath often done profitable seruice, it supporteth, yea and nourisheth the greatest part of mens vacations.

Cic.off.l.1.

There are some lawfull vices; as many actions, or good or excusable, vnlawfull. Iustice in it selfe, naturall and vniuersall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especiall, and nationall iustice, restrained and suted to the neede of our pollicies: *Veri iuris germaneque iusticia Solidam et expressam affigiem nullam tenemus; umbra et imaginibus vimur*. We haue no liuely nor life-like purtrature of vpright law and naturall iustice: We vse but the shaddowes and colours of them. So that wise Dandamys, hearing the liues of Socrates, Pythagoras and Diogenes repeated, in other things, iudged them great and worthy men, but ouermuch subiected to the reuerence of the lawes: which to authorize and second, true vertue is to decline very much from his naturall vigore: and not onely by their permission, but persuations diuers, vicious actions are committed and take place. *Ex Senatus consultiis plebisque scitis scelera exercentur*: Euen by decrees of counsell, and by statute-lawes are mischiefs put in practise. I follow the common phrasfe, which makes a difference betweene profitable and honest things; terming some naturall actions, which are not onely profitable but necessarie, dishonest and filthie. But to continue our examples of treason. Two which aspired vnto the kingdome of Thrace, were false into controverfie for their rights. The Emperor hindred them from falling together by the eares: the one vnder collour of contriving some friendlie accorde by an enterview, enui-

ting

ting the other to a feast in his house, emprisoned and murthred him. Iustice required, that the Romanes should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties empeached the ordinarie course. What they could not lawfully doe without warre and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason: what they could not honestlie atchieue, they profitably compassed. For exployting whereof *Pomponius Flaccus* was thought most fitte: who trayning the fellowe into his Nettes by fained wordes and sugred assurances, in lieu of the fauour and honour he promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to *Rome*. One traytor ouer-reached another, against common custome: For, they are all full of distrust, and t'is very hard to surprize them in their owne arte: witnesse the heauie and dismall experience we have latelie felt of it. Let who list be *Pomponius Flaccus*; and there are too-too many that will be so. As for my parte, both my worde and faith, are as the rest, pieces of this common bodie: their best effect is the publike seruice: that's euer presuposed with me. But as, if one should commaund me to take the charge of the Rolles or Recordes of the Pallace, I would answer; I have no skill in them: or to be a leader of Pioners, I would say; I am talled to a worthier office: Even so, who would goe about to employe me, not to murder or poison, but to lye, betraye, and forswear my selfe, I would tell him; If I have robbed or stolne any thing from any man, send me rather to the Gallies: For, a Gentleman may lawfullie speake as did the Lacedemonians, defeated by *Antipater*, vpon the points of their agreement: *You may impose as heauie burdens, and harmefull taxes vpon vs as you please; but you loose your time, to command vs any shamefull or dishonest things.* Euery man should give himselfe the oathe, which the Egiptian Kings, solemnic and vsuallie presented to their iudges; *Not to swaue from their consciences*, what commaund soever they should receiue from themselves to the contrarie. In such commissions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whosoever giues them you, accuseth you; and if you conceave them right, gives you them as a trouble and burthen. As much as the publike affaires amend by your endeouours, your owne empaireth: the better you doe, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not be newe, nor peraduenture without shadowe of iustice, that he who setteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. *If treason be in any case excusable, it is onely then, when it is employed to punish and betraye treason.* We shall finde many treacheries, to have beene not onely refused, but punished by them, in whose fauour they were vnder-taken. Who knowes not the sentence of *Fabritius*, against *Pyrrus* his Physition? And the commander hath often severely revenged them on the partie he employed in them, refusing so vnbridled a credite and powre, and disavowing so lewde and vile an obedience. *Iaropelc* Duke of *Russia*, solicited an Hungarian Gentleman, to betraye *Boleslaus* King of *Polonia*, in contriuing his death, or furnishing the Russians with meanes to worke-him some notable mischief. This gallant, presentlie bestirres him in it, and more then euer applying himselfe to the Kings seruice, obtained to be of his counsell, and of those he most trusted. By which aduantages, and with the opportunitie of his maisters absence, he betrayde *Vicilicia*, a great and rich cittie to the Russians: which was wholie sackt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age soever, and a great number of nobility thereabouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. *Iaropelc* his anger thus aswaged with revenge, and his rage mitigated (which was not without pretext, for *Boleslaus* had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and glutted with the fruite of treason, examining the vgliness thereof, naked and alone, and with imparciall eyes behoulding the same, not distempred by passion, conceaued such a remorse, and tooke it so to hart, that he forthwith caused the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and priuie parts to be cut of. *Antigonus* perswaded the *Angyraspides* soldiers, to betray *Enmenes* their generall, and his aduersarie, vnto him; whom when they had delivered, and he had caused to be slaine; himselfe desired to be the Commissarie of deuine iustice, for the punishment of so detestable a tretcherie: and resigning them into the hands of the Gouvernor of the Prouince, gaue him expresse charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some milchieuous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one euer after sawe the smoake of *Macedone*. *The better they serued his turne, the more wicked he iudged them, and the more worthie of punishment.* The slave that

that betraide the corner wherein his maister *P. Sulpicius* lay hid, was set at libertie, according to the promise of *Syllas* proscription: But according to the promise of common reason, being freed, he was throwne head-long from off the rocke *Tarpeye*. And *Clouis* King of *France*, in lieu of the golden armes he had promised the three seruants of *Cannare*, caused them to be hanged, after they had by his sollicitation betraide their maister vnto him. They twitch them vp with the purse of their rewarde about their necks. Having satisfide their second and speciall faith, they also satisfie the generall and first. *Mahomet* the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealousie of rule, and according to the stile of that race) employed one of his officers in it; who stifled him, by much water powred downe his throate all at once: which done, in expiation of the fact, he deliuered the murderer into the hands of his brothers mother (for they were bretheren but by the fathers side) she, in his presence, opened his bolome, and with hir owne revenging hands searching for his heart, pluckt it out, and cast it vnto dogges to eate. Even vnto vile dispositions (having made vse of a filthie action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with securitie, as it were, in way of recompence and holie correction, sowe one sure stitche of goodnesse, and justice vnto it. Besides, they respect the ministers of such horrible crimes, as people, that still vpbraide them with them, and couet by their deaths to smother the knowledge, and cancell the testimonie of their practises. Now if perhaps, not to frustrate the publike neede of that last and desperate remedy, one rewarde you for it: yet, he who doth it (if he be not as bad him selfe) will hould you a most accursed and execrable creature. And deemeth you a greater traitor, then he whom you have betrayed: for with your owne handes, he toucheth the lewdnesse of your disposition, without disavowing, without object. But employeth you, as we do out-cast persons in the executions of iustice: an office as profitable as little honest. Besides the basenesse of such commissions, there is in them a prostitution of conscience. The daughter of *Sejanus*, could not in *Rome*, by any true formale course of lawe, be put to death, because she was a virgine: that lawes might have their due course, she was first deflowred by the common hang-man, and then strangled. Not his hand onely, but his soule is a slave vnto publike commoditie. When *Amurath* the first, to agrauate the punishment of his subiects, who had giuen support to his sonnes vnnatural rebellion, appointed their neereft kinsmen to lend their hands vnto this execution: I finde it ~~verie~~ honest in some of them, who rather chose vnjustlie to be held guiltie of anothers treason, then to serue justice with their owne tretcherie. And whereas in some paltrie townes forced in my time, I have seene base varlets for sauegarde of their owne lives, yeeld to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition, then such as were hanged. It is reported, that *Witoldus* Prince of *Lithuania*, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the partie condemned to die, should with his owne hands make himselfe away; finding it strange, that a third man being guiltlesse of the fact, should be employed and charged to commit a murder. When an vrgent circumstance, or any violent and v unexpected accident, induceth a Prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinarie dutie, he is to ascribe that necessitie vnto a lash of Gods rod: It is no vice, for he hath quit his reason, vnto a reason more publike, and more powrefull, but surelie t'is ill fortune. So that to one, who asked me what remedie? I replyde, none; were he trulie rackt betweene these two extreames (*Sed videat ne quaratur latebra periurio. But let him take heede he seeke not a starting hole for periurie*) he must haue done it; but if he did it sans regret or scruple, if it greeued him not to doe it, t'is an argument his conscience is but in ill tearmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheverell a conscience, to whome no cure might seeme worthie of so extreame a remedie. I should prise or regarde him no whit the lesse. He cannot loose himselfe more handfomlie nor more excusable. We cannot doe euery thing, nor be in euery place. When all is done, thus and thus, must we often, as vnto our last Anker and soie refuge, resigne the protection of our vessell, vnto the onely conduct of heauen. To what iuster necessitie can he reserue himselfe? what is lesse possible for him to doe, then what he cannot effect, without charge vnto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peraduenture should be dearer to him, then his owne saluation, and the safetie of his people. When with enfoulded armes he shall deuoutlie call on God for his ayde, may he not hope, that his fatherlie

mercie

cie. off. l. 3.

The Author
will hardly be
found to be so
pious (as here
he is) in any
other part of
this work

mercie shall not refuse the extraordinarie fauour, and sinne-forgiuing grace of his all powerfull hand, vnto a pure and righteous hand? They are dangerous examples, rare and crased exceptions to our naturall rules: we must yeelde vnto them, but with great moderation, and heedie circumspection. No priuate commoditie, may any way deserue we should offer our conscience this wrong: the common-wealth may, when it is most apparent and important. *Timoleon* did fitlie warrant and warde the strangenesse of his exploite by the teares he shed, remembring it was with a brotherlie hand he slew the tyrant. And it neerelie pinched his selfe-gnawne conscience, that he was compelled to purchase the common good, at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate it selfe, by his meanes deliuered from thraldome, durst not definitivelie decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two so vrgent and different semblances. But the Siracusans having opportunelie and at that very instant sent to the Corinthians, to require their protection, and a gouernour able to re-establish their towne in her former maiestie, and deliuer *Sicilie* from a number of pettie tyrants, which greuouslie oppressed the same; they appointed *Timoleon*, with this new caueat and declaration: That according as he should well or ill demeane himselfe in his charge, their sentence should encline, either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or disgrace him, as the murtherer of his brother. This fantastickall conclusion, hath some excuse vpon the danger of the example, and importance of an acte so different: and they did well, to discharge their iudgement of it, or to embarke him somewhere els, and on their considerations. Now the proceedings of *Timoleon* in this renowned journe did soone yeeld his cause the cleerer, so worthily and vertuously did he every way comporte himselfe therein. And the good hap, which euer accompanied him in the encombrances and difficulties he was to subdue in the atchieuement of his noble enterprise, seemed to be sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, and consenting to fauour his justification: This mans end is excusable, if euer any could be. But the encrease and profit of the publike revenues, which serued the Roman Senate for a pretext of the ensuing-foule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine citties had by the order and permission of the Senate, with mony purchased their libertie, at the hands of *L. Sylla*. The matter comming in question againe, the Senate condemned them, to be fineable and taxed as before: and that the mony they had employed for their ransome, should be deemed as lost and forfetted. Ciuill warres doe often produce such enormous examples: That we punish priuate men, for somuch as they have beleeeved vs, when we were other then now we are. And one same Magistrate doth laie the penaltie of his change on such as cannot doe withall. The Schoolemaister whippeth his scholler for his docilitie, and the guide strecketh the blinde man he leadeth. A horrible image of justice. Some rules in Philosophie are both false and fainte. The example proposed vnto vs, of respecting priuate vtilitie before faith giuen, hath not sufficient powre by the circumstance they adde vnto it. Theeves have taken you, and on your oathe to pay them a certaine summe of money, have set you at libertie againe: They erre, that say, an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, being out of their handes; There is no such matter. *What feare and danger hath once forced me to will and consent vnto, I am bound to will and performe, being out of danger and feare.* And although it haue but forced my tongue, and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good, and keepe my promise. For my part, when it hath sometimes vnaduisedly ouer-runne my thought, yet haue I made a conscience to disaue the same. Otherwise we should by degrees come to abolish all the right a third man taketh and may challenge of our promises. *Quasi verò forti viro vis possit adhiberi. As though any force could be used vpon a valiant man.* Tis onely lawfull for our priuate interest to excuse the breache of promise, if we have rashlie promised things in themselves wicked and vnjust. For, the right of vertue ought to ouer-rule the right of our bonde. I haue heretofore placed *Epaminondas* in the first ranke of excellent men, and now recant it not. Vnto what high pitch raised he the consideration of his particular dutie? who neuer slew man he had vanquished; who for that vnvaluable good of restoring his countrie hir libertie, made it a matter of conscience, to murther a Tyrant or his complices, without a due and formall course of lawe: and who iudged him a bad man, how good a cittizen soever, that amongst his enemies and in the furie of a battle, spared not his friend, or his hoste. Loe here a minde of a ritche composition. He matched vnto the most violent and rude actions

See this notable story in Plutarch

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Cic.off.1.3.

of men, goodnesse and courtesie, yea and the most choise and delicate, that may be found in the schoole of Philosophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorow, death and povertie, was it nature or arte, made it relent, even to the vtmost straine of exceeding tenderesse and debonaretie of complexion? Being cloathed in the dreadfull liuerie of Steele and blood, he goeth on crushing and brusing a nation, inuincible to all others, but himselfe: yet mildelie relentheth in the midst of a combat, or confusion, when he meetes with his hoste or with his friend. Verilie, this man was deseruedlie fit to commaund in warre, which in the extreamest furie of his innated rage, made him to feele the sting of courtesie, and remorse of gentlenesse: then, when all enflamed, it foamed with furie, and burned with murther. Tis a miracle, to be able to joyne any shoue of iustice with such actions. But it onely belongeth to the vnmached courage of *Epaminondas*, in that confused plight, to joyne mildenesse and facilitie of the most gentle behaviour that ever was, vnto them, yea and pure innocencie it selfe. And whereas one tould the *Mammertins*, that statutes were of no force against armed men: an other to the Tribune of the people, that the time of iustice and warre, were two: a third, that the confused noise of warre and clang of armes, hindred him from vnderstanding the sober voice of the lawes: This man was not so much as empeached from conceiving the milde sound of ciuilitie and kindnesse. Borrowed he of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the Muses (when he went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetenesse and mildnesse, that martiall furie, and hostile surlinesse? Let vs not feare, after so great a mai-ster, to hold that some things are vnlawfull, euen against our fellest enemies: that publike interest, ought not to chalenge all of all, against priuate interest: *Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum foederum priuati iuris*: Some memorie of priuate right continuing euen in disagreement of publike contracts:

89 Ouid. Pont.
l. 1. el. 8. 37.

N

et nulla potentia vires
Præstandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet:
No powre hath so great might,
To make friends still goe right.

And that all things be not lawfull to an honest man, for the seruice of his King, the generall
Cic. off. l. 3. cause and defence of the lawes. *Non enim patria præstat omnibus officijs, & ipsi conducit pios habere ciues in parentes.* For our countrie is not aboue all other duties; it is good for the countrie to haue hir inhabitants vse pietie toward their parents. Tis an instruction besitting the times: we neede not harden our courages with these plates of Iron and Steele, it sufficeth our shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our Pens in Inke, too much to dye them in bloud. If it be greatnesse of courage, and th'effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despise private respects and bondes; ones worde and kindred, for the common good and obedience of the Magistrate: it is verilie able to excuse vs from it, if wee but alledge, that it is a greanesse vnable to lodge in the greatnesse of *Epaminondas* his courage. I abhorre the enraged admonitions of this other vnruilie spirite.

Lucan. l. 7.
320. Cef.

dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
Vlla, nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes
Commoucant, vultus gladio turbate varendos.
While swords are brandisht, let no show of grace
Once mooue you, nor your parents face to face,
But with your swords disturbe their reverend grace.

Let vs bereaue wicked, bloodie and trayterous dispositions, of this pretext of reason: leave we that impious and exorbitant iustice, and adhere vnto more humane imitations, Oh what may time and example bring to passe! In an encounter of the ciuill warres against *Cinna*, one of *Pompeys* souldiers, having vnwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through shame and sorrowe presentlie killed himselfe; And some yeares after, in another ciuill warre of the said people, a souldier bouldlie demanded a rewarde of his Captaines for killing his owne brother. Falselie doe we argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by it's profit: and conclude as ill, to thinke every one is bound vnto it, and that it is honest, if it be commodious.

Prop. l. 3. el.
8. 7.

Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus opta.

All things a-like to all,
Doe not well-fitting fall.

Choose we out the most necessarie and most beneficiall matter of humane societie, it will be a mariage: yet is it, that the *Saintes* counsell findeth and deemeth the contrary side more honest, excluding from it the most reverend vocation of men: as we to our races assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

The second Chapter. 5

Of Repenting. *Note is od opinions & his
endless discourses of him self*

Others fashion man, I repeate him; and represent a particulare one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme a new, he should be farre other then he is; but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and varie, yet loose they not themselves. The world runnes all on wheeles: All things therein mooue without entermiſſion; yea the earth, the rockes of *Caucasus*, and the Pyramides of *Egypt*, both with the publike and their owne motion. *Conſtancie it ſelfe is nothing but a languishing and wauering dance.* I cannot ſettle my obiect; it goeth ſo vnquietly and ſtaggering, with a naturall drunkenneſſe. I take it in this plight, as it is at th' inſtant I ammuſe my ſelfe about it. I deſcribe not the eſſence, but the paſſage; not a paſſage from age to age, or as the people reckon, from ſeauen yeares to ſeauen, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My hiftorie muſt be fitted to the preſent. I may ſoone change, not onelie fortune, but intention. It is a counter-roule of diuers and variable accidents, and irrefolute imaginations, and ſometimes contrarie: whether it be that my ſelfe am other, or that I apprehend ſubiects, by other circumſtances and conſiderations. Howſoever, I may perhaps gaine-ſay my ſelfe, but truth (as *Demades* ſaide) I never gaine-ſay: Were my minde ſetled, I would not eſſaye, but reſolue my ſelfe. It is ſtill a prentiſe and a probacioner. I propoſe a meane life, and without luſter: T'is all one. They faſten all morall Philoſophie as well to a popolare and priuate life, as to one of richer ſtuffe. *Euery man beareth the whole ſtampe of humane condition.* Authours communicate themſelves vnto the world by ſome ſpeciall and ſtrange marke; I the firſt, by my generall diſpoſition; as *Michell de Montaigne*; not as a Grammarian, or a Poet, or a Lawyer. *If the world com-
plaine, I ſpeake too much of my ſelfe, I complaine, it thinkes no more of it ſelfe.* But is it reaſon, that being ſo private in uſe, I ſhould pretend to make my ſelfe publike in knowledge? Or is it reaſon, I ſhould produce into the world, where faſhion and arte have ſuch ſwaye and command, the rawe and ſimple effects of nature; and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? *To write bookes without learning, is it not to make a wall without ſtone or ſuch like thing?* Conceites of muſicke are directed by arte; mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning, that never man handled ſubiect, he vnderſtood or knew, better then I doe this I have vnderſtood; being therein the cunningſt man alive. *In what?*

Secondly, that never man waded further into his matter, nor more diſtinctlie liſted the partes and dependences of it, nor arrived more exactlie and fully to the end he propoſed vnto himſelfe. To finiſh the ſame, I have neede of naught but faithfullneſſe: which is therein as ſelfe. ſincere and pure as may be found. I ſpeake truth, not my belly-full, but as much as I dare; and I dare the more, the more I growe into yeares: for it ſeemeth, cuſtome alloweth olde age more libertie to babble, and indiſcretion to talke of it ſelfe. It cannot herein be, as in trades; where the crafts-man and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of ſo ſound and honeſt couerſation, writ he ſo fooliſhly? Are ſuch learned writings come from a man of ſo weake a conuerſation? who hath but an ordinary conceite, and writeth excellently, one may ſay his capacitie is borrowed, not of himſelfe. A ſkilfull man, is not ſkilfull in all things: But a ſufficient man, is ſufficient euery where, even vnto ignorance. Here my booke and my ſelfe march together, and keepe one pace. Els where one may commend or condemne the worke, without the worke-man; here not; who toucheth one, toucheth the other. He who ſhal iudge of it without knowing him, ſhal wrong himſelfe more then me: he that knowes it, hath

hath wholly satisfied me. Happie beyond my merite, If I get this onely portion of publike approbation, as I may cause men of vnderstanding to thinke, I had beene able to make vse and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any: and deserued better helpe of memorie. Excuse we here what I often say, that I seldome repent my selfe, and that my conscience is contented with it selfe; not of an Angels or a horse consciences, but as of a mans conscience. Adding euer this clause, not of ceremonie, but of true and essentiall submission; that *I speake enquiring and doubting, meereely and simply referring my selfe, from resolution, vnto common*
 * *and lawfull opinions.* I teach not; I report: No vice is absolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a sound iudgement accuseth not: For, the deformitie and incommoditie thereof is so palpable, as peraduenture they haue reason, who say, it is chiefly produced by sottishnesse and brought forth by ignorance; so hard is it, to imagine one should know it without hating it. *Malice sucks up the greatest part of her owne venome, and therewith imposoneth her selfe. Vice, leaueth, as an vlcere in the flesh, a repentance in the soule, which still scratcheth, and bloodierh it selfe.* For reason effaceth other griefes & sorrowes, but engendereth those of repentance: the more yerksome, because inward. As the colde & heate of agues is more offensiuē, the that which comes outward. I account vice (but each according to their measure) not onely those which reason disallowes, & nature condemnes but such as mans opinion hath forged as false & erroneous, if lawes and custome authorize the same. In like maner, there is no goodnes but gladdeth an honest disposition. There is truly I wot not what kinde or congratulation, of well doing, which reioyceth vs in our selues, and a generous jollitie, that accompanieth a good conscience. A minde courageously vitious, may happily arme it selfe with security, but she shall neuer munite her selfe, with this selfe-ioying delight and satisfaction. It is no small pleasure, for one to feele himselfe preserued from the contagion of an age so infected as ours, and to say to himselfe; could a man enter and see euen into my soule, yet should he not finde me guilty, either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of enuie or reuenge, nor of publike offence against the lawes, nor tainted with innouation, trouble or sedition; nor spotted with falsifying of my worde; and although the libertie of times allowed and taught it every man, yet could I neuer be induced to touch the goods or diue into the purse of any French man; & haue alwayes liued vpon mine owne, as wel in time of war, as of peace: nor did I euer make vse of any poore mans labour, without reward. These testimonies of an vnspotted conscience are very pleasing, which naturall ioy is a great benefit vnto vs; and the onely payment neuer faileth us. To ground the recompence of vertuous actions, vpon the approbation of others, is to vndertake a most vncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in an age so corrupt and times so ignorant, as this is: *the vulgar peoples good opinion is iniurious.* Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable? God keepe me from being an honest man, according to the description I daily see made of honour, each one by himselfe. *Qua fuerant vitia, mores sunt. What earst were vices, are now growne fashions.* Some of my friends, haue sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and lift me plaineely, either of their owne motion, or envited by me, as to an office, which to a wel composed minde, both in profit and lovingnesse, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such haue I euer entertained with open armes of curteisie, and kinde acknowledgement. But now to speake from my conscience, I often found so much false measure in their reproches and praises, that I had not greatly erred if I had rather erred, then done well after their fashion. Such as we especially, who live a priuate life, not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hartes establish a touchstone, and thereto touch our deedes and try our actions; and accordingly, now cherish, and now chastise our selues. I haue my owne lawes and tribunall, to iudge of me, whither I adresse my selfe more, then any where els. I restraine my actions according to others, but extend them according to my selfe. None but your self knowes rightly whether you be demisse and cruell, or loyall & deuout. Others see you not, but ghesse you by vncertaine coniectures: They see not so much your nature, as your art. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold vnto your owne. *Tuo tibi iudicio est utendum. Virtutis et viciorum graue ipsius conscientia pondus est: qua sublata, iacent omnia; You must vse your owne iudgement: The weight of the very conscience of vice and vertues is heauy: take that away, and all is downe.* But where as it is said, that repentance nearly followeth sinne, seemeth not to implye sinne placed in his rich aray, which lodgeth in vs as in his proper mansion. One may disauow and disclaime vices, that surprise vs, and whereto our passions transport vs: but those, which by long habite are rooted in a
 strong,

strong, and ankred in a powerfull will, are not subiect to contradiction. *Repentance is but a denying of our wil, and an opposition of our fantasies* which diuerts vs here and there. It makes some disauow his former vertue and continencie.

Hor. car. l.
4. od. 10. 7.

*Qua mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt gena?*

Why was not in a youth same minde as now?

Or why beares not this minde a youthfull brow?

That is an exquisite life, which euen in his owne priuate keepeb it selfe in a we and order. Euery one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man vpon the stage; but within, and in his bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed; to keepe a due rule or formale decorum, that's the point. The next degree, is to be so in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to giue account to no body: wherein is no study, nor art. And therefore *Byas* describing the perfect state of a family, whereof (saith he) the maister, be such inwardly by himselfe, as he is outwardly, for feare of the lawes, and respect of mens speeches. And it was a worthy saying of *Iulius Drusus*, to those worke-men, which for three thousand crownes, offered so to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more ouer looke into it: I will giue you sixe thousand (said he) and contriue it so, that on all sides euery man may looke into it. The custome of *Agessilaus* is remembred with honour, who in his trauaile was wont to take vp his lodging in churches, that the people, and Gods themselues might pry into his priuate actions. Some haue beene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his seruant euer noted any thing remarkeable. *Few men haue beene admired of their familiers. No man hath beene a Prophet, not onely in his house, but in his owne country*, saith the experience of histories. Euen so in things of nought. And in this base example, is the image of greatnesse discerned. *In my climate of Gascoigne they deeme it a iest to see me in print.* The further the knowledge which is taken of me is from my home, of so much more worth am I. In *Guienne* I pay Printers; in other places they pay me. Vpon this accident they ground, who liuing and present keepe close-lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and absent. I had rather haue lesse. And I cast not my selfe into the world, but for the portion I draw from it. That donne, I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a publike act, vnto his owne doores: togeather with his roabes he leaues-of his part; falling so much the lower, by how much higher he was mounted. View him within, there all is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a liuely, impartiall and well sorted iudgement is required, to perceiue and fully to discerne him in these base and priuate actions. Considering that order is but a dumppish and drowisie vertue: To gaine a Battaile, performe an Ambassage, and gouerne a People, are noble and worthy actions; to chide, laugh, sell, pay, loue hate, and myldely and iustly to conuerse both with his owne and with himselfe; not to relent, and not gaine say himselfe, are things more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkeable.

Retired liues sustaine that way, what euer some say, offices as much or more crabbed, and extended, then other liues doe. And priuate men (saith *Aristotle*) serue vertue moire hardly, and moire highly attend her, then those which are magistrates or placed in authority. We prepare our selues vnto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. *The nearest waye to come vnto glory, were to doe that for conscience, which wee doe for glorie.* And me seemeth the verue of *Alexander* representeth much lesse vigor in her large Theater, then that of *Socrates*, in his base and obscure excercitation. I easlye conceiue *Socrates*, in the roome of *Alexander*; *Alexander* in that of *Socrates* I cannot. If any aske the one, what hee can doe, hee will answer, *Conquer the worlde*; let the same question bee demaunded of the other, hee will say, *leade my life conformably to it's naturall condition*; A science much more generous, more important, and more lawfull.

The worth of the minde consisteth not in going high, but in marching orderly. Her greatnesse is not excercised in greatnesse; in mediocritye it is. As those, which iudge and touch vs inwardely, make no great account of the brightnesse of our publike actions; and see they are but streakes and poyntes of cleare Water, surging

furging from a bottome, otherwise slimie and full of mud: So those who iudge vs by this gay outward apparance, conclude the same of our inward constitution, and cannot couple populer faculties as theirs are, vnto these other faculties, which amaze them so farre from their leuell. So doe we attribute sauage shapes and oughly formes vnto diuels. As who doeth not ascribe high-raised eye-browes, open nostrils, a sterne frightfull visage, and a huge-body vnto *Tamburlane*, as is the forme or shape of the imagination we haue fore-conceiued by the bruite of his name? Had any heretofore showed me *Erasmus*, I could hardly haue bin induced to think, but whatsoeuer he had said to his boy or hostes, had bin Adages & Apothegmes. We imagine much more fitly an Artificer vpon his close stoole or on his wife, then a great iudge, reuerend for his carriage and regardfull for his sufficiencie; we thinke, that from those high thrones they should not abase themselves so low, as to liue. As vitious mindes are often encited to do well by some strange impulsion, so are vertuous spirits mooued to do ill. They must then be judged by their sealed estate, when they are neare themselves, and as we say, at home, if at any time they be so; or when they are nearest vnto rest, and in their naturall seate. Naturall inclinations are by institution helped and strengthened but they neither change nor exceed. A thousand natures in my time, haue a thwart a contrarie discipline, escaped toward vertue or toward vice.

Lucan. l. 4.
337.

*Sic ubi desuetæ siluis in carcere clausæ,
Mansuere feræ, et vultus posuere minaces,
Atque hominem didicerunt pati, si torrida paruos
Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesq; furorque,
Admonitaque tument gustato sanguine fauces,
Feruet, et à trepido vix abstinet ira magistro.*
So when wilde beasts, disused from the wood,
Fierce looks laide downe, growe tame, close in a cage,
Taught to beare man, if then a little blood
Touch their hot lips, furie returnes and rage;
Their iawes by taste admonisht swell with vaines,
Rage boyles, and from faine keeper scarce abstaines.

xp

These originall qualities are not grubd out, they are but covered, and hidden: The Latine tongue is to me in a manner naturall; I vnderstand it better then French; but it is now fortie yeares, I have not made vse of it to speake, nor much to write: yet in some extreame emotions and suddaine passions, wherein I haue twice or thrice falen, since my yeares of discretion; and namely one, when my father, being in perfect health, fell all along vpon me in a swoone, I haue euer, euen from my very hart vtered my first wordes in latine: Nature rushing and by force expressing it selfe, against so long a custome; the like example is aleaged of diuers others. Those which in my time, haue attempted to correct the fashions of the world, by new opinions, reforme the vices of aparance; those of essence they leaue them untouched, if they encrease, not: And their encrease is much to be feared. We willinglie protract all other well-doing, vpon these externall reformatiōs, of lesse cost, and of greater merit; whereby we satisfie good-cheape, other naturall, consubstantiall and intestine vices. Looke a little into the course of our experience. There is no man (if he listen to himselfe) that doth not discouer in himselfe a peculiar forme of his, a swaieng forme, which wrestleth against the institution, and against the tempests of passions, which are contrarie vnto him. As for me, I feele not my selfe much agitated by a shock; I commonly finde my selfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpish bodies. If I am not close and neare vnto my selfe, I am never farre-off: My debauches or excesses transport me not much. There is nothing extreame and strange: yet haue I found fits and vigorous lusts. The true condemnation, and which toucheth the common fashion of our men, is, that their verie retreat is full of corruption and filth: The Idea of their amendment blurred and deformed; their repentance crazed and faultie, very neere as much as their sinne. Some, either because they are so fast and naturally ioyned vnto vice, or through long custome, haue lost all sence of it's vgliness. To others (of whose ranck I am) vice is burthenous, but they counter-balance it with pleasure, or other occasions: and suffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themselves vnto it; though basely and vicioullie. Yet might happily so remote a disproportion of measure be imagined, where with justice, the pleasure might excuse the offence, as we say of profit: Not

Not onely being accidental, and out of sinne, as in thefts, but even the in very exercise of it, as in the acquaintance, or copulation with women; where the prouocation is so violent, and as they say, sometime vnresistable. In a towne of a kinsman of mine; the other day, beeing in *Amignac*, I sawe a country man, commonly fir-named the Theefe: who himselfe reported his life to haue beene thus. Being borne a begger, and perceiuing, that to get his bread by the sweate of his brow and labour of his handes, would neuer sufficiently arme him agaynst penury, he resolved to become a Theefe; and in that trade had imployed all his youth safely, by meanes of his bodily strength: for he euer made vppe Haruest and Vintage in other mens groundes; but so farre off, and in so great heapes, that it was beyond imagination, one man should in one night carry away so much vpon his shoul ders: and was so carefull to equall the pray, and disperse the mischiefe he did, that the spoyle was of lesse import to euery particuler man.

He is now in his olde yeares indifferently ritch; for a man of his condition (Godamer cy his trade) which he is not ashamed to confesse openly. And to reconcile himselfe with God, he affirmeth, to be dayly ready, with his gettings, and other good turnes, to satisfie the posterity of those he hath heretofore wronged or robbed; which if himselfe be not of ability to performe (for he cannot doe all at once) he will charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge he hath, of the wrongs by him done to euery man. By this description, be it true or false, he respecteth theft, as a dishonest and vnlawfull action, and hateth the same: yet lesse then pinching want: He repents but simplye; for in regarde it was so counterballanced and recompenced, he repenteth not. This is not that habit which incorporates vs into vice, and confirmeth our vnderstanding in it; nor is it that boysterous winde, which by violent blastes dazeleth and troubleth our mindes, and at that tyme confoundes, and ouerwhelmes both vs, our iudgement, and all, into the power of vice. What I doe, is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as we say) all in one piece: I haue not many motions, that hide themselues and slinke away from my reason, or which very neare are not guided by the consent of all my partes, without diuision, or intestine sedition: my iudgement hath the whole blame, or commendation; and the blame it hath once, it hath euer: for, almost from it's birth, it hath beene one, of the same inclination, course and force. And in matters of generall opinions, euen from my infancy, I ranged my selfe to the point I was to hold. Some sinnes there are outrageous, violent and luda ine; leaue we them.

But those other sinnes, so often reasumed, determined and aduised vppon, whether whether they be of complexion, or of profession and calling, I cannot conceiue how they should so long be settled in one same courage, vnlesse the reason and conscience of the sinner were thereunto inwardly priue and constantly willing. And how to imagine or fashion the repentance thereof, which he vanteth, doeth sometimes visite him, seemeth somewhat hard vnto me. I am not of *Pythagoras* Sect, that men take a new soule, when to receiue Oracles, they approach the images of Gods; vnlesse he would say with all, that it must be a strange one, new and lent him for the time: our owne, giuing so little signe of purification, and cleanness worthy of that office. They doe altogether agaynst the Stoicall precepts, which appoint vs to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our selues, but withall forbid vs to disturbe the quiet of our mynde. They make vs beleue, they feele great remorse, and are inwardly much displeased with sinne; but of amendment, correction, or intermission, they shew vs none. *Surely there can bee no perfect health; Where the disease is, not perfectly remooued.* Were repentance put in the scale of the ballance, it woulde way downe sinne. *I finde no humour so easie to bee counterfeited as Denotion:* If one conforme not his life and conditions to it, her essence is abstruse and concealed, her apparance gentle and stately.

For my part, I may in generall wish to be other then I am; I may condemne and mislike my vniuersall forme; I may beseech God to grant me an vndefiled reformation, and excuse my naturall weakenesse; but me seemeth I ought not to teatme this repentance, no more then the displeasure of being neyther Angel nor *Cato*. My actions are squared to what I am and conformed to my condition. I cannot doe better: And *repentance dooth not properly concerne what is not in our power; sorrow dooth.* I may imagine infinite dispositions of a higher pitch, and better gouerned then myne, yet doe I nothing better my faculties;

no more then myne arme becommeth stronger, or my wit more xcellent, by conceiuing some others to be so. If to suppose and wish a nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, we should then repent vs of our innocent actions: forso-much as we iudge that in a more excellent nature, they had beene directed with greater perfection and dignity; and our selues would doe the like. When I consult with my age of my youtnes proceedings, I finde that commonly, (according to my opinion) I managed them in order. This is all my resistance is able to performe. I flatter not my selfe: in like circumstances, I should euer be the same. It is not a spot, but a whole dye, that staynes me. I acknowledge no repentance, that is superficiall, meane and cerimonious. It must touch me on all sides, before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailes, and afflict them as deeply and throughly, as God himselfe beholdes me. When in negotiating, many good fortunes haue slipt me for want of good discretion, yet did my projects make good choice, according to the occurrences presented vnto them. Their manner is euer to take the easier and surer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discreately, for the subiects state propounded to me; and in like occasions, would proceede a like, a hundred yeares hence. I respect not what now it is, but what it was, when I consulted of it. *The consequence of all designses consists in the seasons; occasions passe, and matters change vncessantlie.* I have in my time runne into some grosse, absurde and important errors; not for want of good aduise but of good hap. There are secret and indiuinable partes in the obiects men doe handle; especiallye in the nature of men; and mute conditions, without show, and sometimes vnknowne of the very possessors, produced and stirred vp by suddaine occasions. If my wit could neyther finde nor preface them, I am not offended with it; the functiō therof is contained within it's owne limets. If the successe beate me, & fauour the side I refused; there is no reinedy; I fall not out with my selfe; I accuse my fortune, not my endeouour: that's not called repentance. *Phocion* had giuen the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed; the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily; How now *Phocion*, (quoth one) art thou pleased the matter hath thrived so well? yea (saide he) and I am glad of it, yet repent not the aduise I gaue.

When any of my friends come to mee for counsell, I bestowe it francklie and clearlie, not (as well nigh all the worlde doth) wavering at the hazard of the matter, whereby the contrary of my meaning may happen, that so they may justly finde faulte with my aduise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe me wrong, and it became not me to refuse them that dutie. I haue no body to blame for my faultes or misfortunes, but my selfe. For in effect I feldome vse the aduise of others, vnlesse it be for complements sake, and where I haue neede of instruction or knowledge of the fact. Marrie in things wherein nought but iudgement is to bee employed; strange reasons may serue to sustaine, but not to diuert me. I lende a favourable and courteous eare vnto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never beleueed any but mine owne. With mee they are but Flyes and Moathes, which distract my will. I little regarde mine owne opinions, other mens I esteeme as little: Fortune payes mee accordinglye. If I take no counsell, I give as little. I am not much sought after for it, and lesse credited when I give it: Neither knowe I any enterprise, eyther private or publike, that my aduise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Even those whome fortune had some-way tyde therevnto, have more willinglie admitted the direction of others conceites, then mine. As one that am as jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of those of my authoritie; I would rather haue it thus.

Where leaving me, they iumpe with my profession, which is, wholie to settle and containe mee in my selfe. It is a pleasure vnto mee, to be disinterested of other mens affayres, and disingaged from their contenrions. When sutes or busineses bee ouerpast, how-so-ever it bee, I greeve little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarilye happen-so, puts mee out of paine: behould them in the course of the Vniuerse, and enchained in Stoycall causes. Your fantzie cannot by wishe or imagination, reniooue one point of them, but the whole order of things must reverse both what is past, and what is to come. More-over, I hate that accidentall repentance which olde age brings with it.

Note this opinion

He that in ancient times saide, he was beholden to yeares, because they had ridde him of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion. I shall never give impuissance thankses, for any good it can doe mee. *Nec tam auersa unquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, ut debilitas inter optima inuenta sit.* Nor shall fore-sight euer bee seene so auerse from hir owne worke, that weakenesse be found to be one of the best thing. Our appetites are rare in olde-age: the blowe over-passed, a deepe facietie scazeth vpon vs: Therein I see no conscience. Fretting care and weakenesse, imprint in vs an effeminate and drowzie vertue.

Age
X/3

Wee must not suffer our selues so fully to be carryed into naturall alterations, as to corrupt or adulterate our iudgement by them. Youth and pleasure have not heretofore prevailed so much over me, but I could ever (even in the midst of sensualities) discern the vgly face of sinne: nor can the distaste which yeares bring on me, at this instant, keepe me from discerning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were still there. I who livelie and attentively examine my reason, finde it to be the same that possessed me in my most dissolute and licentious age; vnlesse perhaps, ~~it~~ being enfeebled and empayred by yeares, doe make some difference: And finde, that what delight it refuseth to affoorde me in regarde of my bodilie health, it would no more denie me, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To see it out of combate, I holde it not the more couragious. My temptations are so mortifide and crazed, as they are not worthy of it's oppositions; holding but my hand before me, I be-calm them. Should one present that former concupiscence vnto it, I feare it would be of lesse powre to sustaine it then heretofore it hath beene. I see in it, by it selfe no encrease of iudgement, nor accesse of brightnesse, what it now iudgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, 'tis but diseased. *Oh miserable kinde of remedie, to be beholden vnto sicknesse for our health.* It is not for our mishap, but for the good successe of our iudgement to performe this office. Crosses and afflictions, make me doe nothing but curse them. They are for people, that cannot be awaked but by the whip. The course of my reason is the nimbler in prosperitie; It is much more distracted and busied in the digesting of mischiefes, then of delights. I see much clearer in faire weather. Health forewarneth me, as with more pleasure, so to better purpose then sicknesse. I approached the nearest I could vnto amendment and regularitie, when I should have enioyed the same; I should be ashamed and vexed, that the miserie and mishap of my olde age could exceede the health, attention and vigor of my youth: and that I should be esteemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am leaft to be. The happy life (in my opinion) not (as said *Antisthines*) the happy death, is it that makes mans happinesse in this world.

I have not preposterouslie busied my selfe to tye the taile of a Philosopher, vnto the head and bodye of a varlet: nor that this paultrie ende, should disavowe and be-lye the sayrest, soundest, and longest parte of my life. I will present my selfe and make a generall muster of my whole, euery where vniformallie. Were I to live againe, it should be as I have already liued. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not deceived, the inwarde partes have neerely resembled the outwarde. It is one of the chiefeft pointes wherein I am beholden to fortune, that in the course of my bodies-estate, each thing hath beene carryed in season. I have seene the leaves, the blossomes, and the fruite; and now see the drooping and withering of it. Happilie, because naturallie. I beare present miseries the more gentlie, because they are in their prime, and with greater fauour make me remember the long happinesse of my former life. In like manner, my discretion may well bee of like proportion in the one and the other time: but sure it was of much more performance, and had a better grace, being fresh, iolly and full of spirite, then now that it is worne, decrepite and toylefome.

Dreadfull

I therefore renounce these casuall and dolourous reformatiōs. *God must touche our heartes; our conscience must amende of it selfe*, and not by re-inforcement of our reason, nor by the enfeebeling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse is neyther pale nor discoloured, to be discerned by bleare and troubled eyes. We should affect temperance and chastitie for it selfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordained them vnto vs:

Age x^p

that which Catars bestowe vpon vs, and which I am beholden to my chollike for, is neither temperance nor chastitie. A man cannot boast of contemning or combating sensuality, if he see hir not, or know not hir grace, hir force and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But me thinkes our soules in age, are subiect vnto more importunate diseases and imperfections, then they are in youth. I said so being yong, when my beardless chinne was vpbraided me; and I say it againe, now that my gray beard gives me authoritie. We entitle wisdome, the frowardnesse of our humours, and the distaste of present things; but in truth we abandon not vices, so much as we change them; and in mine opinion for the worse. Besides a fillie and ruinous pride, comberfome tattle, wayward and vsociable humors, superstition and a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the vse of it is well nighe lost, I finde the more enuie, iniustice and lewdnesse in it. It sets more wrinkles in our mindes, then on our foreheades: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing olde taste not fowrelie and mustilie. Man marcheth entirelie towards his encrease and decrease. View but the wisdome of *Socrates*, and diuers circumstances of his condemnation, I dare say he something lent himselfe vnto it by preuarcation of purpose: being so heare, and at the age of seauentie, to endure the benumbing of his spirites richest pace, and the dimming of his accustomed brightnesse. What *Metamorphoses* have I seene it dailie make in diuers of mine acquaintances? It is a powerfull maladie, which naturallie and imperceptible glideth into vs: There is required great prouision of studie, heede and precaution, to auoide the imperfections wherewith it chargeth vs; or at least to weaken their further progresse. I finde that notwithstanding all my entrenchings, by litle and litle it getteth ground vpon me: I should out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring me: Hap what hap will, I am pleased the world knowe from what height I tumbled.

The third Chapter.

Of three commerces or societies. 6.

much of him selfe
of his Amours
x^p His Library
His studies.

WE must not cleave so fast vnto our humours and dispositions. Our chiefest sufficiencie is, to apply our selues to diuers fashions. It is a being, but not a life, to be tyde and bound by necessitie to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have most varietie and pliability in them. Behould an honourable testimonie of olde *Cato*: *Hic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natura id unum diceret, quodcumque ageret.* He had a witte so turneable to all things alike, as one would say he had bene onely borne for that he went about to doe: Were I to dresse my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good, whereto I would be so affected or tied, as not to knowe how to leave and loose it. Life is a motion vnequall, irregulare and multiforme. It is not to be the friend (lesse the maister) but the slave of ones selfe to followe vncessantlie, and be so addicted to his inclinations, as he cannot straye from them, nor wrest them. This I say now, as being extreame pestred with the importunitie of my minde, forsomuch as she cannot amuse hir selfe, but whereon it is busied; nor employ it selfe, but bent and whole. How light soever the subiect is one gives it, it willinglie amplifieth, and wyre-drawes the same, even vnto the highest pitch of toyle. It's idlenesse is therefore a painefull trade vnto me, and offensive to my health. Most wittes have neede of extravagant stufte, to vn-benume and exercise themselves: mine hath neede of it, rather to settle and continue it selfe; *Vitia otij negotio discutienda sunt*, The vices of idlenesse should be shaken off with businesse: For, the most laborious care and principall studie of it, is, to studie it selfe. Bookes are one of those businesse that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughts that present themselves, it rouzeth vp and makes prooffe of all the vigor it hath. It exerciseth it's function sometimes towarde force, sometimes towarde order and comelinesse, it rangeth, moderates and fortifieth. It hath of it selfe to awaken the faculties of it: Nature having given it, as vnto all other, matter of it's owne for aduantage, and subiects fit enough whereon

to

x^pLin. bel.
Mac. 1.9.

n

to devise and determine . Meditation is a large and powerfull studie to such as vigorously can taste and employe them-selves therein . I had rather forge then furnish my minde. 9

There is no office or occupation either weaker or stronger, then that of entertaining of ones thoughts according to the minde, whatsoever it be . The greatest make it their vacation, *Quibus vivere est cogitare, to whom it is all one to live and to meditate.* Nature hath also favoured it with this priviledge, that there is nothing we can doe so long ; nor action, whereto we give our selves more ordinarilie and easilie. It is the worke of Gods (saith *Aristotle*) whence both their happinesse and ours proceedeth . Reading serves me especially, to awake my conceits by divers objects; to busie my judgement, not my memorye. Fewe entertainements then, staye me without vigour and force . Tis true that courtesie and beautie possesse me, as much or more, then waight and deapth . And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficiall partes of my attention vnto them, it often befalleth me, in such kinde of weake and absurde discourses, (discourses of countenance) to blurt out and answer ridiculous toyes, and fond absurdities, vnworthie a childe; or wilfullie to holde my peace; therewithall more foolishlie and incivilye . I have a kinde of raving fancie-full behaviour, that retireth me into my selfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinarie things; by meanes of which two qualities, I have in my dayes committed five or sixe as fortish trikes, as any one whosoever; which to my derogation may be reported . But to followe my purpose, this harsh complexion of mine makes me nice in conuersing with men (whome I must picke and cull out for the nonce) and vnfit for common actions. We live and negotiate with the people: If their behaviour importune vs, if we disdain to lend our selves to base and vulgar spirites, which often are as regulare as those of a finer mould; and *all wisdom is foolish, that is not conformed to common insipience.* We are no longer to intermedle cyther with our, or other mens affaires: and both publicke and private forsake such kinde of people. 12

The least wrested, and most naturall proceedings of our minde, are the fairest; the best occupations, those which are least forced . Good God, how good an office doth wisdom vnto those, whose desires she squareth according to their power! There is no science more profitable, *As one may,* was the burden and favoured saying of *Socrates*: A sentence of great substance . Wee must adresse and staye our desires, to things most easie and nearest . Is it not a fond-peevisn humour in me, to disagree from a thousand; to whome my fortune ioyneth mee, without whome I cannot live, to adhere vnto one or two, that are out of my commerce and conuersation; or rather to a fantastickall conceite, or fancie-full desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine? My soft behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpenesse and foes to all bitternesse, may easilie have discharged me from enuie and contention . To be beloved, I say not, but not to be hated, never did man give more occasion . But the coldenesse of my conuersation, hath with reason robbed me of the good-will of many; which may be excused, if they interpret the same to other, or worse sence . I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquaintances . For-so-much as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour . I so greedilie produce and head-long cast my selfe vpon them, that I doe not easilie misse to cleave vnto them, and where I light-on, to make a steadie impression; I have often made happy and successfull triall of it. 13

In vulgar worldlie friendships, I am somewhat colde and barren; for my proceeding is not naturall, if not vnresisted and with hoysed-full sailes . Moreouer, my fortune having enured and allured me, even from my infancie, to one sole-singular and perfect amitie, hath verilie, in some sorte, distasted me from others: and over-deepelic imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a beast sociable and for company, and not of troupe, as sayde an ancient writer . So that it is naturallie a paine vnto me, to communicate my selfe by halues, and with modification; and that seruile or suspicious wisdom, which in the conuersation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and proposed vnto vs: Prescribed in these dayes especiallie, *Wherein one cannot speake of the world,* 9

worlde but dangerouslie or falselie. Yet I see, that who (as I doe) makes for his ende, the commodities of his lyfe (I meane essentiall commodities) must auoyde as a plague, these difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.

I should commend a high-rayfed minde, that could both bende and discharge it selfe: that where-ever hir fortune might transporte hir, shee might continue constant: that could discourse with hir neyghbour of all matters, as of hir building, of hir hunting and of any quarrell; and entertaine with delight a Carpenter or a Gattiner. I enuye those which can bee familiar with the meanest of their followers, and vouchsafe to contract friendship, and frame discourse with their owne seruantes. Nor doe I like the aduise of *Plato*, ever to speake imperiously vnto our attendants, without blithnesse and sance any familiaritie: bee it to men or women seruants. For, besides my reason, it is inhumanitie, and iniustice, to attribute so much vnto that prerogatiue of fortune: and the gouernement, where lesse inequality is permitted betweene the seruant and mayster, is, in my conceite the more indifferent. Some others studie to rouze and raise their minde; but I to abase and prostrate mine: it is not faultie but in extension.

Hor. car. l.
3. ed. 19.2.

*Narras et genus Æaci,
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio,
Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo præbente domum, et quota
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.*

You tell of *Æacus* the pedegree;
The warres at sacred *Troye* you doe display,
You tell not at what price a hogs-head we
May buie of the best Wine; who shall allaye
Wine-fire with water; at whose house to holde,
At what a-clock, I may be kept from colde.

Even as the *Lacedemonian* valoure had neede of moderation, and of sweete and pleasing soundes of Flutes, to flatter and allaye it in time of warre, least it should runne head-long into rashnesse and furye: whereas all other nations vse commonlye pearcing soundes and stronge shoutes, which violentlie excite, and enflame their souldyers courage: so thinke I (against ordinarie custome) that in the employment of our spirite, wee have for the most parte more neede of leade then winges; of coldenesse and quiet, then of heate and agitation. Above all, in my minde, *The onely way to playe the foole well, is to seeme wise among fooles*: to speake as-though ones tongue were ever bent to *Fauellar' in punta di forchetta*, To syllabize or speake minzinglie. One must lende him-selfe vnto those hee is with, and sometimes affect ignorance: Set force and subtiltie aside; In common employments 'tis enough to reuerue order; dragge your selfe even close to the ground, if they will have it so. The learned stumble willingly on this blocke; making continuall muster, and open shoue of their skill, and dispersing their bookes abroad: And have in these dayes so filled the closets, and possessed the eates of Ladyes, that if they retayne not their substance, at least they have theyr countenance: vsing in all sortes of discourse and subject, how base or popolare so-ever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of speaking and writing.

Inuen. sat. 6.
199.

*Hoc sermone pauent, hoc iram gaudia, suras,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, quid ultra?
Concumbunt docte.*

They in this language feare, in this they fashion
Their ioyes, their cares, their rage, their inward passion;
What more? they learned are in copulation.

And

And alleadge *Plato*, and *Saint Thomas* for things, which the first man they meete would decide as well, and stande for as good a witnesse. Such learning as could not enter into their minde, hath staide on their tongues. If the well-borne will giue any credite vnto me, they shall be pleased to make their owne and naturall ritches to preuaile and be of worthe: They hide and shrowd theyr formes vnder forraigne and borrowed beawties: *It is great simplicitie, for any body to smoothe and conceale his owne brightnesse, to shine with a borrowed light*: They are buried and entombed vnder the Arte of *CAPSULA TOTÆ*. It is because they doe not sufficiently know them-selves: the world contains nothing of more beautie: It is for them to honour Artes, and to bewtifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured? They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needs but a little rouzing and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them medling with Rhetoricke, with Lawe, with Logicke, and such like trashe, so vayne and vnprofitable for theyr vse; I enter into feare, that those who aduise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more lawe to governe or collour them vnder that title or pretence. For, what other excuse can I deuise for them? It is sufficient, that without vs, they may frame, or roule the grace of their eyes, vnto cheerefulnesse, vnto severitie, and vnto mildenesse: and season a *No* with frowardnesse, with doubt and with fauoure; and require not an interpreter in discourses made for their seruice. With this learning they commaund without controule, and over-rule both Regents and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeelde vs any preheminence, and would for curiositie sake have parte in bookes also: *Poesye* is a studie fitte for their purpose: beeing a wanton, ammusung, subtile, disguised, and prating Arte; all in delight, all in shoue, like to them-selues. They may also select diuerse commodities out of *Historye*. In *Morrall Philosophie*, they may take the discourses which enable them to iudge of our humoures, and censure of our conditions, and to auoyde our guiles and treacheries: to moderate theyr libertie: lengthen the delightes of lyfe; gentlye to beare the inconstancie of a seruant, the peevisshnesse or rudenesse of a husband, the importunitie of yeares, the vnwellcome of wrinckles, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe heare the most and greatest share of learning I would assigne them. There are some particulare, retired and close dispositions.

My essentiall forme is fitte for communication, and proper for production: I am all outwarde and in apparence; borne for societie and vnto friendshippe. The solitude I love and commend, is especiallye but to retyre my affections, and redeeme my thoughts vnto my selfe; to restraine and close vp, not my steppes, but my desires and my cares, resigning all forraigne sollicitude and trouble, and mortallye shunning all manner of seruitude and obligation; and not so much the throng of men as the importunitie of affayres. Locall solitarinesse (to saye truth) doth rather extende and enlarge mee outwardlie; I give my selfe to State-businesse, and to the worlde, more willinglye when I am all alone. At the Courte, and in presse of people, I close and flinke into mine owne skynne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my selfe. And I never entertaine my selfe so fondlye, so licenciouslye, and so particularlye, as in places of respect, and ceremonious discretion. Our follyes make mee not laughe, but our wisedomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemye to the agitations and stirrings of our Courtes; I have there past great parte of my lyfe: and am enured to bee merrie in great assemblies; so it bee by intermission, and sutable to my humore. But this tenderneffe or coyenesse of iudgement (whereof I speake) dooth perforce tye mee vnto solitarinesse. Yea even in mine owne house, in the midst of a numerous familie, and most frequented houses, I see people more then a good manye, but seldome such as I love to conuerse or communicate with-all. And there I reserue, both for my selfe, and others, an vnaccoustomed lybertye; making truce with cerimonies, assistance, and enuytings, and such other troublesome ordynances of our courtesie (Oh seruile custome, and importunate manner) there every man demeaneth him-
selfe

selfe as he pleaseth, and entertayneth what his thoughtes affect; whereas I keepe my selfe silent, meditating and close, without offence to my guesstes or friendes.

The men whose familiarity and society I hunt after, are those which are called honest, vertuous and sufficient: the image of whome doth distaste and diuert me from others. It is (being rightly taken) the rarest of our formes; and a forme or fashion chiefly due vnto nature.

The ende or skope of this commerce, is principally and simply familiarity, conference and frequentation: the exercise of mindes, without other fruite. In our discourses, all subiects are a-like to me: I care not though they want either waight or deapth; grace and pertinencie are neuer wanting; all therein is tainted with a ripe and constant iudgement, and commixt with goodnesse, liberty, cheerefulnesse and kindenesse. It is not onely in the subiect of lawes and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth its beauty, grace and vigor: It sheweth them as much in priuate conferences. I know my people by their very silence and smyling, and peraduenture discover them better at a table, then sitting in serious counsell. *Hippomachus* said, he discerned good wrestlers but by seeing them march through a streete. If learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, she shall not be refused; yet must not she be sterne, maistring, imperious and importunate, as commonly she is; but assistant, and docile of hirselfe. Therein we seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be instructed, taught and resolu'd, we will go seeke and sue to her in her throane. Let her if she please keepe from vs at that time; for, as commodious and pleasing as she is: I presume that for a neede we could spare her presence, and doe our businesse well enough without her. Wits well borne, soundly bred and exercised in the practise and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the check-route and register of the productions vttered, and conceites produced by them.

Cic. parat.

The company of faire, and society of honest women is likewise a sweete commerce for me: *Nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus, for wee also haue learned eyes.* If the minde haue not so much to solace her selfe, as in the former; the corporall senses, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neare vnto the other; although in myne opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooueth a man somewhat to stand vpon his guard; and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can doe much, as in me. In my youth I heated my selfe therein and was very violent; and endured all the rages and furious assaults, which Poets say happen to those who without order or discretion abandone themselves ouer-loosly and ryotously vnto it. True it is indeede, that the same lash hath since stoode me instead of an instruction.

*Quid. Trist.
l. i. d. i. 83.*

*Quicumque Argolica de classe Capharea fugit,
Semper ab Euboicis vela retorquet aquis.*

Greeke Sailers that *Capharean* rocks did fly,
From the *Euboean* Sease their sailes still ply.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts vpon it, and with a furious and indiscreete affection to engage himselfe vnto it: But on the other side, to meddle with it without loue or bond of affection, as Comediants doe, to playe a common parte of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned wordes, is verylye a prouision for ones safety: and yet but a cowardlye one; as is that of him, who woulde forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure for feare of danger; for it is certayne that the practisers of such courses, cannot hope for any fruite able to mooue or satisfie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly haue desired that, whereof he would enioy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should vniustly fauour their intention: which often hapneth because there is no woman, how deformed and vnhandsome soeuer, but thinks her selfe louely, amiable and prayse-worthye, eyther for her age, her haire or gate (for there are generally no more faire then foule ones) And the *Brackmanian* maydes wanting other commendations; by proclamation for that purpose, made shew

of

of their matrimoniall partes vnto the people assembled, to see if thereby at least they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but vpon the first oath one maketh to serue her, will very easily be perswaded to thinke well of her selfe. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these dayes, must needs produce the effects, experience already discouereth: which is, that either they ioyne together, and cast away themselues on themselues, to auoyde vs, or on their side follow also the example we giue them; acting their part of the play, without passion; without care, and without loue, lending themselues to this entercourse: *Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxia: Neither lyable to their own nor other folkes affection.* Thinking, according to *Lyfias* persuatios in *Plato*, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld vnto vs; by how much lesse we loue them: Wherein it will happen as in Commedies, the spectators shall haue as much or more pleasure, as the Commediants. For my part I no more acknowledge *Venus* without *Cupid*, then a motherhood without an offspring: They are things which enter-lend and enter-owe one another their essence. Thus doth this cozoning rebound on him that vseth it; & as it costes him little so gets he not much by it. Those which made *Venus* a Godeffe haue respected that her principall beauty was incorporeall and spirituall. But she whom these kinde of people hunt-after, is not so much as humane, nor also brutall; but such as wilde beastes, would not haue her so filthy and terrestriall. We see that imagination enflames them, and desire or lust vrgeth them, before the body: We see in one and other sexe, euen in whole heardes, choise and distinctions in their affections, and amongst themselues acquaintances of long continued good-will and liking. And euen those to whom age denyeth bodily strength, doe yet bray; neygh, roare, skip and wince for loue. Before the deed we see them full of hope and heate; and when the body hath plaide his part, euen tickle and tingle them: themselues with the sweetenesse of that remembrance: some of them swell with pride at parting from it, others all weary and glutted, ring out songs of glee and triumph. Who makes no more of it but to discharge his body of some naturall necessity, hath no cause to trouble others with so curious preparation. *It is no foode for a greedy and clownish hunger.* As one that would not be accompted better then I am, thus much I will display of my youthe's wanton-errors: Not onely for the danger of ones health that followes that game (yet could I not auoide two, though light and cursory assaults) but also for contempt, I haue not much beene giuen to mercenary and common acquaintances. I haue coueted to set an edge on that sensuall pleasure by difficulty, by desire and for some glory. And liked *Tiberius* his fashions, who in his amours was swaide as much by modesty and noblenesse, as by any other qualitie. And *Floras* humour, who would prostitute her selfe to none worse then Dictators, Consuls, or Senators, and tooke delight in the dignity and greatnesse of her louers, doeth some-what fute with mine. Surely glittering Pearles, and Silken cloathes adde some-thing vnto it, and so doe titles, nobility and a worthy traine. Besides which, I made high esteeme of the minde, yet so as the body might not iustly be found fault withall: For, to speake my conscience, if either of the two beauties were necessarily to be wanting, I would rather haue chossen to want the mental, whose vse is to be employed in better things. But in the subiect of loue; a subiect that chiefly hath reference vnto the two fences of seeing and touching, some thing may be done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. *Beauty is the true auailsfull aduantage of Women:* It is so peculiarly theirs, that ours though it require some features and different allurements, is not in herright kue, or true byas, vnlesse confused with theirs; childish and beardedlesse. It is reported, that such as serue the great *Turke* vnder the title of beauty, (whereof the number is infinite) are dismissed at furthest when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeares. *Discourle, discretion, together with the offices of true amity, are better found amongst men: and therefore gouerne they the worldes affaires.* These two commerees or societies are accidentall and depending of others; the one is troublesome and tedious for its rarity; the other withers with olde age: nor could they haue sufficiently provided for my liues necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-fure and much more ours; some other aduantages it yeeldeth to the two former; but hath for her share constancie and the facility of her seruice. This accosteth and secondeth all my course, and euery where assisteth me: It comforts me in age, and solaceth me in solitarinesse: It easeth me of the burthen of a weary-some sloath; and at all times rideth me of tedious companies; it abateth the

the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it be not extreame and ouer insolent. *To direct me from any importunate imagination or insinuating conceits, there is no better way then to haue recourse vnto bookes:* with ease they allure me to them, and with facility they remooue them all. And though they perceiue I neither frequent nor seeke them, but wanting other more essentiall, liuely and more naturall commodities, they neuer mutinie or murmur at me; but still entertaine me with one and selfe-same visage. *He may well walke a foote, that leades his horse by the bridle,* faith the prouerbe. And our *James* king of *Naples* and *Sicilie*, who being faire, young, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to be carried abroad in a plaine wagon or skreene, lying vpon an homely pillow of course feathers, cloathed in a sute of homespunne gray, and a bonet of the same, yet royally attended on by a gallant troupe of Nobles, of Litters, Coches, and of all sorts of choice led-horses, a number of gentlemen, and officers, represented a tender and wauering austeritie. *The sicke man is not to be moaned, that hath his health in his sleene.* In the experience and vse of this sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the commodity I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other vse of them, then those who know them not. I enioy them, as a myser doth his golde; to know, that I may enioy them when I list; my minde is settled and satisfied with the right possession. I neuer trauell without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I passe many dayes and monethes without vsing them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting me. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, & how I continue in this consideration, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serue: and in acknowledging what assistance they giue vnto my life. This is the best munition I haue found in this humane peregrination; and I extreemly bewaile those men of vnderstanding that want the same. I accept with better will all other kinds of amusements, how slight soever, forso much as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somewhat the oftner to my Librarie, whence all at once I command and suruay all my household; It is seated in the chiefe entrie of my house, thence I beholde vnder me my garden, my base court, my yarde, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without methode, and by piece-meales I turne-over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking vp and downe I endite and enregister these my humors, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a towre. The lower-most, is my chappell; the second a chamber with other lodgings, where I often lye, because I would be alone. Aboue it is a great ward-robe. It was in times past the most vnprofitable place of all my house. There I passe the greatest part of my liues dayes, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights: Next vnto it is a handsome neate cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowed. And if I feared not care, more then cost; (care which drives and diuers me from all businesse) I might easily joine a conuenient gallerie of a hundred paces long, and twelue broad, on each side of it, and vpon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised vnto a conuenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I sit long. My minde goes not alone as if legges did mooue it. Those that studie without bookes, are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serueth for my table and chaire: In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offreth me the full sight of all my bookes, set round about vpon shelues or decks, fiue rankes one vpon another. It hath three baye-windowes, of a farre-extending, ritche and vnresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteene paces void. In winter I am lesse continually there; for my house (as the name of it importeth) is peached vpon an over-pearing hillock; and hath no part more subiect to all wethers then this: which pleaseth me the more, both because the access vnto it is somewhat troublesome and remote, & for the benefit of the exercise, which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my selfe from companie, and keepe in-crochers from me: There is my seate, that is my throne. I endeuour to make my rule therein absolute, and to sequester that onely corner from the communitie of wife, of children and of acquaintance. Elsewhere I haue but a verball auctoritie, of confused essence. Miserable, in my minde is he, who in his owne home, hath no where to be to himselfe; where he may particularlie covey, and at his pleasure hide or with-drawe himselfe. Ambition payeth her followers well, to keepe them still in open view, as a statue in some conspicuous place. *Mag-*

His library
study & retire-
ment

*

Sen. cons. ad
Pob. c. 26. p.

va seruius est magna fortuna: A great fortune is a great bondage. They cannot be private to much

much as at their priuie. I have deemed nothing so rude in the austeritie of the life, which our Church-men affect, as that in some of their companies they institute a perpetuall societie of place, and a numerous assistance amongst them in any thing they doe. And deeme it somewhat more tollerable to be ever alone, then never able to be so. If any say to me, It is a kinde of vilifying the Muses, to vse them onely for sporte and recreation, he wots not as I doe, what worth, pleasure, sporte and passe-time is of: I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and with reverence be it spoken, I liue but to my selfe: there end all my designs. Being young I studied for ostentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and recreation; never for gaine. A vaine conceite and lavish humour I had after this kinde of stuffe; not onely to prouide for my neede, but somewhat further to adorne and embellish my selfe withall: I have since partlie least it. *Bookes haue and containe diuers pleasing qualities to those that can duly choose them. But no good without paines; no Roses without prickles.* It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neate, no more then all others; it hath his inconueniences attending on it, and sometimes waightie ones: The minde is therein exercised, but the body (the care whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth there whilst without action, and is wasted, and enforrowed. I know no excesse more hurtfull for me, nor more to be auoided by me, in this declining age, Loe here my three most fauoured and particulare employments. I speake not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

Harm by much study

The fourth Chapter.

4

Of diuerting or diuersion.

I Was once employed in comforting of a trulie-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their discourses are artificiall and cerimonious.

Xp

Uberibus semper lachrimis, semperque paratis.

In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,

Quo iubeat manare modo.

Inuen. Sat.
6.273.

With plenteous teares; still readie in their stand,
Expecting still their Mistresses commaund,
How they must flowe, when they must goe.

Men doe but ill in opposing themselues against this passion; for opposition doth but incense and engage them more to sorrowe and disquietnesse: *The disease is exasperated by the iealousie of debate.* In matters of common discourse, we see, that what I have spoken without heede or care, if one come to contest with me about it, I stiffle maintaine and make mine owne; much more if it be a thing wherein I am interessed. Besides, in so dooing, you enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a Phisitions first entertainment of his patient should be gracious, cheerefull and pleasing. *An vglie and froward Phisition wrought never any good effect.* On the contrary then, we must at first assist and smoothe their laments, and witnesse some approbation and excuse thereof. By which meanes you get credit to go on, and by an easie and insensible inclination, you fall into more firme or serious discourses, and fit for their amendment. I, who desired chieflie but to gull the assistance, that had their eyes cast on me, meant to salve the mischief; I verilie finde by experience, that I have but an ill and vnfruitfull vaine to perswade. I present my reasons eyther too sharpe, or too drie; or too stirringly, or too careleslie. After I had for a while applyed my selfe to hir torment, I attempted not to cure it by strong & liuely reasons; either because I want them, or because I supposed I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I cull out the severall fashions of comfort prescribed by Philosophie: That the thing lamented is not ill, as *Cleanthes*; or but a little ill, as the *Peripatethicks*: That to lament is neither just, nor commendable, as *Chrysippus*; Nor this of *Epicurus*, most agreeing with my manner, to translate the conceit of ykesome into delightfome things; Nor to make a load of all this masse, dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as *Cicero*. But faire and softlie declining our discourses

discourses, and by degrees bending them vnto subiects more neare; then a little more remote, even as she more or lesse enclined to me. I vnperceauable remoued those dolefull humours from hir; so that as long as I was with hir, so long I kept hir in checrefull countenance, and vntroubled fashion; wherein I vsed diversion. Those which in the same seruice succeded me, found hir no whit amended: the reason was, I had not yet driven my wedge to the roote. I have peraduenture else where, glaunched at some kindes of publicke diuersions. And the militarie customes vsed by *Pericles* in the Peloponensian waire, and a thousand others else-where, to divert or with-drawe the armie of an enemy from their owne countrie, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenious diverting, where-with the Lord of *Himbercourt* saved both himselfe and others in the towne of *Liege*, into which the Duke of *Burgondie*, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yeelding. The inhabitants thereof, to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutinie against their former agreement, determining vpon this aduantage to set vpon the Negotiators, now in their powre. He perceiuing their intent, and noise of this shoure readie to fall vpon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forth-with rushed out vpon them two citizens (whereof he had diuers with him) furnished with most plaufible and new offers to be propounded to their counsell; but indeed forged at that instant to serue his turne withall, and to amuse them. These two stayed the first-approching storme, and carryed this incensed Hydra-headed-monster multitude backe to the towne-house, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The consultation was short; when loe a second tempest came rushing on, more furiouslie intraged then the former; to whom he immediatlie dispatched foure new and semblable intercessors, with protestations, that now they were in earnest to propose and declare newe and farre more ample conditions vnto them, wholie to their content and satisfaction; whereby this disordred route was againe drawne to their Conclauē and Senate-house. In summe, he by such a dispensation of amusements, diverting their head-long furie, and dissipating the same with vaine and friuolous consultations, at length lulled them into so secure a sleepe, that he gained the day, which was his chiefest drift and onely aimed scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. *Atalanta* a maide of rare surpassing beautie, and of a wondrous-strange disposition, to ridde hir selfe from the importunate pursuite of a thousand amorous suitors, who solicited hir for marriage, prescribed this lawe vnto them; that she would accept of him, that should equall hir in running; on condition those she should overcome might loose their lives. Some there were found, who deemed this prize worthie the hazard, and who incurred the penaltie of so cruell a match. *Hippomenes* comming to make his essay after the rest, deuourly addressed him-selfe to the deuine protectresse of all amorous delights, earnestlie inuoking hir assistance; who gentlie listning to his hartie prayers, furnished him with three golden Apples, and taught him how to vse them. The scope of the race being plaine, according as *Hippomenes* perceined his swift-footed mistris to approach his heeles, he let fall (as at vauwares) one of his Apples: the heedlesse maiden gazing and wondring at the alluring beauty of it, sayled not to turne and take it vp.

Ouid. Met.
lib. 10. 666

*Obstupet virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi,
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile rotat.*

The mayde amaz'de, desiring that faire golde,
Turnes-by her course, takes it vp as it rould.

The like he did (at his neede) with the second and third: vntill by this degreessing and diuerting, the goale and aduantage of the course was judged his. When Phisicians cannot purge the rheume, they diuert and remouue the same vnto some lesse dangerous part. I also perceiue it to be the most ordinarie receite for the mindes diseases. *Abducendus etiam non nunquam animus est ad alia studia sollicitudines curas; negotia: Loca denique mutatione, tamquam agroti non conualescentes, saepe curandus est: Our minde also is sometimes to be diuerted to other studies, cogitations, cares and busineses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sick folkes vse, that otherwise cannot get health.* One makes it sildome to shock mischiefs with direct resistance; one makes it neither beare nor brake, but shunne and diuert the blowe. This other lesson is too high, and ouer-harde. It is for them of the first rancke, meerely to stay vpon the thing it selfe, to examine and iudge it. It belongeth to one onely *Socrates*, to accoste and entertaine death with an yndanted ordinarie visage, to become familiar and play with it.

He

He seeketh for no comfort out of the thing it selfe. To dye seemeth vnto him a naturall- and indifferent accident: thereon he wishly fixeth his sight, and thereon he resolueth without looking else-where. *Hegesias* his disciples, who with hunger starued themselues to death, incensed therevnto with the perswading discourses of his lessons; and that so thick as King *Ptolomey* forbad him any longer to entertaine his schoole with such murtherous precepts. Those considered not death in it selfe, they iudge it not: This was not the limitte of their thoughts, they runne-on, and ayme at another being. Those poore creatures we see on scaffolds, fraught with an earnest to heauens-raised deuotion, therein to the vttermost of their powre, employing all their sences; with their cares attentive to such instructions as preachers give them, and wringing handes heaved vp to heauen; with hart-proceeding voice, vttering deuoute-prayers, with seruent and continuall rithmooving motion; doe verilie what in such an vnavoidable exigent is commendable and conuenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properlie their constancie. They shunne the brunt; they diuert their consideration from death; as wee vse to dandle and buse children, when we would launce them or let them bloud. I have seene some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eyes towards the dreadfull preparations of death, which were roundabout them fall into trances, and with fury cast their cogitations elsewhere. We teach those that are to passe-ouer some steepie downe-fall or dreadfull abisse, to shut or turne aside their eyes. *Subrius Flavius*, being by the appointment of *Nero* to be put to death by the handes of *Niger*, both chiefe commanders in warre: when he was brought vnto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit *Niger* had caused to be digged for him vneuen and vnhandsomelye made; *Nor is this pit* (quoth he to the souldyers that stood about him) *according to the true discipline of warre*: And to *Niger*, who willed him to holde his head steddy, *I wish thou wouldest stricke as sted-dilye*. He guessed right; for *Nigers* arme trembling, he had dyuers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemeth to haue fixed his thoughtes surelye and directly on the matter. He that dyes in the fury of a battle, with weapons in hand thinks not then on death, and neyther feeleth nor considereth the same: the heate of the fight transports him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combat, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemy, was called vnto by the bystanders to call on God and remember his conscience: but he toulde me after, that albeit those voyces came vnto his eares, they had no whit mooued him, and that he thought on nothing, but how to discharge and reuenge himselfe. In which combatte he vanquished and slew his aduersarye.

He who brought *L. Sillanus* his condemnation, did much for him; in that when he harde him answer he was prepared to dye, but not by the handes of base villaines; ranne vppon him with his souldiers to force him; against whom obstinately defending himselfe (though vnarmed) with fistes and feete; he was slaine in the conflict: disperfing with a ready and rebellious choller the paynfull sence of a long and fore-prepared death; to which he was assigned. We euer thinke on somewhat else: eyther the hope of a better life doth settle and support vs, or the confidence of our childrens worth; or the future glory of our name; or the auoyding of these liues mischieues; or the reuenge hanging ouer their heads that haue caused and procured our death:

*Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido
Sape vocaturum.*

*Virg. AEn.
l.4.382.*

Audiam, et hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.

387.

I hope, if powers of heauen haue any power,
On rockes he shalbe punished, at that houre,
He oft on *Didos* name, shall pittilesse exclaime.

This shall I heare, and this report, shall to me in my graue resort.

Xenophon sacrificed with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death of his sonne *Gryllus* in the battell of *Mantineia*. At the first hearing whereof he cast his crowne to the ground; but finding vppon better relation how valiantly he dyed, he tooke it vppe and put it on his head agayne. *Epicurus* also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternitie and worth of his writings. *Omnes clari et nobilitati labores sunt tolerabiles. Cic. Tusc. l.2*

Ibid.

All glorious and honourable labours are made tolerable. And the same wound, and the same toyle (saith Xenophon) toucheth not a Generall of an armie, as it doth a priuate souldier. Epaminondas tooke his death much the more cheerfully, being informed that the victorie remained on his side. *Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum; These are the comforts, these the eases of most greivous paines.* And such other like circumstances amuse, divert and remooue vs from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clap wrest and turne the matter aside, and scarcely wipe away the scabbe thereof. The first man of the first Philosophicall schoole and superintendunt of the rest, that great Zeno, against death, cryed out; *No euill is honorable; death is: therefore is death no euill.* Against drunkennesse; *No man entrusts his secrets to a drunkard; every one to the wife: therefore the wife will not be drunke.* Is this to hit the white? I love to see, that these principall wittes cannot ridde themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they still are but grosse and simple men. *Reuenge is a sweet-pleasing passion; of a great and naturall impression:* I perceiue it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To diuert of late a young Prince from it, I tolde him not, he was to offer the one side of his cheeke, to him who had strooke him on the other, in regarde of charitie; nor displaide I vnto him the tragical events Poetrie bestoweth vpon that passion. There I left him, and strove to make him taste the beautie of a contrary image: the honour, the fauour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlenesse and goodnesse: I diuerted him to ambition. Behold how they deale in such cases. *If your affection in loue be ouer-powerfull; disperse or dissipate the same,* say they; And they say true, for I have often, with profit made tryall of it: Breake it by the vertue of severall desires, of which one may bee Regent or chiefe maister, if you please; but for feare it should misse and tyrannize you, weaken it with deuiding, and protract it with diverting the same.

Pers. Sat. 6.

73. Lucr. l.

4. 100. 6.

*Cum morosa vago singuliet inguine vena,**Coniuncto humorem collectum in corpora quæque.*

When raging lust excites a panting tumor,

To diuers partes send that collected humor.

And looke to it in time, leaſt it vex you, if it haue once ſeazed on you.

Lucr. l. 4.

1061.

*Si non prima nouis conturbes vulnera plagis,**Volgi in æque vagus Venerè ante recentia cures.*

Vileſſe the firſt woundes with new woundes you mixe,

And ranging cure the freſh with common tricks.

I was once neerely touched with a heaue diſpleaſure, according to my complexion; and yet more juſt then heaue: I had peraduenture loſt my ſelfe in it, had I onely relyed vpon mine owne ſtrength. Needing a vehement diuerſion to with-draw me from it; I did by arte and ſtudy make my ſelfe a Lover, whereto my age aſſiſted me: love diſcharged and diuerted me from the inconuenience, which good-will and amitie had cauſed in me. So is it in all things elſe. A ſharpe conceite poſſeſſeth, and a violent imagination holdeth me: I finde it a ſhorter courſe to alter and diuert, then to tame and vanquiſh the ſame; if I cannot ſubſtitute a contrary vnto it, at leaſt I preſent another vnto it. *Change ever eaſeth, varietie diſſolueth, and ſhifting diſſipateth.* If I cannot buckle with it, I ſlip from it: and in ſhunning it, I ſtray and double from it. Shifting of place, exerciſe and company, I ſave my ſelfe amid the throng of other ſtudies and amuſements, where it looſeth my track, and ſo I ſlip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefite of inſtancie: For, the time it hath beſtowed on vs, as a ſoveraigne Phiciſion of our paſſions, chiefly obtaines his purpoſe that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affaires, it diſſolueth and corrupteth that firſt apprehenſion, how forcible ſoever it be. A wiſe man ſeeth little leſſe his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeares, then at the beginning of the firſt yeare; and according to *Epictetus*, nothing leſſe: for he aſcribed no qualification of perplexities, eyther to the foreſight or antiquitie of them. But ſo many other cogitations croſſe this, that it languiſheth, & in the end groweth weary. To diuert the inclination of vulgar reports, *Alcibiades* cut-off his faire dogs eares & taile; and ſo droue him into the market place; that giving this ſubiect of prattle to the people, they might not medle with his other actiōs. I haue alſo ſeen ſome womē, who to diuert the opinions & cōiectures of the babling people, & to diuert the fond taling of ſome, did by cōuſerſet & diſſembled affections, ouerſhadow & cloake true affections.

Amongſt

Amongst which I haue noted some, who in dissembling and counterfeting haue suffred themselves to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest; quiting their true and originall humor for the fained: of whom I learne, that such as finde themselves well seated, are very fooles to yeelde vnto that maske. The common greetings and publike entertainements being reserued vnto that set or appointed seruant, beleue there is little suffiencie in him, if in the end he vsurpe not your roome and send you vnto his. This is properly to cut out & stich vp a shoe, for another to put on. *A little thing doth diuert and turne vs; for a small thing holds vs.* We do not much respect subiects in grosse and alone: they are circumstances, or smale and superficial images that mooue and touch vs; and vaine rindes which rebound from subiects.

Folliculos vt nunc teretes astate cicadae

Linguunt.

*Lucr. l. 5.
812.*

As grasse-hoppers in summer now forsake

The round-growne sheafes, which they in time should take.

Plutarke himselfe bewailes his daughter by the fopperies of hir childehood. The remembrance of a farewell, of an action, of a perticular grace, or of a last commendation, afflict vs. *Cesars* gounce disquieted all *Rome*, which his death had not done; The very sound of names, which gingleth in our eares, as, *Oh my poore maister*; or, *Alas my deare friend*; *Oh my good father*; or, *Alas my sweete daugh-ter*. When such like repetitions pinch me, & that I looke more nearely to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the tune wound me. Euen as Preachers exclamations doe often mooue their audytorie more, then their reasons; and as the pittypull growne of a beast yerneth vs, though it bee killed for our vse; without poyfing or entring there-while, into the true and massie essence of my subiect.

Hic se stimulis dolor ipse laceffit.

*Lucan. l. 2.
42.*

Griefe by these prouocations,

Puts it selfe more in passions.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The obstinacy of the stone, namely in the yarde hath some times for three or foure dayes together, so stopped my vrine, & brought me so neare deathes-dore, that it had beene meere folly in me, to hope, nay to desire, to auoyde the same, considering what cruell pangs that painefull plight did seaze me with. Oh how cunning a maister in the murdering arte, or hangmans trade was that good Emperor, who caused malefactors yardes to be fast-tide, that so he might make them dye for want of pissing. In which teares finding my telfe, I considered by how slight causes and friuolous obiects, imagination nourished in me the griefe to loose my life: with what Atomes the consequence and difficulty of this my dislodging was contriued in my minde; to what idle conceites and friuolous cogitations we giue place in so waighty a case or important affaire. A Dogge, a Horse, a Hare, a Glasse, and what not? were coumpted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their purse, their learning; In my mynde as sottishlye. I view death carelessly when I behould it vniuersally as the end of life. I ouerwhelme and contemne it thus in great, by retayle it spoyle and proules me. The teares of a Lacquey, the distributing of my cast lutes, the touch of a knowne hand an ordinary consolation; doth disconsolate and entender me. So doe the plaints of fables trouble and vex our mindes; and the wayling laments of *Dyd*, and *Ariadne* passionate euen those, that beleue them not in *Vngull*, nor in *Carullus*: It is an argument of an obstinate nature, and indurate hart, nor to be mooued therewith: as for a wonder, they report of *Polemon*: who was not so much as appaled, at the biting of a Dogge, who tooke away the braune or calfe of his legge. And no wisedome goeth so farre, as by due iudgement to conceiue aright the euident cause of a Sorrow and griefe, so liuely and wholly: that it suffer or admit no accession by presence, when eyes and eares haue their share therein: partes that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reason, that euen artes should serue their purposes, and make their profit of our imbecility and naturall blockishnesse? An Orator (saith Rethorick) in the play of his pleading, shall be mooued at the sound of his owne voyce, and by his sayned agitations; and suffer himselfe to be cozoned by the passion he representeth: imprinting a liuely and essentiall sorrow, by the iugling he acteth, to transferre it into the iudges, whome of the two it concerneth lesse: As the persons hyred at our funerales, who to ayde the cerimony of mourning, make saile of their teares by measure, and of their sorrow by waight. For although they striue to act it in a borrowed forme, yet by abytuating

and ordering their countenance, it is certayne they are often wholly transported into it, and entertaine the impression of a true and vnfained melancholly. I assisted amongst diuers others of his friends, to conuay the dead corpes of the late Lord of *Grammont* from the siege of *La fere*, where he was vntimely slaine, to *Soissons*. I noted that euery where as we passed a long, we filled with lamentations and teares all the people we met; by the onely shewe of our conuoyes mourning attire; for the decease d mans name was not so much as knowne, or hard of about those quarters. *Quintilian* reporteth, to haue seene Comediants so farre ingaged in a sorrowful part, that they wept after being come to their lodgings: & of himselfe, that hauing vndertaken to moue a certaine passion in another, he had found himselfe surprised, not onely with shedding of teares, but with a palenesse of countenance, and behauiour of a man truely deiected with griefe. In a country neare our Mountaynes, the women say and vsay, weepe and laugh with one breath; as *Martin* the Priest; for, as for their lost husbands they entreate their waymentings by repetition of the good and gracefull partes they were endowed with, therewithall vnder one they make publike relation of their imperfections; to worke, as it were some recompence vnto themselves, and transchange their pittie vnto disdayne; with a much better grace then we, who when we loose a late acquaintance, strue to loade him with new and forged prayses, and to make him farre other, now that we are deprived of his sight, then he seemed to be when we enioyed and beheld him. As if mourning were an instructing party; or teares cleared our vnderstanding by washing the same. I renounce from this time forward all the fauourable testimonies any man shall afforde me, not because I shall deserue them, but because I shall be dead. If one demand that fellow, what interest he hath in such a siege; *The interest of example (will he say) and common obedience of the Prince*; I nor looke nor pretend any benefit thereby; and of glory I know how smale a portion cometh to the share of a private man, such as I am. I haue neyther passion nor quarrell in the matter; yet the next day shall you see him all changed, and chafing, boyling and blushing with rage, in his ranke of battle, ready for the assault. It is the glaring reflecting of so much Steele, the flashing thundering of the Cannon, the clang of trumplers, and the ratling of Drumes, that haue infused this new furye, and rankor in his swelling vaynes. A triuolous cause, will you say: How a cause? There needeth none to excite our mynde. A doating humour without body, without substance ouerswayeth and tosseth it vppe and downe. Let mee thinke of building Castles in *Spayne*, my imagination will forge me commodities and afford me meanes and delights wherewith my mynde is really tickled and essentially gladdened. How often doe we pester our spiritus with anger or iadaesse by such shaddowes, and entangle our selues into fantasticall passions which alter both our mynde and bodye? what a stonished, flearing and confused mumpes and moves doth this dotage stirre vppe in our visages? what skipplings and agitations of members and voyce? seemes it not by this man alone, that he hath false visions of a multitude of other men with whome hee dooth negotiate; or some inward Goblin that torments him? Enquire of your selfe, where is the object of this alteration? Is there any thing but vs, in nature, except subsisting nullitye, ouer whome it hath any power? Because *Cambyse* dreamed that his brother should be King of *Persia*, he put him to death; a brother whome he loued, and euer trusted. *Aristodemus* King of the *Messenians*, killed himselfe, vppon a conceite he tooke of some ill presage, by, I know not what howling of his Dogges. And King *Midas* did asmuch, beeing troubled and vexed by a certayne vnpleasing dreame of his owne. It is the right way to prize ones life at the right worth of it, to forgo it for a dreame. Heare notwithstanding our minde triumph over the bodies weakenesses and misery; in that it is the pray and marke of all wrongs and alterations, to feede on and ayme at. It hath surely much reaton to speake of it.

Prop. l. 3. cl.
4.7.

O prima infelix fingenti terra Promethei?

Ille paucum cauti pectoris egit opus.

Corpora disponens, mentem non vidit in arte?

Recta animi primum debuit esse via.

Vnhappy earth first by *Prometheus* formed,

Who of small providence a worke performed:

He

The third Booke.

505

He framing bodyes sawe in arte nō minde :
The mindes way first should rightly be assign'de.

The fifth Chapter. 2

Upon some verses of VIRGILL.

*Here is little or
nothing to y^e purpose
or fitt*

PROfitable thoughts, the more full and solide they are, the more comberfome and heauy are they; vice, death, povertie and diseases, are subjects that waigh and grieue. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to sustaine and combate mischiefes, and furnished with rules how to live well and belieue right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodlie studie. But to a minde of the common stampe; it must be with intermission and moderation; it groweth weake, by beeing continually over-wrested: When I was young, I had need to be aduertised and sollicitated to keepe my selfe in office: Mirth and health (saies one) sute not so well with these serious and grave discourfes. I am now in another state. The conditions of age doe but ouer-much admonish, instruct and preach vnto me. From the excesse of iollitie, I am falne into the extreame of severitie; more peevish and more vntowarde. Therefore, I doe now of purpose somewhat give way vnto licentious allurements; and now and then employ my minde in wanton and youthfull conceits, wherein she recreates hir selfe. I am now but too much settled; too heauie and too ripe. My yeares reade me daily a lesson of coldnesse and temperance. My body shunneth disorder, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and swaye; and that more rudely and imperioullie. Be I awake or a sleepe, it doth not permit me one houre but to thinke on instruction, on death, on patience and on repentance. As I have heretofore defended my selfe from pleasure, so I now warde my selfe from temperance; it halseth me too farre back, and even to stupiditie. I will now every way be maister of my selfe. Wisedome hath her excesses, and no lesse neede of moderation, then folly. So that least I should wither, tarnish and over-cloy my selfe with prudence, in the intermissions my euils affoord me;

Mens intent a suis ne sit vsque malis.

Still let not the conceite attend,
The ill's that it too much offend.

*Ouid. Trist.
li. 4. el. 1. 4.*

I gentlie turne aside, and steale mine eyes from viewing that tempestuous and cloudie skie, I have before me; which (thanks be to God) I consider without feare, but not without contention and studie. And amuse my selfe with the remembrance of passed youth-tricks:

— *animus quod perdidit, optat,*

Atque in praterita se totus imagine versat.

The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and cast,
And turne and winde in Images forepast.

That infancie looketh forward, and age backward; was it not that which *Ianus* his double visage signifide? yeares entraine me if they please; but backward. As farre as mine eyes can discern that faire expired season, by fits I turne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud and veines, yet will I not roote the image of it out of my memorie:

— *hoc est,*

Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui,

This is the way for any to live twise,

Who can of former life enjoy the price.

*Mart. l. 10.
epig. 23. 7.*

Plato appoints old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances and games, to make them reioyce—at the bodies agilitie, and comlineffe of others, which is now no longer in them; & call to their remembrance, the grace & fauor of that blooming age: & willet them to give the honor of the victory to that young-mā, who hath gladdened & made most of them mery. I was heretofore wont to note sullen & gloomie dayes, as extraordinarie; now are they my ordinary ones; the extraordinary are my faire and cleere dayes. I am ready to leape for ioy,

R

as at the receaving of some vnexpected fauour, when nothing griueth me. Let me tickle my selfe, I can now hardly wrest a bare smile from this wretched body of mine. I am not pleased but in conceit and dreaming: by sleight to turne aside the way-ward cares of age: but sure there's need of other remedies, then dreaming. A weake contention of arte against nature. It is meere simplicitie, as most men doe, to prolong and anticipate humane commodities. *I had rather be lesse while old, then old before my time.* I take hold even of the least occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know by heare-say diuers kindes of wise, powrefull and glorious pleasures: but opinion is not of sufficient force over me, to make me long for them. I would not have them so stately, lofty and disdainfull; as pleasant, gentle and ready. *A natura discedimus; populo nos damus, nullius rei bono auctori;* We forsake nature, we followe the people, aucthor of no good. My Philosophie is in action, in naturall and present vse; little in conceit. What if I should be pleased to play at cob-nut, or whip a top?

Ennius.

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

He did not prize what might be said,

Before how all might safe be laid.

Voluptuousnesse is a qualitie little ambitious; it holds it selfe rich enough of it selfe without any access of reputation; and is best affected where it is most obscured. That young man should deserue the whip, who would spend his time in choosing out the neatest Wine, and best sauces. There is nothing I ever knew or esteemed lesse: I now begin to learne it. I am much ashamed of it, but what can I doe withall? And am more ashamed and vexed, at the occasions that compell me to it. It is for vs to dally, doate and trifle out the time; and for youth to stand vpon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the staffe. That creepeth towards the world, and marcheth toward credite; we come from it. *Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clauam, sibi pilam, sibi natationes et cursus habeant: nobis (enibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt, et tesseras;* Let them keepe their armor, their horses, their lances, their polaxes, their tennis, their swimming, and their running; and of their many games, let them put ouer to vs olde men the tables and the cardes. The very lawes send vs home to our lodgings. I can doe no lesse in fauour of this wretched condition, whereto my age forceth me, then furnish it with some-what to dandle and amuse it selfe, as it were childhood: for when all is done we fall into it againe. And both wisdome and folly shall haue much a doe, by enterchanged offices, to support and succour me in this calamitie of age.

Cic. de Senectute.]

Hor. l. 4. od.
12. 27.*Misce stultitiam consilijs breuem.*

With short-light-foolish tricks,

Thy greatest counsels mixe.

Withall I shun the lightest pricklings; and those which heretofore could not haue scratcht me, doe now tranſpeare me. So willingly my habite dooth now begin to apply it selfe to euill: *in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est: all offence is yrkesome to a crazed body.*

Ouid. Pont.
l. 1. el. 6. r. 8.*Mensq, pati durum sustinet agra nihil.*

A sicke minde can endure,

No hard things for hir cure.

I have ever beene ticklish and nice in matters of offence, at this present I am more tender, and every where open.

Ouid. Trist.
l. 3. el. 11.
22.*Et minima vires frangere quassa valent.*

Least strength can breake,

Things worne and weake.

Well may my iudgement hinder me from spurning and repining at the inconueniences which nature allots me to indure; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde in my hart to runne from one end of the world to another, to searce and purchase one yeare of pleasing and absolute tranquillity; I, who haue no other scope, then to live and be mery. Drouzie and stupide tranquillitie is sufficiently to be found for me, but it makes me drouzie and dizzie; therefore I am not pleased with it. If there be any body, or any good companie in the countie, in the cittie, in France, or any where els, resident or traueiling, that likes of my conceits, or whose humors are pleasing to me, they neede but holde vp their hand, or whistle in their fiste, and I will store them with Essayes, of pithe and substance, with might and maine. Seeing it is the mindes priuiledge to renew and recover it selfe on olde age, I earnestly aduise it to doe it: let it bud, blossome, and flourish if it can, as Mistle-toe on a dead tree. I

feare

feare it is a traitor; so straightly is she clasped, and so hard doth she cling to my body, that every hand-while she forsakes me; to follow hir in hir necessities. I flatter hir in private, I vrge hir to no purpose; in vaine I offer to divert hir from this combination, and bootlesse is it for me to present hir *Seneca* or *Catullus*, or Ladies, or stately dances; if hir companion have the chollicke, it seemes she also hath it. The very powers or faculties that are particulare and proper to hir, cannot then rouze themselues: they euidently seeme to be enrheu- med: there is no blithenesse in hir productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who searching the causes of our mindes extraordinarie fits and motions, be- sides they ascribe some to a deuine fury, to love, to warre-like fiercenesse, to Poesie, and to Wine; if they have not also allotted health her share. A health youthfull, lustie, vigo- rous, full, idle, such as heretofore the Aprill of my yeares and securitie afforded me by fittes. That fire of iocondnesse stirreth vp livelic and bright sparkles in our minde, beyond our naturall brightnesse: and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate *Enthousi- asmes* or inspirations. Well, it is no wonder if a contrary estate clogge and naile my spi- rite, and drawe from it a contrarie effect.

Ad nullum conjurget opus, cum corpore languet.

Cor. Gal. ch.
11. 125.

It to no worke doth rise,

When body fainting lyes,

And yet would have me beholden to him, for lending (as he sayth) much lesse to this consent, then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let vs at least whilst we have truce, chase all euils, and expell all difficulties from our societie.

Dum licet obducta soluat fronte senectus:

Hor. epod.
13. 7.

With wrinckled wimpled forehead let old yeares,

While we may, be resolu'd to merie cheeres.

Tetrica sunt amoenanda iocularibus, Vnpleasant things, and some matters should be sweetned and made pleasant with sportefull mixtures. I love a lightsome and civill discretion, and loathe a roughnesse and austeritie of behaiour: suspecting euery peevish & wayward countenance.

Tristemq; vultus tetrici arrogantiam.

Of austere countenance,

The sad soure arrogance.

Et habet tristis quoque turba cynados.

Mart. l. 7.
epig. 57. 9.

Fidlers are often had,

Mongst people that are sad.

I easily beleeeue *Plato*, who saith, that *ease* or *hard humours*, are a great preiudice vnto the mindes goodnesse or badnesse. *Socrates* had a constant countenance, but light-some and smy- ling: not frowardly constant, as olde *Crassus*, who was neuer seene to laugh. *Vertue* is a pleasant and buxom qualitie. Few I know will snarle at the liberty of my writings, that haue not more cause to snarle at their thoughts-loosenes. I cōforme my selfe vnto their courage, but I offend their eyes. It is a well ordered humor to wrest *Platos* writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with *Phedon*, *Dion*, *Stella*, *Archeanassa*. *Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire. Let vs not be ashamed to speake, what we shame not to thinke.* I hate a way- ward and sad disposition, that glideth ouer the pleasures of his life, and fastens and feedes on miseries. As flies that cannot cleaue to a smooth and sleeke bodye, but seaze and holde on rugged and vneuen places. Or as Cuppin-glasses, that affect and suck none but the worst bloud. For my part I am resolu'd to dare speake whatsoever I dare doe: And am displeased with thoughtes not to be published. The worst of my actions or condi- tions seeme not so vgly vnto me, as I finde it both vgly and base not to dare to avouch them. *Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heedy in the action.* The bouldnesse in offending is somewhat recompensed and restrained by the bouldnesse of confessing. He that should be bound to tell all, should also binde himselfe to doe nothing which one is forced to conceale. God grant this excesse of my licence draw men to freedome, beyond these cowardly and squeamish vertues, sprung from our imperfections; and that by the ex- pence of my immoderation, I may reduce them vnto reason. *One must suruay his fautes and study them, ere he be able to repeate them.* Those which hide them from others, common- ly conceale them also from themselues; and esteeme them not sufficiently hidden, if them- selues see them. They withdraw and disguise them from their owne consciences. *Quare*

visita

n

Xp

vicia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est, somnium narrare vigilantis est. Why doth no man confesse his faults? Because he is yet in them; and to declare his dream, is for him that is waking. The bodies euils are discerned by their increafe. And now we finde that to be the goue which we termed the rheume or a bruse. The euils of the minde are darkened by their owne force; the most infected feeleth them least. Therefore is it, that they must oftē a day be handled, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bosomes. As in the case of good; so of bad offices, onely confession is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformity in the error, which dispenseth vs to confesse the same? It is a paine for me to dissemble: so that I refuse to take charge of other mens secrets, as waiting hart to disavow my knowledge. I can conceale it; but deny it I cannot, without much a doe and some trouble. *To be perfectly secret, one must be so by nature, not by obligatio.* It is a smal matter to be secret in the Princes seruice, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded *Thales Milesius*, whether he should solemnly deny his lechery; had he come to me, I would haue answered him, he ought not do it: for a lie is in mine opinion, worse then lechery. *Thales* aduised him otherwise, bidding him sweare, therby to warrant the more by the lesse. Yet was not his counsell so much the election, as multiplication of vice. Wherevpon we sometimes vse this by-word, that we deale wel with a man of conscience, when in couerpoise of vice we propose some difficulty vnto him; but whē he is enclosed between two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As *Origē* was dealt with all, either to comit idolatry, or suffer himselfe to be Sodomically abused by a filthy Egiptian slave, that was presented vnto him; he yeilded to the first conditiō, & viciously, faith one. Therefore shold not those womē be distastēd, according to their error, who of late protest, that they had rather charge their conscience with tē mē, thē one Masse. If it be indiscretiō so to divulge ones errors, there is no danger though it come into example & vse. For *Ariston* said, that *The windes men feare most, are those which discover them.* We must tuck vp this homely ragge, that cloaketh our manners. They send their conscience to the stewes, & keepe their countenance in order. Even traitors and murderers, obserue the lawes of complements, and thereto fixe their endeuors. So that neither can iniustice complaine of inciuitie, nor malice of indiscretiō. Tis pittie a bad man is not also a foole, and that decencie should cloake his vice. These pargettings belong only to good & sound walles, such as deserue to be whited, to be preserued. In fauor of the *Hugonots*, who accuse our auricular and priuate confession, I confesse my selfe in publike; religiously and purely. *Saint Augustine, Origene, & Hippocrates*, have published the errors of their opinions; I likewise of my manners. I greedily long to make my selfe knowne; nor care I at what rate, so it be truly: or to say better, I hunger for nothing; but I hate mortally to be mistaken by such as shall happen to know my name. He that doth all for honor & glory, what thinks he to gaine by presenting himselfe vnto the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge? Commend a hulch-back for his comely stature, he ought to take it as an iniury: if you be a coward, & one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speaketh? you are taken for another: I should like as wel, to have him glory in the courties & lowtings that are shewed him, supposing himselfe to be ring-leader of a troupe, whē he is the meanest folower of it. *Archelaus* king of *Macedō*, passing throgh a street, some body cast water vpon him, was aduised by his followers to punish the party: yea but (quoth he) who ever it was, he cast not the water vpon me, but vpon him he thought I was. *Socrates* to one that told him he was railed vpon and ill spoken-of; Tush (said he) there is no such thing in me. For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent Pilote, to be very modest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thanks. Likewise should any man call me traitor, theefe or drūkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him. Those who misknow themselves, may feed themselves with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, & know full well what belongs vnto me. I am pleased to be lesse commended, provided I be better knowne. I may be esteemed wise for such conditions of wisdom, that I account meere follies. It vexeth me, that my Essayes serue Ladies in liew of common ware and stuffe for their hall: this Chapter will preferre me to their cabinet: I love their societie somewhat private; their publike familiaritie wants fauor and fauor. In farewells we heare above ordinary our affections to the things we forgoe. I heere take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe heere our last embraces. And now to our theame. Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so iust, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, & exclude it from our serious and reguler discourses? we pronounce boldly,

to

to rob, to murther, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by it, that the lesse we breath out in words, the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughts with? For words least vsed, least written and least concealed, should best be vnderstood, and most generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it, then of their bread. They are imprinted in each one, without expresseing, without voice or figure. And the sexe that doth it most, is most bound to suppress it. It is an action we have put in the precincts of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or judge it. Nor dare we beate it but in paraphrase and picture. A notable fauor, to a criminall offender, to be so execrable, that justice deeme it injustice to touch and behold him, freed & saved by the benefit of his condemnations seuerity. Is it not herein as in matters of bookes, which being once called in and forbidden become more saleable & publike? As for me, I will take *Aristotle* at his word, that *bashfulness* is an ornament to youth, but a reproache to age. These verses are preached in the old schoole; a schoole of which I hold more then of the moderne: hir vertues seeme greater vnto me, hir vices lesse.

*Ceux qui par trop suiant Venus estruient
Failent autant que ceux qui trop la suiuient.
Who striues ore much Venus to shunne, offends
Alike with him, that wholly hir intends.
Tu Dea; turcrum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit letum, nec amabile quicquam:
Goddesse, thou rul'st the nature of all things,
Without thee nothing into this light springs.
Nothing is louely, nothing pleasure brings.*

*Lucr. l. 1.
22.*

I know not who could set *Pallas* and the *Muses* at oddes with *Venus*, and make them colde and slowe in affecting of love; as for me, I see no Deities that better sute together, nor more endebted one to another. Who- ever shall goe about to remooue amorous imaginations from the *Muses*, shall deprive them of the best entertainment they have, and of the nob'est subiect of their worke: and who shall debarre *Cupid* the seruice and conuersation of Poesie, shall weaken him of his best weapons. By this meanes they caste vpon the God of acquaintance, of amitie and goodwil; and vpon the Goddeses, protectreses of humanitie, and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imputation of churlishnesse. I have not so long beene cashiered from the state and seruice of this God, but that my memorie is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

— agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.

*Virg. AEn.
l. 4. 23.*

I feele, and feeling know, How my old flames regrow.

There commonly remaine some reliques of shinerig and heate after an ague.

Nec mihi deficiat calor hic, hyemantibus annis.

When Winter yeares come-on,

Let not this heate be gon.

As drie, as sluggish & as vnwieldie as I am, I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.

Qual' l'alto Aegeo perche Aquiloneò Noto

Cessi, che tutto prima il volse et scosse,

Non s'accheta ei però, ma il suono e'l moto,

Ritien de l'onde anco agitato et grosso.

As graund Aegean Sea, because the voice

Of windes doth cease, which it before enraged,

Yet doth not calme, but still retaines the noise,

And motion of huge billowes vnswaged.

But for so much as I know of it, the power and might of this God, are found more quicke and lively in the shadowe of the Poesie, then in their owne essence.

Et versus digitos habet.

Verses have full effect, Of fingers to erect.

*Iuuen. Sat.
6. 197.*

It representeth a kinde of ayre more lovely then love it selfe. *Venus* is not so faire, nor so alluring all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in *Virgill*.

Dixerat, et niveis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis

Cunctantem amplexu molli foner: Ille repente

*Virg. AEn.
l. 8. 387.*

Accipit

The third Booke.

*Accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
Intravit calor, et labefacta per ossa cucurrit.
Non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta cornu co,
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.*

So said the Goddesse, and with soft embrace,
Of Snow-white armes, the grim-fir doth enchafe,
He streight tooke wonted fire, knowne heate at once,
His marrow pearc't, ranne through his weakned bones;
As fire flash which thunder doth deuide,
With radiant lightning through a storme doth glide.

— *ea verba loquutus,*

*Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petiuit
Coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.*

A sweete embrace, when he those words had said
He gave, and his limmes pleasing-rest he praid
To take in his wiues bosome lolling-laide.

Ibi. 404.

What therein I finde to be considered, is, that he depainteth hir somewhat stirring for a maritall *Venus*. In this discrete match, appetites are not commonly so fondling; but drowfie and more sluggish. *Loue disdaineth a man should holde of other then himselfe*, and dealeth but faintly with acquaintances begun and entertained vnder another title; as mariage is. Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, waighe as much or more, as the graces and beawtie. A man doth not marrie for himselfe, whatsoever he alledgeth; but as much or more for his posteritie and familie. The vse and interest of mariage concerneth our off-spring, a great way beyond vs. Therefore doth this fashion please me, to guide it rather by a third hand, and by anothers sence, then our owne: All which, how much doth it dissent from amorous conuentions? Nor is it other then a kinde of incest, in this reverend alliance and sacred bonde, to employ the efforts and extravagant humors of an amorous licentiousnesse, as I thinke to have said else-where. One should (saith *Aristotle*) touch his wife soberlie, discreetly and seuerelie, least that tickling too laciuiouslie, pleasure transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for conscience, Phisicians alledge for health: saying, that pleasure **excessively** whotte, voluptuous and continuall, altereth the see de, and hindereth conception. Some other say besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturallie that is) to store it with a conuenient, and fertile heate, one must but seldome, and by moderate intermissi-
ons present himselfe vnto it;

*Virg. Geor.
l. 3. 137.*

Quo rapiet sitiens venerem interiusque recondat.

Thirsting to snatch a fit,
And inly harbor it.

I see no mariages faile sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and budled up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds, and a more warie marching to it: this earnest youthly heate serueth to no purpose. Those who thinke to honour mariage, by ioyning love vnto it (in mine opinion) doe as those, who to doe vertue a fauour, holde, that Nobilitie is no other thing then Vertue. Indeed these things have some affinitie; but therewithall great difference: their names and titles should not thus be commixt: both are wronged so to be confounded. *Nobilitie is a worthy, goodly qualitie, and introduced with good reason; but in as much as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of any vicious and worthlesse fellow, it is in estimation farre shorte of vertue.* If it be a vertue, it is artificiall and visible; relying both on time and fortune; diuers in forme, according vnto countries; living and mortall; without birth, as the riuer *Nilus*, genealogike and common; by succession and similitude; drawne along by consequence, but a very weake one. Knowledge, strength, goodnesse, beawtie, wealth and all other qualities fall within compasse of commerce and communication: whereas this consumeth it selfe in it selfe, of no employment for the seruice of others. One proposed to one of our Kings the choise of two competitors in one office, the one a Gentleman, the other a Yeoman: he appointed that without respect vnto that qualitie, he who deserued best should be elected; but were their valour or worth fully a-like, the Gentleman should be regarded: this was iustlie to give nobilitie hir right and ranke. *Antigonus*, to an vnknowne youngman, who sued
vnto

vnto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased: My friend (quoth he) in such good-turnes, *I waigh not my souldiers noble birth, so much as their sufficiency.* Of truth it should not be herein, as with the officers of Spartan kings; Trompetors, Musitions, Cookes, in whose roome their children succeeded, how ignorant soeuer, before the best experienced in the trade. Those of *Calicut* make of their nobility a degree aboue humane. Marriage is interdicted them, and all other vocations, sauing warre. Of Concubines they may haue as many as they list, and women as many lechardes, without Ielousie one of another. But it is a capitall crime, and vnrermisable offence to contract or marry with any of different condition: Nay they deeme themselues disparaged and polluted, if they haue but touched them in passing-by And as if their honour were much iniured & interessed by it, they kill those who but approach some what to neare them. In such sort, that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the *Gondoliers* or water-men of *Venice* along the streetes, least they should iustle with them: and the nobles commaund them to what side of the way they please. Thereby doe these auoyde an obloquie which they esteeme perpetuall; and those an assured death. *No continuance of time, no fauour of Prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clowne to become a gentleman.* Which is much furthered by this custome, that marriages of one trade with another are stricktly forbidden. A Shoo-maker cannot marry with the race of a Carpenter; and parents are precisely bound to traine vp orphanes in their fathers trade, & in no other. Whereby the difference, the distinction & continuance of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) refuseth the company & conditions of loue; it endeuoureth to represent those of amity. It is a sweete society of life, full of constancie, of trust, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutuall obligations: No woman that throughly and impartially tasteth the same,

Optato quam iunxit lumine tædæ.

Whom loues-fire ioyned in double band,

With wished light of marriage brand.

*Catul.com.
Ber.79.*

would forgoe her estate to be her husbands maister. Be she lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is much more honourably and surely lodged. Be a man passionately entangled in any vnlawful lust or loue, let him then be demanded on whom he would rather haue some shame or disgrace to alight; eyther on his lawfull wife, or on his lechard mistris, whose misfortune would afflict him most, and to whom he wisheth greater good or more honour. These questions admit no doubt in an absolute sound marriage. *The reason we see so few good, is an apparant signe of it's worth, and a testimony of it's price.* Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the worthiest and best part of our society. We cannot be without it, and yet we disgrace and vilifie the same. It may be compared to a cage, the birdes without dispaire to get in, and those within dispaire to get out. *Socrates* being demanded, whether was most commodious, to take, or not to take a wife; *Which soeuer a man doth* (quoth he) *he shall* *Eras chil. 1* *repent it.* It is a match wherto may well be applied the common saying, *homo homini aut De-cent. 1.69.* *us, aut Lupes.* *Man vnto man is eiber a God or a Wolfe.* To the perfect erecting whereof are the concurrences of diuers qualities required: It is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits, whom dainties, curiosity and idlenesse doe not so much trouble Licentious humours, debauched conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or obseruances, are not so fit, so proper, and so sutable for it.

Et mihi dulce magis resolutio viuere collo.

*Cor. Gal. el.
1. 61.*

Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to liue free.

Of mine owne disposition, would wisdome it selfe haue had me, I should haue refused to wed her. But we may say our pleasure; the custome and vse of common life ouerbeareth vs. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election: Yet did I not properly enquire my selfe vnto it, I was led & brought therevnto by strange and vunexpected occasions: For, *not onely incommodious things, but foule, vicious and inenitable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allowed.* So vaine is mans posture and defence. And truely I was then drawne vnto it, being but ill prepared and more backward, then now I am, that haue made triall of it. And as *lisentious as the world reputes me,* I haue (in good truth) more stricktly obserued the lawes of wedlock, then either I had promised or hoped. *It is no longer time to wince whē one hath put on the shackles.* A mā ought wisely to husband his liberty; but after he hath once submitted himselfe vnto boindage, he is to stick vnto it by the lawes of common

mon duty or at least enforce himselfe to keepe them. Those which vnder take that couenant to deale therein with hate and contempt, do both iniustly and incommodiouly. And that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred oracle,

Sers ton mary comme ton maistre:

Et t'en garde comme d'un traistre.

Your husband as your maister serue-ye:

From him as from false friend preserue-ye.

which is as much to say; Beare thy selfe toward him with a constrained, enemy and distrustfull reuerence (a stile of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise iniurious and difficult. I am to milde for such crabbed dissignes. To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiencie and quaintnesse of wit, as to confound reason with iniustice: and laugh or scofe at each order or rule, that jumps not with my humour. To hate superstition, I doe not presently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one doe not alwayes discharge his duty, yet ought he at least euer loue, euer acknowledge it: *It is treason for one to marry vnlesse he wed.* But go we on. Our poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyalty. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loues rightes, and yet reserue some rightes toward marriage; and that one may bruse it, without altogether breaking it? A seruant may picke his maisters purse, and yet not hate him. Beauty, opportunity, destiny (for destiny hath also a hand therein,)

fatum est in partibus illis.

Quas sinus abscondit; nam si tibi sidera casset,

Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nerui.

In those partes there is fate, which hidden are;

If then thou be not wrought-for by thy starre,

The measure of long nerues, vnknowne to nothing serues.

haue entangled a woman to a stranger, yet peraduenture not so absolutely but that some bond may be left to holde her to her husband. They are two dissignes, hauing seuerall and vnconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeelde to such a man, whome in no case she would haue marryed. I meane not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men haue wedded their sweete hartes, their paramours or mistrisses, but haue come home by weeping Crosse, and ere long repented their bargayne. And euen in the other world, what an vnquiet life leades *Iupiter* with his wife, whome before he had secretly knowne, and louingly enjoyed? This is as they say, *to bespray the panier, and then put it on your head.* My selfe haue seene in some good place, loue, shamfully and dishonestly cured by marriage: the considerations are to much different. We loue without disturbance to our selues; two dyuers and in themselves contrary things. *Isocrates* saide, that the towne of *Athens* pleased men, euen as Ladies doe whom we serue for affection. Euery one loued to come thither, to walke and passe away the time: but none affected to wed it: that is to say, to endenison, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I haue (and that to my spight and grieve) seene husbands hate their wiues, onely because themselves wronged them: Howsoeuer, we should not loue them lesse for our faults; at least for repentance and compassion they ought to be dearer vnto vs. These are different endes (saith he) and yet in some sort compatible. Wedlocke hath for his share honour, iustice, profit and constancie: a playne, but more generall delight. Loue melts in onely pleasure; and truly it hath it more ticklishe, more liuely, more quaint and more sharpe: a pleasure inflamed by difficulty: there must be a kinde of stinging, tingling and smarting. *It is no longer loue, be it once without arrowes, or without fire.* The liberality of Ladies is to profuse in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To auoide this inconuenience, see the punishment inflicted by the lawes of *Lycurgus* and *Plato*. But women are not altogether in the wrong, when they refuse the rules of life prescribed to the world, forsomuch as onely men haue established them without their consent. There is commonly brauling and contention betweene them and vs. And the nearest consent we haue with them, is but stormye and tumultuous. In the opinion of our author, we herein vse them but inconsiderately. After we haue knowne, that without comparison they are much more capable and violent in loues-effectes, then we, as was testified by that auncient Priest, who had beene both man and woman,

man, and tride the passions of both sexes.

Venus huic erat utraque nota :

Of both sortes he knew venery.

And haue moreouer learned by their one mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in diuers ages, by an Emperour and an Empresse of *Rome*, both skilfull and famous maisters in lawlesse lust and vnruyle wantonneffe; for he in one night desflowred ten *Sarmatian* virgines, that were his captiues; but she really did in one night also, answere fūe and twenty feuerall assaults, changing her assailants as she found cause to supplie her neede, or fitte her taste,

adhuc ardens rigide tentigine vulua

Et lassata viris, non dum satiata recessit.

Ouid. Meta.

l. 3. 323.

Tircs.

Iuuen. Sat.

6. 137.

and that vppon the controuersie happened in *Catologue*, betweene a wife and a husband; she complaining on his ouer violence and continuance therein (not so much in my conceite, because she was thereby ouerlabored (for but by faith I beleue not miracles) as vnder this pretext, to abridge & bridle the authority of husbands ouer their wiues, which is the fundamental part of marriage: And to show that their frowning, fullennesse, and peeuishnesse exceede the very nuptiall bed, and trample vnder-foote the very beauties, graces and delightes of *Venus*; to whose complaint, her husband, a right churlish and rude fellow, answered, that euen on fasting dayes he must needes do it ten times at least) was by the *Queene of Aragon* giuen this notable sentence: by which after mature deliberatio of counsel, the good *Queene* to establish a rule and imitable example vnto all posterity, for the moderation and required modesty in a lawfull marriage; ordained the number of fixe times a day, as a lawfull, necessary and competent limit. Releasing, and diminishing a great part of her sexes neede and desire: to establish (quoth she) an easie forme, and consequently permanent and immutable. Herevpon doctors cry out, what is the appetite and lust of women; when as their reason, their reformation & their vertue, is retailed at such a rate? considering the diuers iudgement of our desires: for *Solon* maister of the lawiers schoole alloweth but three times a moneth, because this matrimoniall entercourse should not decay or faile. Now after we haue beleueed (say I) and preached thus much, we haue for their perticular portion allotted them continencie; as their last and extreame penalty. There is no passion more importunate then this, which we would haue them onely to resist: Not simply, as a vice in it selfe, but as abomination and execration, and more then irreligion and parricide; whilst we our selues without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleasure. Euen those amongst vs, who haue earnestly labored to overcome lust, haue sufficiently vowed, what difficulty, or rather vnresistable impossibility they found in it; vsing neuertheles material remedies, to tame to weaken & coole the body. And we on the other side would haue them sound, healthy, strong, in good liking, wel-fed and chaste together, that is to say, both hotte and colde. For, marriage which we auerre should hinder them from burning, affords them but small refreshing, according as our manners are. If they meete with a husband, whose force by reason of his age is yet boyling, he will take a pride to spend it else-where:

Sit tandem pudor, aut eamus in ius,

Multis memula millibus redempta;

Non est hac tua, Basse, vendidisti.

Mart. l. 12.

epig. 99. 10.

The Philosopher *Polemon* was iustly called in question by his wife, for sowing in a barren felde the fruite due to the fertile. But if they match with broken stufte in ful wedlocke, they are in worse case then either virgines or widowes. We deeme them sufficiently furnished, if they haue a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed *Clodia Leta* a veltall virgine desflowred, whom *Caligula* had touched, although it was manifestly prooued, he had but approached her: But on the contrary, their neede or longing is thereby encreased; for but the touch or company of any man whatsoeuer stirreth vp their heate, which in their solitude was husht and quiet, and laye as cinders raked vp in ashes. And to the ende, as it is likely, to make by this circumstance and consideration their chastitie more meritorious: *Boleslaus* and *King* ye his wife, *King* and *Queene of Polande*, lying togeather the first day of their marriage vowed it with mutuall consent, and in despight of all wedlocke commodities or nuptiall-delightes maintained the same. Euen from their infancie we frame them to the sportes of loue: their instruction, behauour, attire, grace, learning and all their wordes aymeth onely at loue, respects onely affection. Their nurces and their keepers,

imprint no other thing in them, then the louelinesse of love, were it but by continually presenting the same vnto them, to distaste them of it: My daughter (all the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excuse the forwardest to mary. She is of a slowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought vp by hir mother, in a retired and particular manner: so that she beginneth but now to put-off childish simplicitie. She was one day reading a *French* booke before me, an obscene word came in hir way (more bawdie in sound then in effect, for it signifieth the name of a Tree & another thing) the woman that lookes to hir, staid hir presently, and somewhat churlishly making hir step ouer the same: I let hir alone, because I would not crosse their rules, for I medle nothing with this government; womens policie hath a misticall proceeding, we must be content to leave it to them. But if I be not deceiued, the conuersation of twenty laqueis could not in six moneths have setled in hir thoughts, the vnderstanding, the vse and consequences of the sound belonging to those filthy filables, as did that good olde woman by hir check and interdiction.

Mor. car. l. 3
od. 6. 21.

Morus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Natura virgo, et frangitur artubus
Iam nunc, et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui.

Maides marriage-ripe straight to be taught delight
Ionique daunces, fram'de by arte aright
In every ioynt, and eu'n from their first haire
Incestuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somewhat dispence with cerimonies, let them fall into free libertie of speach; we are but children, we are but gullies, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how we sue, how we wooe, how we sollicite and how we entertaine them, they will soone giue you to vnderstand, that we can say, that we can doe, and that we can bring them nothing, but what they already knew, and had long before digested without vs. May it be (as *Plato* saith) because they have one time or other beene themselves wanton, licentious and amorous lads? Mine eares hapned one day in a place, where without suspicion they might listen and steale some of their priuate, lavish and bould discourses; oh why is it not lawfull for me to repeate them? Birlady (quoth I to my selfe) It is high time indeede for vs to goe studie the phrases of *Amadis*, the metaphors of *Arctine*, and eloquence of *Boccace*, thereby to become more skilfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: surely we bestowe our time well; there is nor quaint phrase, nor choise worde, nor ambiguous figure, nor patheticall example, nor love-expressing gesture, nor alluring posture, but they knowe them all better then our bookes: It is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

Virg. Geor.
l. 3. 267.

Ec mentem Venus ipsa dedit.
Venus hir selfe assign'de,
To them both meanes and minde.

which these skill-infusing Schoole-mistresses nature, youth, health and opportunitie, are ever buzzing in their eares, euer whispering in their mindes: They neede not learne, nor take paines about it; they beget it; with them it is borne.

Catul. eleg.
4. 125.

Nec tantum nunc gausa est nulla columbo,
Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius,
Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro:
Quantum praeipue multiuola est mulier.
No Pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name
You list, makes with hir Snow-white cock such game,
With biting bill to catch when she is kist,
As many-minded women when they list.

Had not this naturall violence of their desires bin somewhat held in awe, by feare and honor, wherewith they have beene provided, we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeelde to this coniunction: it is a matter euery-where infused; and a Centre whereto all lines come, all things looke. The ordonances of ancient and wise *Rome*, ordain'd for the seruice and instituted for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene: together with the precepts of *Socrates* to instruct courtizans.

*Nec non libelli Stoici inter sericos,
Iacere puluillos amant.*

*Hor. Epod.
8.18.*

Eu'n Stoicks bookes are pleas'de
Amongst filke cushions to be eas'de.

Zeno among other lawes, ordred also the struglings, the opening of legges, and the actions, which hapen in the deflowring of a virgin, Of what sence was the booke of *Strato* the Philosopher, of carnall copulation? and whereof treated *Theophrastus* in those he entituled, one *The Loner*, the other, *Of Loue*? whereof *Aristippus* in his volume *Of ancient deliciousnesse or sports*? what implied or what imported the ample and lively descriptions in *Plato*, of the loves practised in his dayes? And the lover of *Demetrius Phalerens*? And *Clinias*, or the forced lover of *Heracides Ponticus*? And that of *Antisthenes*, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other, *Of the Maister or of the lover*? And that of *Aristo*, *Of amorous exercises*? Of *Cleanthes*, one of love, another of the arte of love? The amorous dialogues of *Sphærus*? And the filthy intollerable, and without blushing not to be vttered fable of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, written by *Chrysippus*? And his so lascivious fiftie Epistles? I will omit the writings of some Philosophers, who have followed the sect of *Epicurus*, protectresse of all manner of sensualitye and carnall pleasure. Fiftie severall Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath bin a nation found, which to allay and coole the lustfull concupiscence of such as came for devotion, kept wenches of purpose in their temples to be vsed; and it was a point of religion to deale with them before one went to prayers. *Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguitur.* Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire. In most places of the world, that part of our body was Deified. In that same province, some flead it to offer, and consecrated a piece thereof; others offed and consecrated their seede. In another the young-men did publicly pearce, and in diuers places open their yarde betweene flesh and skin, and through the holes put the longest and biggest stickes they could endure, and of those stickes made afterward a fire, for an offering to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigor & lesse chastity, if by the force of that cruell paine they shewed any dismay. Else-where, the most sacred magistrate was revered and acknowledged by those parts. And in diuers cerimonies the portraiture thereof was caryed and shewed in pompe and state, to the honour of sundry Deities. The Egypitian dames in their *Bacchanalian* feasts wore a wodden one about their necks, exquisitely fashioned, as huge and heaue as every one could conueniently beare: besides that which the statue of their God represented, which in measure exceeded the rest of his body. The married women here-by, with their *Coverchefs* frame the figure of one vpon their foreheads; to glory themselves with the enioying they have of it; and comming to be widdowes they place it behinde, and hide it vnder their quoifes. The greatest and wisest matrons of *Rome*, were honored for offering flowers and garlands to God *Priapus*. And when their virgines were maryed, they (during the nuptials) were made to sit vpon their priuities. Nor am I sure, whether in my time, I have not seene a glimpse of like deuotion. What meant that laughter-moouing, and maides looke-drawing piece our Fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the *Swizers*? To what end is at this present day the shoue of our formall pieces vnder our Gascoine hoses? and often (which is worse) aboue their naturall greatness, by falsehood and imposture? A little thing would make me beleeeve, that the saide kinde of garment was inuented in the best and most vpright ages, that the worlde might not be deceaued, and all men should yeeld a publicke account of their sufficiencie. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat resembling the true forme. Then was the workemans skill instructed, how it is to bee made, by the measure of the arme or foote. That good-meaning man, who in my youth, throughout his great cittie, caused so many faire, curious and ancient statues to bee guelded, least the Sence of seeing might bee corrupted, following the aduise of that other good ancient man;

Flagitij principium est nudare inter cines corpora:

*Cic. Tusc. l.
4. En.*

Mongst ciuill people sinne,

By baring bodyes we beginne.

should have considered, how in the mysteries of the good Goddesse, all apparance of man was excluded; that hee was no whit neerer, if hee did not also procure both horses and asses, and at length nature hir selfe to be guelded.

Virg. Gen.
l. 3. 244.

*Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumq̃, ferarumq̃,
Et genus aquoreum, pecudes, p̃t̃eque volucres,
In furias ignemq̃, ruunt.*

All kinds of things on earth, wilde beasts, man-kinde,
Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish (we finde)
Into loves fire and furie runne by kinde.

The Gods (saith *Plato*) have furnished man with a disobedient, skittish and tyrannicall member; which like an vntamed-furious beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite, to bring all things vnder his beck. So have they allotted women another as insulting, wilde & fierce; in nature like a greedie, deuouring and rebellious creature, who if when he craveth it, he be refused nourishment, as impatient of delay, it enrageth; and infusing that rage into their bodies, stoppeth their conduits, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kindes of inconueniences; vntill sucking vp the fruite of the generall thirst, it have largely bedewed and enseeded the bottom of their matrix. Now my law-giver should also have considered, that peraduenture it were a more chaste and commodiously-fruitfull vse, betimes to give them a knowledge and taste of the quick; then according to the libertie and heate of their fantazie, suffer them to guesse and imagine the same. In lieu of true essentiall parts, they by desire surmise, and by hope substitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my acquaintance was spoiled, by making open shewe of his in place, where yet it was not conuenient to put them in possession of their more serious vse. What harine cause not those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youths with chalke or coales drawe in each passage, walle, or staires of our great houses? whence a cruell contempt of our naturall store is bred in them. Who knoweth, whether *Plato* ordaining amongst other well instituted Common-wealths, that men and women, olde and young, should in their exercises or *Gymnasticks*, present themselves naked one to the sight of another, ayimed at that or no? The Indian women, who dayly without interdiction view their men all over, have at least wherewith to asswage and coole the sence of their seeing. And whatsoever the women of that great kingdome of *Pegu* say, who from their waste downeward, have nothing to cover themselves but a single cloath slit before; and that so straight, that what nice modestie, or cerimonious decencie soever they seeme to affect, one may plainly at each steppe see what God hath sent them: that it is an inuention or shift deuised to drawe men vnto them, and with-drawe them from other men or boyes, to which vnnaturall brutish sinne that nation is wholly adicted: it might be sayd, they loose more then they get: and that *a full hunger is more vehement, then one which hath beene glutted, be it but by the eyes*. And *Linia* sayd, that to an honest woman, a naked man is no more then an Image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives, then are our maidens, sawe every-day the young men of their cittie, naked at their exercises; themselves nothing precise to hide their thighes in walking, esteeming themselves (saith *Plato*) sufficiently cloathed with their vertue, without vardingall. But those, of whom Saint *Augustine* speaketh, have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a question, whether women at the last day of judgement, should rise againe in their proper sexe, and not rather in ours, least even then they tempt vs in that holy state. In summe, we lure and every way flesh them: we vncessantly enflame and encite their imagination: and then we crye out, *but oh, but oh the belly*. Let vs confesse the trueth, there are fewe amongst vs, that feare not more the shame, they may have by their wiues offences, then by their owne vices; or that cares not more (oh wondrous charitie) for his wiues, then his owne conscience; or that had not rather be a theefe and church-robber, and have his wife a murtherer and an heretike, then not more chaste then himselfe. Oh impious estimation of vices. Both we and they are capable of a thousand more hurtfull and vnnaturall corruptions, then is lust or lasciuiousnesse. But we frame vices and waigh sinnes, not according to their nature, but according to our interest; whereby they take so many different vnequall formes. The severity of our lawes makes womens inclination to that vice, more violent and faultie, then it's condition beareth; and engageth it to worse proceedings then is their cause. They will readily offer rather to follow the practise of lawe, and plead at the barre for a fee, or goe to the warres for reputation, then in the midst of idlenesse and deliciousnesse be tide to keepe so hard a Sentinell, so dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is neither Marchant, Lawier, Souldior,

or

or church-man, but will leave his accompts, forsake his client, quit his glory and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse? and the burthen-bearing porter, souterlie cobbler, and toyle full labourer, all harassed, all besmeared, and all bemcyed, through trauell, labour and trudging, will forget all, to please himselfe with this pleasing sporte?

Nym tu qua tenuit diues Achamenes,

Aut Pinguis Phrygiæ Mydonias opes,

Permutare velis crime Licinnia,

Plenas aut Arabum domos,

Dum fragrantia detorquet ad oscula

Cernicem, aut facili sauitia negat,

Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,

Interdum rapere occupet?

Would you exchange for your faire mistrisse haire,

All that the riche *Achamenes* did holde,

Or all that fertill *Phrygiæ* soile doth beare,

Or all th' *Arabians* store of spice and golde?

Whilst she to fragrant kisses turnes her head,

Or with a courteous coyneffe them denies;

Which more then he that speeds she would haue sped,

And which sometimes to snatch the formost hyes?

*Hor. car. l. 2
od. 12. 21.*

I wotte not whether *Cæsars* exploits, or *Alexanders* atchiuements excede in hardinesse the resolution of a beautilous young-woman, trained after our manner, in the open view and vncontrouled conuersation of the world, sollicitated and battered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand assaultes and continuall pursuites, and yet still holding hir selfe good and vnvanquished. *There is no point of doing more thornie, nor more actiue, then this of not doing.* I finde it easier, to beare all ones life a combersome armor on his back, then a mayden-head. And the vowe of virginittie, is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. *Diaboli virtus in lumbis est: The diuels maister-point lyes in our loynes,* saith Saint *Jerome*. Surely we have resigned the most difficult and vigorous deuoir of mankinde vnto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might stead them as a singular motive to opinionate themselues therein: and serue them as a worthy subiect to brave vs, and trample vnder feet that vaine preheminance of valour and vertue we pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not onely be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant vndanted spirite leaveth not his pursuites for a bare refusall; so it be a refusall of chastitie, and not of choise. We may sweare, threaten and wailingly complaine; we lye, for we love them the better. *There is no enticing lure to wisdom and secret modestie;* so it be not rude, churlish, and froward. It is blockishnesse and basenesse to be obstinately-wilfull against hatred and contempt: But against a vertuous and constant resolution, matched with an acknowledging minde, it is the exercise of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our seruice vnto a certaine measure, and make vs honestly perceive how they disdain vs not: for, the lawe which joyneth them to abhorre vs, because we adore them; and hate vs, forso much as we love them; is doubtlesse very cruell, were it but for its difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers, and not gaine-say our requests, so long as they containe themselues within the bounds of modestie? wherefore should we imagine, they inwardly affect a freer meaning? A Queene of our time said wittily, that *to refuse mens kinde summons, is a testimonie of much weakenesse, and an accusing of ones owne facilitie: and that an vnattempted Lady could not vaunte of hir chastitie.* Honours-limits are not restrained so shorte; they may somewhat be slackted, and without offending somewhat dispensed withall. At the end of his frontiers, there is left a free, indifferent, and newter space. He that could driue and force his mistris into a corner, and reduce hir into his forte, hath no great matter in him, if he be not content with his fortune. *The price or honour of the conquest is rated by the difficultie.* Will you knowe what impression your merites, your seruices and worthe, have made in hir heart? iudge of it by hir behauiour and disposition.

x p

Hieron:

Some one may give more, that (all things considered) giveth not so much. *The obligation of a benefite hath wholie reference vnto the will of him that giveth:* other circumstances which fall within the compasse of good-turnes, are dumbe, dead and casuall. That little she

giveth may cost hir more, then all hir companion hath. If rarenesse be in any thing worthy estimation, it ought to be in this. Respekt not how little it is, but how few have it to give. The value of money is changed according to the coyne, stampe or marke of the place. Whatsoever the spight or indiscretion of some, may vpon the excesse of their discontentment, make them say; *Vertue and truth doe ever recover their aduantage*. I have knowne some, whose reputation hath long time beene impeached by wrong, and interessed by reproche, restored vnto all mens good opinion and generall aprobaton, without care or arte, onely by their constancie; each repenting and denying what he formerly believed. From wenches somewhat suspected, they now holde the first ranke amongst honourable Ladies. Some tolde *Plato*, that all the world spake ill of him; *Let them say what they list* (quoth he) *I will so live, that Ile make them recant and change their speeches*. Besides the feare of God, and the rewarde of so rare a glory, which should incite them to preferue themselues, the corruption of our age enforceth them vnto it: and were I in their clothes, there is nothing but I would rather doe, then commit my reputation into so dangerous hands. In my time, the pleasure of reporting and blabbing what one hath done (a pleasure not much shorte of the acte it selfe in sweetnesse) was onely allowed to such as had some assured, trustie and singular friend; whereas now-a-dayes, the ordinary entertainments and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables, are the boastings of fauoures received, graces obtained and secret liberalities of Ladyes. Verily it is too great an obiection, and argueth a basenesse of harte, so fiercelie to suffer those tender, dayntie, delicious ioyes, to be persecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so vngratefull, so vndiscreet and so giddy-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of ielousie; the most vaine and turbulent infirmitie that may afflikt mans minde.

Ouid. Art.
Aman. 3.
93.

*Quis uetat appositum lumen de lumine sumi?
Dent licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit.
To borrow light of light, who would deny?
Though still they give, nothing is lost thereby.*

That, and Enuie hir sister, are (in mine opinion) the fondest of the troupe. Of the latter, I cannot say much; a passion which how effectuell and powrefull soever they set forth; of hir good fauour she medleth not with me. As for the other, I know it onely by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The sheapheard *Crisus* being fallen in love with a shee Goate, hir Buck for lealoufie, beate out his braines as he lay a sleepe. We have raised to the highest straine the excesse of this moodie feaver, after the example of some barbarous nations: The best disciplined have therewith been tainted, it is reason; but not caried away by it:

*Ense maritali nemo confusus adulter,
Purpureo stygijs sanguine tinxit aquas.
With husbands sword yet no adulter slaine,
With purple blood did Stygian waters staine.*

Lucillus, Cesar, Pompey, Anthonie, Cato and diuers other gallant men were Cuckoldes, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. There was in all that time, but one gullish coxcombe *Lepidus*, that dyed with the anguish of it.

Cattul. lyr.
epig. 15. 17.

*Ah tum te miserum malique fati,
Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent magilesq; raphanique.
Ah thee then wretched, of accursed fate
Whom Fish-wiues, Redish-wiues of base estate,
Shall scoffing ouer-runne in open gate.*

And the God of our Poets, when he surpris'd one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them:

Ouid. Met.
l. 4. 187.

*Atque aliquis de Dijs non tristibus optat,
Sic fieri turpis.
Some of the merier Gods doth wish in hart,
To share their share, of pleasure to take part.*

And yet forbeareth not to be enflamed with the gentle daliances, and amorous blandishments she offereth him, complaining that for so slight a matter he should distrust hir to him deare-deare affection:

Quid

Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit

Quo tibi Diua mei?

So farre why fetch you your pleas pedigree?

Whether is fled the trust you had in me?

And which is more, she becomes a suter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

Arma rogo genitrix nato.

A mother for a sonne, I craue,

An armor he of you may have.

Which is freely granted hir: And *Vulcan* speakes honourably of *Eneas*:

Arma acri facienda viro.

An armor must be hampered-out,

For one of courage sterne and stoute.

In truth with an humanitie, more then humane. And which exeeffe of goodnesse by my consent shall onely be left to the Gods:

Nec diuis homines componier aquum est.

Nor is it meete, that men with Gods

Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that the grauest law-makers appoint and affect it in their Common-wealths, it concerneth not women, with whom this passion is, I wot not how, in some sorte better placed, fitter seated.

Sæpe etiam Iuno maxima cœlicolum

Coniugis in culpa flagrant quotidiana.

Eu'n *Iuno* chiefe of Goddesses oft time,

Hath growne hotte at hir husbands dayly crime.

When iealousie once seazeth on these sillie, weake, and vnresisting soules, 'tis pittifull, to see, how cruelly it tormenteth, how insultingly it tyrannizeth them. It insinuateth it selfe vnder collour of friendship: but after it once possesseth them, the same causes which serued for a ground of good-will, serue for the foundation of mortall hatred. Of all the mindes-
descaies, that is it, whereto most things serue for sustenance, and fewest for remedy. The vertue, courage health, merite and reputation of their husbands, are the firebrands of their despight, and motiues of their rage.

Nulla sunt inimicitie nisi amoris acerbæ.

No enmities so bitter proue,

And sharpe, as those which spring of loue.

This consuming feauer blemisheth and corrupteth all that otherwise is good and goodly in them. And how chaste or good a hufwife foeuer a jealous woman is, there is no action of hers, but tasteth of sharpenesse and smaks of importunity. It is a furious perturbation, a moody agitation, which throwes them into extremities altogether contrary to the cause. The successe of one *Octavius* in *Rome* was strange, who hauing layne with, and enjoyed the loue of *Pontia Pœsthumia*, increased his affection by enioying her, and instantly sued to marry her; but being vnable to perswade her, his extreame passionate loue precipitated him into effects of a most cruell, mortall and inexorable hatred; wherevpon he killd her. Likewise the ordinary *Symptomes* or passions of this other amorous decale, are intestine hates, slye *Monopolies*, close conspiracies:

Notumque furens quid fœmina possit.

It is knowne what a woman may,

Whose raging passions haue no stay.

And a raging spight, which so much the more fretteth it selfe, by being forced to excuse it selfe vnder pretence of good-will. Now the duty of chastity hath a large extention and farre-reaching compasse. Is it their will, we would haue them to bridle? That's a part very plyable and actiue. It is very nimble and quick-rouling to be stayed. What? If dreames do sometimes engage them to farre, as they cannot dissemble nor deny them; It lyeth not in them (nor perhaps in chastity it selfe, seeing she is a female) to shield themselves from concupiscence and auoyde desiring. If onely their will interresse and engage vs, where and in what case are we? Imagine what great throng of men there would be, in pursuite of this priueledge, with winged-speede (though without eyes and without tongue) to be con-
ueighed

Virg. AEn.
l. 8. 395.

Ibid. 382.

Ibid. 441.

Catull. eleg.
4. 141.

Catull. eleg.
4. 138.

Prop. l. 2.
eleg. 9. 3.

Virg. AEn.
l. 5. 6.

weighed vpon the point of euery woman that would buy him. The Scythian women were wont to thrust out the eyes of all their slaves and prisoners taken in warre, thereby to make more free and private vse of them. *Oh what a furious aduantage is opportunitie!* He that should demaund of me, what the chiefe or first part in loue is, I would answer, *To knowe how to take fit time*; even so the second, and likewise the third. It is a point which may doe all in all. I have often wanted fortune, but sometimes also enterprise. God shield him from harme, that can yet mocke himselfe with it. In this age more rashnesse is required; which our youths excuse vnder collour of heate. But should our women looke neerer vnto it, they might finde, how it rather proceedeth of contempt. I superstitiously feared to offend; and what I love, I willingly respect. Besides that, who depriveth this marchandize of reuerence, defaceth all luster of it. I love that a man should therein somewhat play the child, the dastard and the seruant. If not altogether in this, yet in some other things I have some aires or motives of the sottish bashfulnesse, whereof *Plutarch* speaketh; and the course of my life hath diverslie bin wounded and tainted by it: a qualitie very ill-beseeming my vniversal forme. And what is there amongst vs, but *sedition and iarring*? Mine eyes be as tender to beare a refusal, as to refuse; and it doth so much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or duty compelleth me to trie the wil of any one, be it in doubtfull things, or of cost vnto him, I do it but faintly and much against my will: But if it be for mine owne private businesse (though *Homer* say most truly, that *in an indigent or needie man, bashfulnesse is but a fond vertue*) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blush in my roome: and direct them that employ me, with like difficultie: so that it hath sometimes befallen me, *to haue the will to deny, when I had not powre to refuse*. It is then folly, to goe about to bridle women of a desire, so feruent and so naturall in them. And when I heare them bragge to haue so virgin-like a will and colde minde, I but laugh and mock at them. They recoyle too farre backward. If it be a toothlesse beldam or decrepitate grandame, or a young drye, tickle starueling; if it be not altogether credible, they haue at least some collour or apparance to say it. But those which stirre about, and haue a little breath left them, marre but their market with such stuffe: For so much as *inconsiderate excuses, are no better then accusations*. As a Gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

Catul. eleg.
3.21.

*Languidior tenera cui pendens sricula beta,
Nunquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam.*

to iustifie himselfe, three or foure dayes after his marriage, swore confidently, that the night before, he had performed twentie courses: which oathe hath since serued to conuince him of meere ignorance, and to diuorce him from his wife. Besides, this allegation is of no great worth: For, *there is nor continence nor vertue, where no resistance is to the contrary*. It is true, may one say, but I am not ready to yeld. The Saints themselues speake so. This is vnderstood of such as boast in good earnest of their coldnesse and insensibilitie, and would be credited with a serious countenance: for, when it is from an affected looke (where the eyes give words the lye) and from the faltring speach of their profession (which euer workes against the woll) I allow of it. I am a duteous seruant vnto plainnesse, simplicitie and liberty: but there is no remedie, if it be not meere plaine, simple or infantine; it is fond, inept and vnseemly for Ladies in this commerce: it presently inclineth & bendeth to impudencie. Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles; there lying sitteth in the chaire of honor; it is a by-way, which by a false posterne leades vs vnto truth. If we cannot containe their imaginations, what require we of them? the effects? Many there be, who are free from all strangers-communication, by which chastitie may be corrupted, and honestie defiled.

Mart. l. 7.
epig. 61. 6.

Illud saepe facit, quod sine teste facit.
What she doth with no witnesse to it,
She often may be found to do it.

And those whom we see least, are peraduenture most to be feared: Their secret finnes are the worst.

Ibid. l. 6.
epig. 7.

Offendor mæcha simpliciore minus.
Pleas'd with a whores simplicitie,
Offended with hir nicitie.

There are effects, which without impuritie may loose them their pudicitie; and which is more, without their knowledge. *Obstetrix virginis cuiusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sine malivolentia, sine inscitia, sine casu, dum inspicit, perdidit: A Midwife searching with*

with her finger into a certaine maidens virginity, eyther for ill will, or of unskilfulnesse, or by chance, whilst she seekes and looks into it, she lost and spoilde it. Some one hath lost or wronged her virginity in looking or searching for it; some other killed the same in playing with it. We are not able precisely to circumscribe them the actions we forbid them: Our law must be conceived vnder generall and vncertaine termes. The very Idea we forge vnto their chastity is ridiculous: For, amongst the extreamest examples or patternes I haue of it, it is *Fauna* the wife of *Faunus*, who after she was married, would neuer suffer her selfe to be seene of any man whatsoeuer. And *Hierens* wife, that neuer felt her husbands stincking breath, supposing it to be a quality peculiar and common to all men. It were necessary, that to satisfie and please vs, they should become insensible and inuisible. Now let vs confesse, that the knot of the iudgement of this duety, consisteth principally in the will. There haue beene husbands who haue indured this accident, not onely without reproach and offence against their wiues, but with singular acknowledgement, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more esteemed her honesty, then she loued her life hath prostituted the same vnto the lawlesse lust, & raging sensuallity of a mortall hatefull enemy, thereby to saue her husbands life; and hath done that for him, which she could neuer haue beene induced to doe for her selfe. This is no place to extend these examples: they are too high and ouer rich, to be presented in this luster: let vs therefore referue them for a nobler seate. But to giue you some examples of a more vulgar stamp: Are there not women dayly seene amongst vs, who for the onely profit of their husbands, and by their expresse order and brokerage, make saile of their honesty? And in old times *Phaulus* the *Argian*, through ambition offred his to king *Philip*. Euen as that *Galba*, who bestowed a supper on *Mecenas*, perceiuing him and his wife beginne to bandy eie-tricks and signes, of ciuility shrunke downe vpon his cushion, as one oppressed with sleepe; to giue better skope vnto their loue; which he auouched as prettily: for at that instant, a seruāt of his presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cryde outright vnto him; How now varlet? Seest thou not I sleepe onely for *Mecenas*? One may be of a loose behauiour, yet of purer will and better reformed, then another who frameth herselfe to a precise apparance. As some are seene complaine because they vowed chastity before yeares of discretion or knowledge: So haue I seene others vnfaignedly bewaile and truly lament that they were vowed to licentiousnesse and dissolutnesse before the age of iudgement and distinction. The parents lewdnesse may be the cause of it; or the force of impulsiuue necessity, which is a shrewd counsellor, and a violent perswader. Though chastity were in the East Indias of singular esteeme, yet the custome permitted, that a married wife might freely betake herselfe to what man soeuer did present her an Elephant: and that with some glory, to haue beene valued at so high a rate. *Phedon* the Philosopher, of a noble house, after the taking of his country *Elides*, professed to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all conimers, so long as it should continue, for money to liue with and beare his charges. And *Solon* was the first of *Greece* (say some) who by his lawes, gaue women liberty, by the price of their honesty, to prouide for their necessities: A custome which *Herodotus* reporteth, to haue beene entertayned before him in diuers Common-wealthes. And moreouer, what fruite yeeldes this carefull vexation? For, what justice soeuer be in this passion, yet should we note whither it harrye vs vnto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his industry?

Iuuen. Sat.
6.247.

Pone seram, cohibe; sed quis custodiet ipsos

Custodes? cauta est, et ab illis incipit vxor.

Keepe her with locke and key, but from her who shall keepe

Her keepers? she beginnes with them, her wits so deepe.

What aduantage sufficeth them not, in this so skilfull age? *Curiosity* is euery where vicious; but herein pernicious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to bee resoluēd of a doubt, or search into a mischiefe; for which there is no remedy, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is encreased, and chiefly published by jealousy: and the reuenge whereof doerh more wound and disgrace our children, then it helpeth or graceth vs. You waste away and die in pursuite of so concealed a misterie of so obscure a verification. Wherevnto how pittiouslye haue they arriued, who in my time, haue attayned their purpose? If the accuser or intelligencer present not with-
all

The third Booke.

all the remedie and his assistance, his office is iniurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserueth a stabbe, then doth a lye. Wee flowte him no lesse, that toyleth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a Cuckolde and knowes it not. *The character of Cuckoldrie is perpetuall; on whome it once fastneth, it bouldeth for euer.* The punishment bewrayeth it more then the faulte. It is a goodly sight, to drawe our private misfortunes from out the shadowe of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on Tragical Stages: and misfortunes which pinche vs not, but by relation. For, (as the saying is) shee is a good wife, and that a good marriage, not that is so indeede, but whereof no man speaketh. Wee ought to be wittilie-warie to auoyde this yrkesome, this tedious and vnprofitable knowledge. The Romanes were accustomed, when they returned from any iourney, to send home before, and give their wives notice of their coming, that so they might not surprize them. And therefore hath a certaine nation instituted the Priest to open the waye vnto the Bridegrome, on the wedding day, thereby to take from him the doubt and curiositie of searching in this first attempt, whether shee come a pure virgine to him, or be broken and tainted with any former love. But the worlde speakes of it. I know a hundred Cuckolds, which are so, honestlie and little vndecently. An honest man and a gallant spirite, is moaned, but not disesteemed by it. Cause your vertue to suppress your mishap; that honest-minded men may blame the occasion, and curse the cause; that he which offends you, may tremble with onely thinking of it. And moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken-of in this sense, from the meanest vnto the highest?

—*tot qui legionibus imperitauit,*
Et melior quam tu multis fuit, improbe, rebus.
 He that so many bandes of men commanded
 Thy better much, sir knave, was much like branded.

Seest thou not how many honest men, even in thy presence, are spoken-of and touched with this reproache? Imagine then they will bee as bould with thee, and saye as much of thee else-where. For no man is spared. And even Ladyes will scoffe and prattle of it. And what doe they now adayes more willingly flowte at, then at any well-composed and peaceable mariage? There is none of you all but hath made one Cuckolde or other: Now nature stoode ever on this pointe, *Kae me Ile kae thee*, and ever readye to bee even, alwayes on recompences and vicissitude of things, and to give as good as one brings. The long-continued frequency of this accident, should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: It is almost become a custome; Oh miserable passion, which hath also this mischiefe, to be incommunicable.

Catul. her.
Argon. 170

Fors etiam nostris inuidit quæstibus aures.
 Fortune eu'n cares enuyed,
 To heare vs when we cryed.

For, to what freend dare you entrust your griuances, who, if he laugh not at them, will not make vse of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or bootie to himselfe? As well the sowrenesse and inconueniences, as the sweetnesse and pleasures incident to marriage, are secretly concealed by the wiser sort. And amongst other importunate conditions belonging to wedlock, this one, vnto a babling fellow as I am, is of the chiefeft; that tyrannous custome makes it vncomely and hurtfull, for a man to communicate with any one all he knowes and thinkes of it. To give women aduise to distaste them from iealousie, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine. Their essence is so infected with suspition, with vanitie and curiositie, that we may not hope to cure them by any lawfull meane. They often recover of this infirmitie by a forme of health, much more to be feared, then the disease it selfe. For even as some enchantment cannot ridde away an euill, but with laying it on another, so when they loose it, they transferre and bestowe this maladie on their husbands. And to saye trueth, I wotte not whether a man can endure any thing at their hands worse then iealousie: of all their conditions it is most dangerous, as the head of all their members. *Pittacus* sayde, that euery man had one imperfection or other: *his wines curst pate was his*; and but for that, he should esteeme himselfe most happy. It must needs be a waighty inconuenience, wherwith so just, so wise and worthy a man, felt the state of his whole life distempred: what shall we pettie fellowes doe then?

The

The Senate of *Marceille* had reason to grant and enroule his request, who demanded leaue to kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wiues tempestuous scoulding humor; for it is an euill, that is neuer cleane rid away, but by remoouing the whole pecc: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knowes. And in my conceite, he vnderstoode it right, that said, *a good marriage might be made betweene a blinde woman and a deafe man*. Let vs also take heede, least this great and violent stricktines of obligation we enioyne them, produce not two effects contrary to our end: that is to wit, to set an edge vpon their sutors stomackes; and make women more easie to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endeaure the desire of the conquest. Might it not be *Venus* herselfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware, by the brokage or panderizing of the lawes? knowing how sottish and rattles a delight it is, were it enabled by opinion, and endeared by dearenes; to conclude it is all but hogges flesh, varied by sauce, as said *Flamininus* his hoast. *Cupid* is a roguish God; his sporte is to wrestle with deuotion and to contend with iustice. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules giue place to his.

Materiam culpa prosequiturque sua.

He prosecutes the ground,

Where he is faulty found.

Ouid. Trist.

l. 4. cl. 1. 34.

And as for the second point; should we not be lesse Cuckoldes if we lesse feared to be so? according to womens conditions: whom inhibition enciteth, and restraineth enuiceth.

Vbi velis nolunt, vbi nolis volunt vltro:

They will not when you will,
when you will not, they will.

Confessa pudet ire videri.

They are asham'de to passe,

The way that granted was.

Ter. Eunuch.

act. 4. sce. 6.

Lucan. l. 2.

445.

What better interpretation can we finde concerning *Messalinas* demeanor? in the beginning she made her silly husband Cuckolde, secretly and by stealth (as the fashion is) but percauing how vncontrouled and easily she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupiditie that possessed him, she presently contemned and forbooke that course; and beganne openly to make loue, to auouch her seruants, to entertaine and fauour them in open view of all men; And would haue him take notice of it, and seeme to bee distastd with it: But the fillie gull and sencelesse cockes-combe awaked not for all this, and by his over-bafe facilitie, by which he seemed to authorize and legitimate hir humours, yeelding hir pleasures weerish, and hir amours tastelesse: what did shee? Being the wife of an Emperour, lustie, in health and liuing; and where? In *Rome*, on the worldes chiefe Theater, at highe noone-day, at a statelie feast, in a publike cerimonie; and which is more, with one *Silnius*, whome long time before she had freelie enjoyed, shee was solemnely marryed one day that hir husband was out of the cittie. Seemes it not that shee tooke a direct course to become chaste, by the wretchlesnesse of hir husband? or that shee sought another husband, who by jealousie might whette hir appetite, and who insisting might encite hir? But the first difficultie she mette with, was also the last. The drowzie beast rouzed himselfe and suddainly started-vp. *(One hath often the worst bargaines at the hands of such sluggish logger-heads.* I have seene by experience, that this extreame patience or long sufferance, if it once come to be dissolued, produceth most bitter and outrageous revenges: for, taking fire all at once, choller and furie hudling altogether, becomming one confused chaos, clattered forth their violent effects at the first charge.

Irarumque omnes effundit habenas.

It quite lets loose the raine.

That anger should restraine.)

Virg. AEn.

l. 12. 499.

He caused both her and a great number of hir instruments and abettors, to be put to death; yea such as could not doe withall, and whome by force of whipping she had allured to hir adulterous bed. What *Virgill* sayeth of *Venus* and *Vulcan*, *Lucretius* had more suitable sayde it of a secretly-stolne enioying betweene hir and *Mars*.

—bellis fera manera Maiores

Armipotens regis, in gremium qui saepe tuum se

Lucret. l. 3.

33.

Reijcit,

The third Booke.

*Rejicit, eterno deuinctus vulnere amoris :
 Pasceit amore anidos inhians in te Dea visus,
 Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore :
 Hunc tu Dina tuo recubantem corpore sancto
 Circumsusa super, suauis ex ore loquelas
 Funde.*

*Mars mightie-arm'de, rules the fierce feates of armes,
 Yet often casts himselfe into thine armes,
 Oblig'd thereto by endlesse woundes of love,
 Gaping on thee feedes griedie sight with loue,
 His breath hangs at thy mouth who vpward lyes;
 Goddesse thou circling him, while he so lyes,
 With thy celestiall body, speeches sweete
 Powre from thy mouth (as any Nectar sweete.)*

When I consider this, *rejicit, pasceit, inhians, molli, fouet, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit*, and this noble *circumsusa*, mother of gentle *insusus*. I am vexed at these small points and verball allusions, which since have sprung vp. To those well-meaning people, there needed no sharpe encounter or wittie equiuocation: Their speach is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: They are all epigram; not onely taylor, but head, stomacke and seete. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenor. *Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati.* The whole composition or text is manlye, they are not Bee-busied about yetherlike flowres. This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and onely without offence, it is finnowie, materiall and solide; not so much delighting, as filling and ravishing, and ravisheth most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behould these gallant formes of expressing, so liuely, so nimble, so deepe: I say not this is to speake well, but to thinke well. It is the quaintnesse or liuelinesse of the conceit, that eleueth and puffes vp the wordes. *Petrus est quod disertum facit. It is a mans owne brest, that makes him eloquent.* Our people terme iudgement, language; and full conceptions, fine wordes. This pourtraiture is directed not so much by the hands dexterity, as by having the obiekt more liuely printed in the minde. *Gallus* speakes plainly, because he conceiveth plainly. *Horace* is not pleased with a sleight or superficiall expressing, it would betraye him; he seeth more cleare and further into matters: his spirit pickes and ransacketh the whole store-house of wordes and figures, to shewe and present himselfe; and he must have them more then ordinarie, as his conceit is beyond ordinarie. *Plutarch* sayeth, that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Here likewise the sense enlighteneth and produceth the wordes: no longer windie or spungie, but of fleshe and bone. They signifie more then they vtter. Euen weake-ones shewe some image of this. For, in *Italie*, I spake what I listed in ordinarie discourses, but in more serious and pithie, I durst not have dared to trust to an Idiom, which I could not winde or turne beyond it's common grace, or vulgar byas. I will be able to adde and vse in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and employment of good wittes, endareth and giveth grace vnto a tongue: Not so much innovating as filling the same with more forcible and diuers seruices, wresting, straining and enfoulding it. They bring no wordes vnto it, but enrich their owne, waigh-downe and cram-in their signification and custome; teaching it vnwonted motions; but wisely and ingeniously. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly be discerned by most of our moderne French writers. They are overbolde and scornefull, to shunne the common troden path: but want of inuention and lacke of discretion looseth them. There is nothing to be seene in them but a miserable strained affectation of strange Inke-pot termes; harsh, colde and absurde disguisements, which in steade of raising, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and flush it in noueltie, they care not for efficacie. To take holde of a new farre-fetcht worde, they neglect the vsuall, which often are more significant, forcible and finnowie. I finde sufficient store of stufte in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our hunters gibbrish wordes or strange phrases, and of our warriours peculiar termes; a fruitfull and rich soyle to borrowe-of. And as hearbes and trees are bettered and fortifide by being transplanted, so formes of speache are embellished and

and graced by variation. I finde it sufficiently plentious, but not sufficiently plyable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shrinketh vnder a pithy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be farre extended, you often feele it droupe and languish vnder you, vnto whose default the Latine doeth now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these wordes which I haue culled out, we more hardly perceiue the *Energie* or effectuall operation of them, for somuch as vse and frequence haue in some sorte abased the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language, we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases, and quaint metaphors, whose blithnesse fadeth through age, and colour is tarnished by to common vsing them. But that doth nothing distaste those of sound judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those auncient authors, who, as it is likely, were the first that brought these wordes into luster, and raised them to that straine. The Siences handle things ouer finely, with an artificiall manner, and different from the vulgar and naturall forme. My Page makes loue, and vnderstands it feelingly; Reade *Leon Hebreus* or *Ficinus* vnto him; you speake of him, of his thoughtes and of his actions, yet vnderstands he nothing what you meane. I nor acknowledge nor discern in *Aristotle*, the most part of my ordinary motions. They are cloathed with other roabes, and shrouded vnder other vestures, for the vse of Academicall schooles. God send them well to speede: but were I of the trade, I would naturalize arte, as much as they artize nature. There let vs leaue *Benbo* and *Equicola*. When I write, I can well ommitte the company, and spare the remembrance of bookes; for feare they interrupt my forme. And in trueth good authors deieft me too-toomuch, and quaille my courage. I willinglye imitate that painter, who hauing bunglerlike drawne, and fondly represented some Cockes, forbad his boyesto suffer any liue-cocke to come into his shop. And to giue my selfe some luster or grace haue rather neede of some of *Antionides* the Musicians inuention; who when he was to play any musicke, gaue order that before or after him, some other bad musicians should cloy and surfet his auditory. But I can very hardly be without *Plutarke*; he is so vniuersall and so full that vpon all occasions, and whatloeuere extravagant subiect you haue vndertaken, he intrudeth himselfe into your worke, and gently reacheth you a helpe-affording hand, fraught with rare embelishments, and inexhaustible of precious ritches. It spights me, that he is so much exposed vnto the pillage of those which haunt him. He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance vppon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. For this my dissignement, it much fitteth my purpose, that I write in mine owne house, in a wilde country, where no man helpeth or releueth me; where I conuerse with no bodye that vnderstandes the Latine of his *Pateroster*, and as little of French. I should no doubt haue done it better else where, but then the worke had beene lesse myne: whose principall drift and perfection, is to be exactly myne; I could mend an accidentall error, whereof I abound in myne vnwary course; but it were a kinde of treason to remooue the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When any bodie els, or my selfe haue saide vnto my selfe: Thou art too full of figures or allegories; here is a word meerely-bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase: (I refuse none that are vsed in the frequented streetes of *France*; those that will combat vse and custome by the strict rules of Grammar doe but iest) there's an ignorant discourse; that's a paradoxicall relation; or there's a foolish conceite: thou doest often but dally: one will thinke thou speakest in earnest; what thou hast but spoken in iest. Yea (say I) but I correct vniaduised, not costumarie errors. Speake I not so euery where? Doe I not liuely display my selfe? that sufficeth; I haue my will; All the world may know me by my booke; and my booke by me: But I am of an Apish and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verses (and I neuer made any but in Latine) they euidently accused the Poet I came last from reading: And of my first Essayes, some taste a little of the stranger. At *Paris* I speake some-what otherwise then at *Montaigne*. Whom I behold with attention, doth easily conuay and imprint something of his in me. What I heedily consider, the same I vsurpe: a foolish countenance; a crabbed looke; a ridiculous manner of speech. And vices more: Because they pricke me, they take fast holde vpon me, and leaue me not, vnlesse I shake them-off. I haue more often beene heard to sweare by imitation, then by

n xp

Plutarke

n xp

complexion. Oh iniurious and dead-killing imitation: like that of those huge in greatnes and matchlesse in strength Apes, which *Alexander* met withall in a certaine part of *India*: which otherwise it had beene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfet whatsoeuer they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the hunters learn't in their sight to put-on shooes, and tie them with many strings and knots; to dresse their heads with dyuers strange attires, full of sliding knots; and dissemblingly to rub their eyes with glew, or bird-lime. So did those silly harmelesse beastes indiscretely employ their apish disposition. They ensnared, glewed, entrameled, haltred and shackled themselves. That other faculty of *extempore* and wittily representing the gestures and wordes of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admyring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I sweare after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God; the directest of all oathes.

They report that *Socrates* swore by a Dogge; *Zeno* by that interiection (now a dayes vsed amongst the Italians) *Cappari*; and *Pithagoras* by water and by ayre. I am so apt at vn-awares to entertaine these superficiall impressions, that if but for three dayes togeather I vse my selfe to speake to any Prince with your Grace or your Highnesse, for eight dayes after I so forget my selfe, that I shall still vse them for your Honour or your Worship: and what I am wont to speake in sport or iest the next day after I shall speake in good serious earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more vnwillingly much frequent arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All argumentes are alike fertile to me. I take them vpon any trifle. And I pray God this were not vndertaken by the commaundement of a minde as fleeting. Let me beginne with that likes me best; for all matters are linked one to another. But my conceite displeaseth me, for somuch as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepest studies; & such as content me on a suddaine, and when I least looke for them; which as fast fleete away, wanting at that instant some holde fast. On horsebacke, at the table, in my bed; but most on horsebacke, where my amplest meditations and my farthest reaching conceites are. My speach is somewhat nicely ielous of attention and silence; if I be in any earnest talke, who interrupteth me, cuts me off. In trauell, euen the necessitye of wayes breakes-off discourses. Besides that I most commonly trauell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reasonings; whereby I haue sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby haue that successe I haue in dreames; In dreaming I commend them to my memory (for what I dreame I doe it willingly) but the next morning, I can well call to minde what colour they were of, whether blyth, sad, or strange; but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I ouerwhelme them in obliuion. So of casual and vnpremeditated conceites that come into my braine, nought but a vaine image of them remaineth in my memory; so much onely, as sufficeth vnprofitably to make me chafe, spight and fret in pursuite of them. Well then, leauing bookes a side, and speaking more materially & simply; when all is done, I finde that *loue is nothing els but an insatiate thirst of enjoying a greedily desired subiect*. Nor *Venus* that good huswife, other, then a tickling delight of emptying ones lemenary vessels: as is the pleasure which nature giueth vs to discharge other partes: which becometh faulty by immoderation, & defectiue by indiscretion. To *Socrates*, *loue is an appetite of generation by the intermission of beauty*. Now considering oftentimes the ridiculous tickling, or titilation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddie and harebrained motions wherewith it tosseth *Zeno*, and agitates *Cratippus*; that vnadvised rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed visage in loues lustfull and sweetest effects: and then a graue, sterne; seuerely surly countenance in so fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our ioyes and filthes together: and that the supremest voluptuousnesse both rauisheth and plaineth, as doth sorrow: I beleue that which *Plato* sayes to be true, that *man was made by the Gods for them to toy and play withall*.

Sauitia?

— *quanam ista iocandi,*

What cruelty is this, so set on iesting is?

And that nature in mockery leaft vs the most troublesome of our actions, the most common: thereby to equal vs, & without distinction to set the foolish and the wise, vs and beasts, all in one ranke: no barrell better hearing. When I imagine the most contemplatiue & discretely-wise man in these termes in that humour, I hold him for a cozoner, for a cheater to
seeme

seeme either studiously contemplatiue, or discretely wise. *It is the foulness of the Peacocks
feete, which doth abate his pride, and stoope his gloating-eyed taylor;*

Quid vetat?

What should forbid thee sooth to say, yet be as merry as we may.

Hor. ser. l. 1.

sat. 1. 25.

321. 1

Those which in playes refuse serious opinions, doe as one reporteth, like vnto him, who dreadeth to adore the image of a Saint, if it want a couer, an aprone or a tabernacle. We feede full well, and drinke like beastes; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our minde. In those we hold good our aduantage ouer them; whereas this brings each other thought vnder subiection, and by it's imperious authority makes brutish & dulleth all *Platoes* philosophie and diuinity; & yet he complaines not of it. In all other things you may obserue decorum, and maintaine some decencie: all other operations admit some rules of honesty: this cannot onely be imagined, but vicious or ridiculous. See whether for example sake, you can but find a wise or discreet proceeding in it. *Alexander* said, that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action, & by sleeping: sleepe doth stifle, & suppressteth the faculties of our soule; and that, both deuoureth and dissipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our originall corruption, but a badge of our vanity & deformity. On the one side nature vrgeth vs vnto it, hauing thereunto combined, yea fastned, the most noble, the most profitable, and the most sensually-pleasing, of all her functions; and on the other suffereth vs to accuse, to condemne and to shunne it, as insolent, as dishonest and as lewde, to blush at it, and allow, yea and to commend abstinence. *Are not we most brutish, to serme that worke beastly, which begets, and which maketh vs?* Most people have concurred in diuers ceremonies of religion, as sacrifices, luminaries, fastings, incensings, offerings; and amongst others, in condemning of this action. All opinions agree in that, besides the so farre-extended vse of circumcision. We have peraduenture reason to blame our selues, for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle both the deed and parts thereto belonging, shamful (mine are properly so at this instant). The *Esseniens*, of whom *Plinie* speaketh, maintained themselves a long time without nurces, or swathing-clothes, by the arriual of strangers that came to their shoares, who seconding their fond humor, did often visite them. A whole nation hazarding rather to consume, then engage themselves to feminine embraces, & rather loose the succession of all men, then forge one. They report that *Zeno* neuer dealt with woman but once in all his life; which he did for ciuillie, least he should obstinately seeme to contemne the sex. *Each one auoideth to see a man borne, but all runne hastily to see him dye.* To destroy him we seeke a spacious field & a full light; but to construct him, we hide our selues in some darke corner, and worke as close as we may. It is our durie to conceale our selues in making him; it is our glory, and the originall of many vertues to destroy him, being framed. The one is a manifest iniurie, the other a great fauor; for *Aristotle* saith, that in a certaine phrase where he was borne, to bonifie or benifit, was as much to say as to kill one. The Athenians, to equall the disgrace of these two actions, being to cleanse the Ile of *Delos*, and iustifie themselves vnto *Apollo*, forbad within that precinct all burials & births. *Nostri nosmet poenitet, We are weary of our selues.* There are some nations, that when they are eating, they cover themselves. I know a Lady (yea one of the greatest) who is of opinion that to chew is an vnseemly thing, which much empaireth their grace and beauty; and therefore by hir will she never comes abroad with an appetite. And a man that cannot endure one should see him eate; and shunneth all company more when he filleth, then when he emptieth himselfe. In the Turkish Empire there are many, who to excell the rest, will not be seene when they are feeding, & who make but one meale in a weeke: who mangle their face and cut their limmes; and who neuer speake to any body; who thinke to honour their nature, by disnaturing themselves; oh fanaticall people, that prize themselves by their contempt, and mend by their empaireing. What monstrous beast is this, that makes himselfe a horror to himselfe, whome his delights displease, who ryes himselfe vnto misfortune? some there are that conceale their life,

Ter. Phor.

act. 1. sce. 3.

Exilioq, domos et dulcia limina mutant,

Virg. Geor.

l. 2. 511.

They change for banishment, The places that might best content, and steale it from the sight of other men: That eschew health, and shunne mirth as hatefull qualities and harmefull. Not onely diuers Sects, but many people curse their birth

and blesse their death. Some there be that abhorre the glorious Sunne, and adore the hidious darkenesse. We are not ingenious but to our owne vexation : It is the true foode of our spirits force : a dangerous and most vnruely implement.

Corn. Galat.
1. 188.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent.

O miserable they, whose ioyes in fault we lay.

Alas poore silly man, thou hast but too-too many necessary and vnauidable incommodities, without increasing them by thine owne inuention, and art sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte : thou aboundest in realle and essentiall deformities, and needest not forge any by imagination. Doeſt thou finde thy selfe to wel at ease, vnlesse the moiety of thine ease moleſt thee? Findest thou to haue supplied or discharged all necessary offices, whereto nature engageth thee, and that she is idle in thee, if thou binde not thy selfe vnto new offices? Thou fearest not to offend hir vniuersall & vndoubted lawes, and art mooued at thine owne partiall and fantasticall ones. And by how much more particuler, vncertaine, and contradicted they are, the more endeouours thou bestowest that way. The positieue orders of thy parish tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little ouer the examples of this consideration; thy life is full of them. The verses of these two Poets, handling laciuiusnes so sparingly and so discretly, as they do, in my conceite seeme to discouer, and dispaly it nearer; ladies cover their bosomes with networke; priests many sacred things with a vaile, & painters shadow their workes, to giue them the more luster, and to adde more grace vnto them. And they say that the streakes of the Sunne, and force of the winde, are much more violent by reflection, then by a direct line. The Egyptian answered him wisely, that asked him, what he had hidden vnder his cloake? it is (quoth he) *hidden vnder my cloake, that thou maiest not know what it is*. But there are certaine other things which men conceale to show them. Heſe this fellow more open.

Ouid. Am.l.
lcl. 5. 24.

Et nudam pressi corpus adusque meum.

My body I applide, Euen to her naked side.

Me thinks he baffles me. Let *Martiall* at his pleasure tuck-vp *Venus*, he makes her not by much appeare so wholly. *He that speakes all he knows, doth cloy and distaste vs*. Who feareth to expresse himselfe, leadeth our conceite to imagine more then happily conceiueſt. There is treason in this kinde of modesty : and chiefly as these do, in opening vs so faire a path vnto imagination : Both the action & description should taste of purloyning. The loue of the Spaniards, & of the Italians pleaseth me; by how much more respectiue and fearfull it is, the more nicely close & closely nice is it, I wot not who in ancient times wished his throat were as long as a Cranes neck, that so he might the longer & more leasurely taste what he swallowed. That wish were more to purpose in this suddaine and violent pleasure : Namely in such natures as mine, who am faulty in suddainenenes. To stay her fleeting, and delay her with preambles; with them all serueth for fauour, all is construed to be a recompence, a winke, a cast of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a signe, a beck is as good as a Dew guard. *He that could dine with the smoake of roſte-meate, might he not line at a cheape rate? Would he not soone be rich?* It is a passion that commixeth with smale store of solide essence, great quantitie of doating vanity, and febricitant raving : it must therefore be requited and serued with the like. Let vs teach Ladies, to know how to preuaile; highly to esteeme themselves; to amuse, to circumuent & cozen vs. We make our last charge the first: we show our selues right French men; euer rash, euer headlong, wiredrawing their fauours, and enstalling them by retails : each one, euen vnto miserable olde-age, findes some listes end, according to his worth and merite. He who hath no iouissance but in enioying; who shootes not but to hit the marke; who loues not hitting but for the pray; it belongs not to him to entermedle with our schoole. *The more steps and degrees there are : the more delight and honour is there on the top*. We should be pleased to be brought vnto it, as vnto stately pallaces, by diuers porches seuerall passages, long and pleasant galleries, and well contriued turnings. This dispensation would in the end, redound to our benefit; we should stay on it, & longer loue to lye at rack and manger: for these snatches and away, mar the grace of it. Take away hope and desire, we grow faint in our courſes, we come but lagging after : Our maistry and absolute possession, is infinitely to be feared of them : After they haue wholly yeelded themselves to the mercy of our faith and constancie, they haue hazarded something : They are rare and difficult vertues : so soone as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.

Postquam

— *postquam cupida mentis satiata libido est,*
Verba nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant.
 The lust of greedie minde once satisfied,
 They feare no words, nor reke othes falsified,

Catul. Arg.
 2. 147.

And *Thrasonides* a young Grecian, was so religiously amorous of his love, that having after much sute gained his mistris hart and favour, he refused to enioy hir, least by that iouissance he might or quench, or satisfie, or languish that burning flame and restless heate, wherewith he gloryed, and so pleasingly fed himselfe. *Things farre fetcht and dearly bought are good for Ladyes. It is the deare price makes viands sauour the better.* See but how the forme of salutations, which is peculiar vnto our nation, doth by it's facilitie bastardize the grace of kisses, which *Socrates* saith, to be of that consequence, waight and danger, to ravish & steale our hearts. It is an vnpleasing & iniurious custome vnto Ladies, that they must afforde their lips to any man that hath but three Lackeis following him, how vnhandsome and lothsome foewer he be;

Cuius liuida naribus caninis,
Dependet glacies, rigetq; barba:
Centum occurrere malo culilingis.

Mart. l. 7.
 epig. 54. 10

From whose dog-nosthrils black-blew Ise depends,
 Whose beard frost-hardned stands on bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selues gaine much by it: for as the world is deuided into foure partes, so for foure faire ones, we must kisse fittie foule: and to a nice or tender stomacke, as are those of mine age, one ill kisse doth surpay one good. In *Italy* they are passionate and languishing sutors to very common and mercenarie woman; and thus they defend and excuse themselves, saying; *That enen in enioying there be certaine degrees;* and that by humble seruices, they will endeouour to obtaine that, which is the most absolutely perfect. *They sell but their bodies, their willes cannot be put to sale;* that is too free, and too much it's owne. So say these, that it is the will they attempt, and they haue reason: It is the will one must serue and most sollicite. I abhorre to imagine mine, a body voide of affection. And me seemeth, this frenzie hath some affinitie with that boyes fond humor, who for pure love would needs wantonize with that fayre Image of *Venus*, which *Praxiteles* had made: or of that furious Egyptian, who lusted after a dead womans corpes which he was enbaulming and stiching vp: which was the occasion of the lawe that afterwarde was made in *Egypt*: that the bodies of faire, young and nobly-borne women, should be kept three dayes, before they should be delivered into the hands of those who had the charge to provide for their funeralles and burials. *Periander* did more miraculousslie: who extended his coiugall affection (more regular and lawfull) vnto the enioying of *Melissa* his deceased wife. Seemes it not to be a lunatique humor in the Moone, being otherwise vnable to enioy *Endimion* hir fauorite darling, to lull him in a sweet slumber for many moneths together; and feed himselfe with the iouissance of a boye, that stirred not but in a dreame? I say likewise, that *a man loveth a body without a soule, when he loveth a body without his consent and desire.* All enioyings are not alike. There are some ethicke, fainte and languishing ones. A thousand causes, besides affection and good-will, may obtaine vs this graunt of women. It is no sufficient testimonie of true affection: therein may lurke treason, as else-where: they sometimes goe but faintlie to worke, and as they say with one buttock;

Tanquam thura merumq; parent;
 As though they did dispenfe,
 Pure Wine and Frankincense.
Absentem marmore amne putes.
 Of Marble you would thinke she were,
 Or that she were not present there.

Ibid. l. 11.
 epi. 100. 14

Ibid. epig.
 61. 8.

I knowe some, that would rather lend that, then their Coache; and who imparte not themselves, but that waye: you must also marke whether your company pleaseth them for some other respect, or for that end onely, as of a lustie-strong grome of a Stable: as also in what ranke, and at what rate you are there lodged or valued;

— *tibi si datur uni*
Quo lapide illa diem candidiore notet.
 If it afforded be to thee alone,

Catul. eleg.
 4. 147.

Whereby she counts that day of all dayes one.

What if she eate your bread, with the sauce of a more pleasing imagination?

*Tibul. l. 4.
el. 5. 11.*

Tētenet, absētes alios suspirat amores.

Thee she retaines, yet sigheth she

For other loves that absent be.

note

What? have we not seene some in our dayes, to have made vse of this action, for the execution of a most horrible revenge, by that meanes murthuring and empoysoning (as one did) a very honest woman? such as know *Italie* will never wonder, if for this subiect, I seeke for no examples else-where. For the said nation may in that point be termed Regent of the world. They have commonly more faire women, and fewer foule then we, but in rare and excellent beauries I thinke we match them. The like I judge of their wits; of the vulgar sort they have evidently many more. Blockishnes is without all comparifon more rare amongst them: but for singular wits, and of the highest pitch, we are no whit behinde them. Were I to extend this comparifon, I might (me thinkes) say, touching valor, that on the other-side, it is in regarde of them, popular and naturall amongst vs: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate & vigorous, that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples we haue of it. The mariages of that countrie are in this somewhat defectiue. Their custome doth generally impose so severe obseruances, and flauish lawes vpon wives, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger, is amongst them as capitall as the nearest. Which law causeth, that all approaches prooue necessarilie substantiall: and seeing all commeth to one reckoning with them, they have an easie choise: & have they broken downe their hedges? Beleeue it, they will have fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis sicut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissā: Luxurie is like a wilde beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose.* They must have the reynes giuen them a little.

*Ouid. am. l.
3. el. 4. 13.*

Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua frena tenacem

Ore reluctantis fulminis ire modo.

I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colte

Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

One alayeth the desire of company, by giuing it some libertie. It is a commendable custome with our nation, that our children are entertained in noble houses, there as in a schoole of nobilitie to be trained and brought vp as Pages. And 'tis said to be a kinde of discourtesie, to refuse it a gentleman. I haue obserued (for, so many houses, so many severall formes and orders) that such Ladies as haue gone about to giue their waiting women, the most austere rules, haue not had the best successe. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must be left to the conduct of their discretion: For, when all comes to all, no discipline can bridle them in each point. True it is, that she who escapeth safe and unpolluted from out the schoole of freedom, giveth more confidence of hir selfe, then she who commeth found out of the schoole of severitie and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances vnto shamefastnesse and feare, (their inclinations and desires alwaies alike) we vnto assurance. We vnderstand not the matter. That belongeth to the Sarmatian wenches, who by their lawes may lye with no man, except with their owne hands they haue before killed another man in warre. To me that haue no right but by the eares, it sufficeth, if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the priuiledge of mine age. I then aduise both them and vs to embrace abstinence, but if this season be too much against it, at least modestie and discretion. For, as *Aristippus* (speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, the fault was not in entring, but in not coming out againe. She that will not exempt hir conscience, let hir exempt hir name: though the substance be not of worth, yet let the apparance hold still good. I loue gradation and prolonging, in the distribution of their fauours. *Plato* sheweth, that in all kinds of love, facilitie and readinesse is forbidden to deffendants. 'Tis a trick of greedinesse, which it behoueth them to cloake with their arte, so rashly and fond-hardily to yeeld themselues in grosse. In their distributions of fauours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceiue our desires, and conceale theirs. Let them ever be flying before vs: I meane even those that intend to be ouertaken. As the Scythians are wont, though they seeme to runne away, they beate vs more, and sooner put vs to route. Verily, according to the lawe which nature giueth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obay and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacitie; on vs a seld and vncertaine abilitie. They haue
alwayes

alwayes their house, that they may euer be ready to let vs enter. And whereas she hath willed our appetites should make apparant shewe and declaration, she caused theirs to be concealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts vnfit for ostentation; and onely for defence. Such pranks as this, we must leave to the Amazonian libertie. *Alexander* the great marching through *Hircania*, *Thalestris* Queene of the Amazones came to meet him with three hundred lances of her sex, all wel mounted & compleatlie armed; having left the residue of a great armie, that followed him, beyond the neighbouring mountaines. And thus aloud, that all might heare she bespake him; That the farre-resounding fame of his victories, and matchlesse valour, had brought him thither to see him, and to offer him his meanes and forces, for the aduancing and furthering of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so yong and strong, she, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, aduised him to lye with him, that so there might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and onely valiant man then living, some great and rare creature for posteritie. *Alexander* thanked him for the rest; but to take leasure for his last demands accomplishment, he staide thirteene dayes in that place, during which, he reuelled with as much glee; and feasted with as great iollitie as possibly could be deuised, in honour and fauour of so couragious a Prince. We are wel-nigh in all things partiall and corrupted Iudges of their actions, as no doubt they are of ours. I allowe of truth as well when it hurts me, as when it helps me. It is a foule disorder, that so often vrgeth them vnto change, and hinders them from setting their affection on any one subiect: as we see in this Goddesse, to whom they impute so many changes and seuerall friends. But withall, it is against the nature of leue, not to be violent, and against the condition of violence, to be constant. And those who wonder at it, exclaime against it, and in women search for the causes of this infirmitie, as incredible and vnnaturall: why see they not how often, without any amazement and exclaiming, themselves are possessed and infected with it? It might happily seeme more strange to finde any constant stay in them. It is not a passion mererly corporeall. If no end be found in couetousnesse, nor limit in ambition, assure your selfe there is nor end nor limit in lechery. It yet continueth after satiety: nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction: it euer goeth on beyond its possession, beyond its boundes. And if constancie be peradventure in some sorte more pardonable in them then in vs: They may readily alleadge against vs, our ready inclination vnto daylie variety and new ware: And secondly alleage without vs, that they buy a pigge in a poake. *Ione* Queene of *Naples* caused *Andreasse* her first husband to be strangled and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of Silke and golde, wouen with her owne handes; because in bed-businesse she found neither his members nor endeuours, answerable the hope she had conceiued of him, by viewing his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surprised and abused. That action hath in it more violence then passion: so that on their part at least necessitie is ever provided-for: on our behalfe it may happen otherwise. Therefore *Plato* by his lawes did very wisely establish, that before mariages, the better to decide its opportunitie, competent Iudges might be appointed to take view of young men which pretended the same, all naked: and of maidens but to the waste: In making triall of vs, they happilie finde vs not worthy their choise:

Experta latus madidoque simillima loro

Inquina, nec lassâ stare coacta manu.

Deserit imbelles thalamos.

*Marti. l. 7.
epig. 57.3.*

It is not sufficient, that will keepe a leuell course: weakenesse and incapacitie may lawfully breake wedlock;

Et querendum aliunde foret xernosus illud.

Quod posset Zonam soluere virgineam.

*Catul. eleg.
3.270.*

Why not, and according to measure, an amorous intelligence, more licentious and more actiue?

Si blando nequeat superesse labori.

*Virg. Geor.
l. 3. 127.*

If it cannot out last, labour with pleasure past.

But is it not great impudencie, to bring our imperfections and weakenes, in place where we desire to please, and leaue a good report and comendation behinde vs? for the little I now stand in need of.

Mollis opus.

Vnable to holde out, one onely busie bout,

I would

I would not importune any one, whom I am to reverence and feare.

Hor. car. l. 2.
od. 4. 22.

*fuge suspicari,
Cuius undenum trepidauit etas
Claudere iustrum.*

Him of suspition cleare,
Whom age hath brought well neare
To fūe and fiftie yeare.

Nature should haue beene pleased to haue made this age miserable, without making it also ridiculous. I hate to see one for an inche of wretched vigor, which enflames him but thrice a weeke, take-on and swagger as fiercely, as if he had some great & lawfull dayes-worke in his belly: a right blast or puffe of winde: And admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be so lubberly squat and benumbed. This appetite should onely belong to the blossom of a prime youth. Trust not vnto it, though you see it second that indefatigable, full, constant and swelling heate, that is in you: for trulye it will leave you at the best, and when you shall most stand in neede of it. Send it rather to some tender, irresolute and ignorant quire, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blush at it,

Virg. AEn.
l. 12. 67.

*Indum sanguineo veluti violauerit ostro,
Si quis ebur, vel mista rubent ubi lilia, multa
Alba rosa.*

As if the Indian Yuorie one should taint
With bloudie Scarlet-graine, or Lillies paint,
White entermixt with red, with Roses enter-spred.

Who can stay vntill the next morrow, and not dye for shame, the disdain of those loue-sparkling eyes, priue to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie;

Ouid. Am. l.
l. 1. 7. 21.

*Et taciti fecere tamen conuiuia vultus.
The face though silent, yet silent vpbrayde-it.*

he never felt the sweet contentment, & the sence-moouing earnestnes, to haue beaten and tarmished them by the vigorous exercise of an officious & active night. When I haue perceiued any of them weary of me, I haue not presently accused her lightnes: but made question whether I had not more reason to quarrell wth nature, for handling me so vnlawfully and vnciuilly,

Luf. Priap.
penult. 1. 8. 4

*Si non longa satis, si non benè mentula crassa:
Nimirum sapiunt videntque paruam
Matrona quoque mentulam illibenter.*

and to my exceeding hurt. Each of my pieces are equally mine, one as another: and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole pourtraiture I vniuersally owe vnto the world. The wisdom and reach of my lesson, is all in truth, in libertie, in essence: Disdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, these easie, faint, ordinary and prouinciall rules. All naturall, constant and generall; where of ciuilitie and cerimonie, are daughters, but bastards. We shall easily haue the vices of apparance, when we shall haue had those of essence. When we haue done with these, we run vpon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger, that we deuise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward naturall offices, & to confound thē. That it is so, we see that in places where faults are crimes, crimes are but faults. That among nations, where lawes of seemlineffe are more rare and slack, the primitive lawes of common reason are better obserued: The innumerable multitude of so manifold duties stifling, languishing and dispersing our care. The applying of our selues vnto sleight matters, with-draweth vs from such as be iust. Oh how easie & plausible a course do these superficiall men vndertake, in respect of ours! These are but shadows vnder which we shroud, & wherewith we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, vnto that great and dreadfull iudge, who tucks vp our clouts and rags from about our priue parts, & is not squeamish to view all-over, even to our most inward & secret deformities: a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bashfulnesse, could it debar him of this tainted discovery. To conclude, he that could recouer or vn-befot man, from so scrupulous and verball a superstition, should not much prejudice the world. *Our life consisteth partly in folly, and partly in wisdom.* He that writes of it but reverently & regularly, omits the better moytie of it. I excuse me not vnto my selfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses, then any fault else of mine: I excuse my selfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger, then those which are on my side: In
confi-

consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men ; though it be a hard matter, *Esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum, ac sermonum et voluntatum varietatem.* That one man should be applyable to so great varietie of manners, speeches and dispositions) that they are not to blame me, for what I cause auctorities receiued and approued of many ages, to vtter : and that it is not reason, they should for want of ryme denie me the dispensation, which ever some of our churchmen vsurpe and enioy in this season ; whereof beholde here two, and of the most pert and cocket amongst them :

Rimula, dispeream, ni monogramma tua est.

Un vit d'amy la contente et bien traite.

How many others more? I love modestie; nor is it from iudgement that I have made choise of this kinde of scandalous speech; t'is nature hath chosen the same for me: I commend it no more, then all formes contrary vnto receiued custome : onely I excuse it ; and by circumstances aswell generall as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let vs proceede. Whence commeth also the vsurpation of soveraine auctoritie, which you assume vnto your selues, over those that fauour you to their cost and preiudice,

Si furtiuâ dedit nigra munitula nocte,

If she have giu'n by night, The stolne guift of delight.

that you should immediatly inuest withall the interest, the coldnes, & a wedlock auctority? It is a free bargaine, why doe you not vndertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? *There is no prescription vpon voluntarie things.* It is against forme, yet is it true, that I have in my time managed this match (so farre as the nature of it would allow) with as much conscience as any other whatsoeuer, & not without some colour of iustice : and have giuen them no further testimony of mine affection, then I sincerelie felt : and have lively displaide vnto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same ; with the fits and deferrings of it: *A man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace,* nor ever go to it alike. I have bin so sparing to promise, that (as I thinke) I have paide more then either I promised or was due. They have found me faithfull, euen to the seruice of their inconstancie: I say an inconstancie avowed, & somtimes multiplide. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a threds-end; & whatsoeuer occasion they have giuen me by their ficklenes, I never fel-of vnto contempt & hatred : for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shameful conditions, yet do they binde me vnto some constant good-will. I have sometimes giuen them a taste of choller & indiscreet impacience, vpon occasions of their wyles, sleights, close-conueyances, controuerfies & contestations betweene vs ; for, by complexion, I am subiect to hastie and rash motions, which often empeach my traffike, and marre my bargaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to essay the libertie of my iudgement, I never dissembled to giue them fatherly counsell & biting aduise, and shewed my selfe ready to scratch them where they itched. If I have given them cause to complaine of me, it hath bin most for finding a love in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conscientious. I have religiously kept my word, in things that I might easily haue bin dispensed with. They then yeelded somtimes with reputation, and vnder conditions, which they would easily suffer to be infringed by the conqueror. I have more then once, made pleasure in hir greatest efforts strike saile vnto the interest of their honor : & where reason vrged me, armed them against me, so that they guided themselues more safely & seuerly by my prescriptions, if they once freely yeelded vnto them, then they could haue done by their owne. I haue as much as I could endeuored to take on my selfe the charge & hazard of our appointments, therby to discharge them from all imputation ; & euer contrived our meetings in most hard, strange and vn suspected manner, to be the lesse mistrusted, & (in my seeming) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts, where they suppose themselues most concealed. *Things least feared, are least defended and obserued.* You may more securely dare, what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficultie becometh easie. Neuer had man his approaches more impertinentlie genitale. This way to love, is more according to discipline. But how ridiculous vnto our people, and of how small effect, who better knowes then I ? yet will I not repent me of it ; I have no more to loose by the matter,

—me tabula sacer

Votina paries, indicat vuida,

Suspendisse potenti

Catul. el. 4.

145.

*Hor. car. l. 2
od. 5. 13.*

Vestimenta

Vestimenta maris Deo

By tables of the vowes which I did owe

Fasted thereto the sacred wall doth shoue;

I have hung-vp my garments water-wet,

Vnto that God whose powre on seas is great.

It is now high time to speake plainly of it. But even as to another, I would perhaps say; My friend thou dost, the love of thy times hath small affinitie with faith and honestie;

hac si in postules

Ter. Eunu.

act. 1. sc. 4.

Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,

Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.

If this you would by reason certaine make,

You doe no more, then if the paines you take,

To be starke-mad, and yet to thinke it reason fit.

And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should be by the very same pathe and progresse, how fruitlesse soeuer it might prooue vnto me. *Insufficiencie and fortifnesse are commendable in a*

discommendable action. As much as I separate my selfe from their humor in that, so much I

approach vnto mine owne. Moreover, I did neuer suffer my selfe to be wholly given over to

that sport; I therewith pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little vnderstanding

and discretion, which nature hath bestowed on me, for their seruice and mine; some motion

towards it, but no dotage. My conscience also was engaged therein, even vnto incontinen-

cie and excesse, but neuer vnto ingratitude, treason, malice or cruelty. I bought not the plea-

Sen. epi. 95.

sure of this vice at all rates; & was content with it's owne and simple cost. *Nullum intra se*

vitium est. There is no vice contained in it selfe. I hate almost alike a crouching & dull lasinesse,

and a toilesome & thornie working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth me. I loue wounds

as much as bruses, & blood-wipes as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practise of this solace,

when I was fitter for it, an even moderation betweene these two extremities. *Loue is a vigi-*

lant, lively and blithe agitation: I was neither troubled nor tormented with it, but heated and

distempred by it: There we must make a stay; It is onely hurtfull vnto fooles. A yong man

demande of the Philosopher *Panetius*, whether it would besee me a wise man to be in loue;

Let wisemen alone (quoth he) *but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selues*

into so stirring and violent a humor, which makes vs slaves to others & contemptible vnto our selues.

He said true, for we ought not entrust a matter so dangerous, vnto a minde that hath not

where with to sustaine the approaches of it, nor effectually to quail the speach of *Agessilaus*;

That wisdom and loue cannot liue together: It is a vaine occupation (tis true) vnseemlie,

shamefull and lawlesse. But vsing it in this manner, I esteeme it wholesome and fit to rouze a

dull spirit and a heauie body: and, as a phisition experienced, I would prescribe the same vn-

to a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to keepe him awake

and in strength, when he is well in yeares; and delaye him from the gripings of olde age.

As long as we are but in the suburbs of it, and that our pulse yet beateth,

Inuen. Sat.

3. 26.

Dum noua canities, dum prima et recta senectus,

Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me

Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.

While hoarie haire is new, and ould-age fresh and straight,

While *Lachesis* hath yet to spin, while I my waight

Beare on my fete, and stand, without staffe in my hand.

We had neede to be sollicit and tickled, by some biting agitation, as this is. See but what

youth, vigor and iollitie it restored vnto wise *Anacreon*. And *Socrates*, when he was

elder then I am, speaking of an amorous object: leaning (sayes hee) shoulder to

shoulder, and approaching my head vnto his, as we were both together looking vpon a

booke, I felt, in truth, a suddaine tingling or prickling in my shoulder, like the biting of

some beast, which more then fife dayes after tickled me, whereby a continuall itching

glided into my heart. But a casuall touche, and that but in a shoulder, to enflame, to

distemper and to distract a minde, enfeebled, tamed and cooled through age; and of all

humaine mindes the most reformed. And why not I pray you? *Socrates* was but a man, and

would neither be nor seeme to be other. Philosophie contends not against naturall delights,

so that due measure be ioyned therewith; & alloweth the moderation not the shunning of

them.

them. The efforts of her resistance are employed against strange & bastard or lawlesse ones. She saith, that *the bodies appetites ought not to be increased by the minde*. And wittily aduise us, that we should not excite our hunger by facietie; not to stiffe, in steed of filling our bellies: to auoide all ioyfullance that may bring vs to want: and shunne all meate and drinke, which may make vs hungrie or thirstie. As in the seruice of love, she appoints vs to take an object, that onely may satisfie the bodies neede, without once moouing the minde: which is not there to haue any doing, but onely to follow and simply to assist the body. But haue I not reason to thinke, that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are elsewhere somewhat rigorous) haue reference vnto a body which doth his office; and that a dejected one, as a weakned stomack may be excused if he cherish and sustaine the same by arte, and by the entercourse of fantzie, to restore it the desires, the delights and blithnesse, which of it selfe it hath lost? May we not say, that there is nothing in vs, during this earthly prison, simply corporall, or purely spirituall? and that iniuriously we dismember a living man? that there is reason we should carrie our selues in the vse of pleasure, at least as fauourable as we doe in the pangs of griefe? For example, it was vehement, even vnto perfection, in the soules of Saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might haue but little share in the cause: and were not contented that it should simply follow and assist the afflicted soule: they haue tormented the body it selfe with conuenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body and the soule might auie plunge man into sorow; so much the more saving, by how much the more smarting. In like case, in corporall pleasures, is it not iniustice to quail & coole the minde, & say, it must therevnto be entrained, as vnto a forced bond, or seruile necessitie? she should rather hatch & cherish them, and offer & enuite it selfe vnto them; the charge of swaying rightly belonging to hir. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in hir proper delights, to inspire & infuse into the body all sence or feeling which his condition may beare, and indeuor that they may be both sweet & healthy for him. For, as they say, 'tis good reason, that the body follow not his appetites to the mindes prejudice or damage. But why is it not likewise reason, that the minde should not follow hers to the bodies danger & hurt? I haue no other passion that keeps me in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarels, sutes in law, or other contentions worke & effect in others, who as my selfe haue no assigned vacation, or certaine leasure, love would performe more commodiously: It would restore me the vigilancie, sobrietie, grace & care of my person; & assure my countenance against the wrinckled frownes of age (those deformed and wretched frownes) which els would blemish and deface the same; It would reduce me to serious, to sound and wise studies, whereby I might procure more loue, and purchase more estimation: It would purge my minde from dispaire of it selfe, & of it's vse, acquainting the same againe with it selfe: It would diuert me fro thousands of irksome tedious thoughts, and melancholie carking cares, wherewith the doting idlenesse and crazed condition of our age doth charge and comber vs: It would restore and heate, though but in a dreame, the bloud which nature forsaketh: It would vphold the drooping chinne, and somewhat strengthen or lengthen the shrunk sinnowes, decayde vigor, and dilled liues-blithenesse of silly-wretched man, who gallops a pace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to such a commoditie: Through weakenesse and long experience, our taste is growne more tender, more choise and more exquisite. We challenge most, when we bring least; we are most desirous to choose, when we least deserue to be accepted: And knowing our selues to be such, we are lesse hardie and more distrustfull: Nothing can assure vs to be beloued, seeing our condition and their qualitie. I am ashamed to be in the companie of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

Cuius in indomito constantior inguine neruus,

Quam noua collibus arbor inhaeret

Why should we preient our wretchednesse amid this their iollitie?

Possint ut iuuenes visere ferudi

Multo non sine risu,

Dilapsam in cineres facem,

That hote young men may goe and see,

Not without sporte and mery glee,

Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes be.

Hor. Epod.

12. 19.

Hor. car. l. 4

od. 13. 26.

They

They have both strength & reason on their side: let vs give them place: we have no longer holde fast. This bloome of budding beauty, loues not to be handled by such nummed, and so clomfie hands, nor would it be dealt-with by ~~the~~ meanes ~~or~~ materiall or ordinary stuffe. For, as that ancient Philosopher answered one that mocked him, because he could not obtaine the fauour of a yongling, whom he suingly pursued: *My friend* (quoth he) *the kooke bites not at such fresh cheese*. It is a commerce needing relation and mutuall correspondencie: other pleasures that we receiue, may be requitted by recompences of different nature: but this cannot be repaide but with the very same kinde of coyne. Verily, the pleasure I doe others in this sport, doth more sweetly tickle my imagination, then that is done vnto me. Now if no generous minde, can receive pleasure where he returneth none; it is a base mind that would have all dutie and delights to feed with conference, those vnder whose charge he remaineth. There is no beautie, nor fauour, nor familiaritie so exquisite, which a gallant minde should desire at this rate. Now if women can do vs no good but in pittie, I had much rather not to live at all, then to live by almes. I would I had the priuiledge to demande of them, in the same stile that I have heard some beg in *Italy*: *Fate bene per voi, Doe some good for your selfe*: or after the manner that *Cyrus* exhorted his souldiers; *Whosoener loueth me, let him follow me*. Confort your selfe, will some say to me, with those of your owne condition, whome the companie of like fortune will yeelde of more easie access. Oh fortifish and wallowish composition!

Mar. l.
10. epig. 90.
3.

— nolo
Barbam vellere mortuo leoni.
I will not pull (though not asfearde)
When he is dead a Lions beard.

Xenophon vsfeth for an obiection and accusation against *Menon*, that in his love he dealt with fading objects. I take more sensuall pleasure by onely viewing the mutuall, even proporcioned and delicate commixture of two young beauties; or only to consider the same in mine imagination, then if my selfe should be second in a lumpish, sad and disproportioned coniunction. I resigne such distasted and fantastick appetites vnto the Emperour *Galba*, who medled with none but cast, worne, hard-ould flesh; And to that poore slave,

O ego di faciant saltem te cernere p. ssim,

Charaque mutatis oscula ferre comis,

Amplectique meis corpus non pigre lacertis.

Gods graut I may beholde thee in such case,

And kisse thy chang'd locks with my dearest grace,

And with mine armes thy limmes not fat embrace.

And amongst blemishing-deformities, I deeme artificiall and forced beautie to be of the chiefest. *Emonex*, a young lad of *Chios*, supposing by gorgeous attires to purchase the beautie, which nature denied him, came to the Philosopher *Aesilans*, and asked of him, *whether a wise man could be in love, or no?* *Yes marrie* (quoth he) *you were not with a painted and sophisticate beautie, as thine is*. The fowlenesse of an olde knowne woman is in my seeming, not so aged nor so ill-fauoured, as one that's painted and sleeked. Shall I boldly speake it, and not have my throat cut for my labour? *Loue is not properly nor naturallie in season, but in the age next vnto insancie*:

Hor. car. l. 2
od. 5. 22.

Quam si puellarum infereres choro,

Mille sagaces falleret hospites,

Discrimen obscurum, solutis

Crimibus, ambiguoque vultu.

Whom if you should in crue of wenches place,

With haire loose-hanging, and ambiguous face,

Strangely the vndiscern'd distinction might

Deceiue a thousand strangers of sharpe sight.

No more is perfect beautie. For, whereas *Homer* extends it vntill such time as the chinne begins to bud. *Plato* himselfe hath noted the same for very rare. And the cause for which the Sophister *Dion* termed youtnes budding hayres; *Aristogitons* and *Harmodiens*, is notoriouslie knowne. In man-hood I finde it already to be somewhat out of date, much more in olde age.

Impor-

Importunus enim transuolat aridas

Quercus.

Ibid. l. 4.

od. 13. 9.

Importune loue doth ouer-flie,
The Okes with withered olde-age drie.

And Margaret Queene of *Nauarre*, lengthens much (like a woman) the priuiledge of women: *Ordaining thirty yeares to be the season, for them to change the title of faire into good.* The shorter possession we allow it ouer our liues, the better for vs. Behold it's behauiour. It is a princcock boy, who in his schoole knowes not, how far one proceeds against all order: *study, exercise, custome and practise, are paths to insufficiencie*: there novices beare all the sway: *Amor ordinem nescit, Loue knowes or keepe no order*. Surely it's course hath more garbe, when it is commixt with vnaduise dnesse and trouble: faultes and contrary successess, giue it edge and grace: so it be eager and hungty, it little importeth whither it be prudent. Obserue but how he staggers, stumbleth and fooleth; you fetter and shackle him, when you guide him by arte and discretion: and you force his sacred libertie, when you submit him to those bearded, grim and tough-hard hands. Moreover, I often heare them display this intelligence as absolutely spirituall, disdaining to draw into consideration the interest which all the sences have in the same. All serueth to the purpose: But I may say, that I have often seene some of vs excuse the weakenesse of their minds, in fauour of their corporall beauties; but I never saw them yet, that in behalfe of the mindes-beauties, how sound & ripe soever they were, would afforde an helping-hand vnto a body, that never so little falleth into declination. Why doth not some one of them long to produce that noble Socraticall brood; or breed that precious gem, betweene the body and the minde, purchasing with the price of hir thighes a Philosophicall and spirituall breed and intelligence? which is the highest rate she can possibly value them at. *Plato* appointeth in his lawes, that he who performeth a notable and worthy exploit in warre, during the time of that expedition, should not be denide a kisse or refused any other amorous fauour, of whomsoever he shall please to desire it, without respect either of his ill-fauourdnes, deformitie, or age. What he deemeth so just and allowable in commendation of Militarie valour, may not the same be thought as lawfull in commendation of some other worth? and why is not some one of them possessed with the humorto pre-occupate on hir companions the glory of this chaste loue? chaste I may well say;

*—nam si quando ad praelia ventum est,
Ut quondam stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis
In cassum furit.*

*Virg. Geor.
l. 3. 98.*

If once it come to handie-gripes; as great,
But force-lesse fire in stubble; so his heate
Rageth amaine, but all in vaine.

Vices smoothed in ones thought, are not of the woorst. To conclude this notable commentarie, escaped from me by a flux of babling: a flux sometimes as violent, as hurtfull,

*Vt missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum,
Procurrit casto virginis e gremio:
Quod misera oblita molli sub veste locatum,
Dum aduentu matris prosilit, excutitur;
Atque illud prono praeceptis agitur decursu,
Huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.*

*Catull. eleg.
l. 3. 19.*

As when some fruite by stealth sent from hir friend,
From chaste lap of a virgin doth descend,
Which by hir, vnder hir soft aprone plast,
Starting at mothers comming thence is cast;
And trilling downe in hast doth head-long goe,
A guiltie blush in hir sad face doth floe.

I say, that both male and female, are cast in one same mould; instruction and custome excepted, there is no great difference betweene them: *Plato* calleth them both indifferently to the societie of all studies, exercises, charges and functions of warre & peace, in his Commonwealth. And the Philosopher *Antisthenes* tooke away all distinction betweene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accuse the one sexe, then to excuse the other. It is that which some say prouerbialie, *Ill may the Kill call the Ouen burnt taile.*

The sixth Chapter.

*little is sayd of Coaches;
much of y^e magnificence
of y^e Romans & Americans*

Of Coaches. 9

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes, doe not onely make vse of those which they imagine true, but estloones of such as themselves beleue not: alwayes provided they have some inuention and beautie. They speake sufficiently, trulie and profitably, if they speake ingeniously. We cannot assure our selues of the chiefe cause: we huddle vp a many together, to see whether by chaunce it shall be found in that number,

Lucret. l. 6.
700.

*Namque unam dicere causam,
Non satis est, verum plures unde una tamen sit.*
Enough it is not one cause to deuise,
But more, whereof that one may yet arise,

Will you demand of me, whence this custome ariseth, to blesse and say God helpe to those that sneeze? We produce three sortes of winde; that issuing from belowe is too vndecent; that from the mouth, implieth some reproach of gourmandise; the third is sneezing: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, we thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this subtiltie, it is (as some say) *Aristotles*. Me seemeth to have read in *Plutarch* (who of all the authors I know, hath best commixt arte with nature, & coupled iudgement with learning) where he yeeldeth a reason, why those which trauell by sea, doe sometimes feelee such qualmes and risings of the stomack, saying, that it proceedeth of a kinde of feare: having found-out some reason, by which he proveth, that feare may cause such an effect. My selfe, who am much subiect vnto it, know well, that this cause doth nothing concerne me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessarie experience, without alleading what some haue tolde me, that the like doth often happen vnto beasts, namely vnto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine, hath assured me of himselfe, and who is greatly subiect vnto it, that twice or thrice in a tempestuous storme, being surprised with exceeding feare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good fellow; *Peius vexabar quam ut periculum mihi succurreret*. I was worse vexed then that daunger could helpe me. I neuer apprehended feare vpon the water; nor any where els (yet haue I often had iust cause offred me, if death it selfe may give it) which eyther might trouble or astonie me. It proceedeth sometimes as well from want of iudgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I have had, have beene when mine eyes were wide-open, and my sight cleare, sound and perfect: For, *even to feare, courage is required*. It hath sometimes steaded me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeed it was moued, but not amazed nor distracted. Vndanted mindes marche further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and sound, but also fierce and bolde. Report we that which *Alcibiades* relateth of *Socrates* his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the route and discomfiture of our armie, both him and *Lachez* in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safetie and leasure considered him, for I was mounted vpon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combatted all day. I noted first, how in respect of *Lachez*, he shewed both discreete iudgement and vndanted resolution: then I obserued the vndismaide brauerie of his march, nothing different from his ordinarie pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly obseruing and heedily iudging what euer passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other, both friends and enemies, with so composed a maner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should attempt his life, must purchase the same, or his blood at a high-valued rate; and thus they both saued themselves; for, men doe not willingly grapple with these; but follow such as shew or feare or dismay. Loe heare the testimonie of that renowned Captaine, who teacheth vs what we daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast vs into dangers, then an inconsiderate greedinesse to auoide them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus forme periculi est*. The lesse feare there is most commonlie,

monly, the lesse danger there is. Our people is to blame, to say, such a one feareth death, when it would signifie, that he thinkes on it, and doth foresee the same. Foresight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth vs in good, as touche vs in euill. *To consider and iudge danger, is in some sort, not to be daunted at it.* I doe not finde my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity, were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could neuer safely recouer my selfe. He that should make my minde forgoe hir footing, could neuer bring her vnto her place againe. She doth ouer liuely sound, and ouer deeply search into hirselfe: And therefore neuer suffers the wound which pierced the same, to be thoroughly cured and consolidated. It hath bin happy for me, that no infirmity could euer yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best warde I haue, against all charges and assaults that beset me. Thus the first that should beare me away, would make me vnrecoverable. I encounter not two: which way soeuer spoile should enter my holde, there am I open, and remedilessly drowned. *Epicurus saith, that a wise man can neuer passe from one state to its contrary.* I haue some opinion answering his sentence, that *he who hath once bin a very foole, shall at no time prove very wise.* God sends my colde answerable to my clothes, and passions answering the meanes I haue to indure them. Nature hauing discovered me on one side, hath couered me on the other. Hauing disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot long endure (and lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boate; and both in the Citty and country I hate all manner of riding, but a horse-back: And can lesse endure a litter, then a coach, and by the same reason, more easily a rough agitation vpon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feele in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the oares giue, conuaying the boate vnder vs, I wot not how, I feele both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole vnder me. When as either the saile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally carry vs away, or that we are but towed, that gentlie gliding and euen agitation, doth no whit distemper or hurte mee. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offends mee; and more when it is languishing. I am not able to displaye it's forme. Phisitions haue taught me to binde and giurd my selfe with a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly, as a remedy for this accident; which as yet I haue not tride, being accustomed to wrestle and withstand such defects as are in me; and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficientlie informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, heere to set downe the infinite variety, which histories present vnto vs, of the vse of coaches in the seruice of warre: diuers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessitye. So that it is wondrouslye strange, how wee haue lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aleadge this, that euen lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very auaillefully bring them into fashion, and profitable set them a worke against the Turkes; euery one of them containing a Targattier and a Muskettier, with a certaine number of harquebuses or caliuers, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good vse of them: and all ouer couered with a pauersado, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with three thousand such coaches: and after the Cannon had playde, caused them to discharge and shoote off this volie of smale shotte vpon their enemies, before they shoulde know or feele, what the rest of their forces could doe: which was no smale aduancement; or if not this, they mainely droue those coaches amidde the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disrout and make waye through them. Besides the benefit and helpe they might make of them, in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke their troupes marching from place too place: or in hast to encompassse, to embarricado, to couer or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality, in one of our frontieres, vnwealdy and so burly of bodye, that he coulde finde no horse able to beare his waight, and hauing a quarrell or deadly fude in hand, was wont to trauaile vp and downe in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leaue wee these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficientlie knowne by better tokens; The last kings of our first race were wont to trauell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. *Marke Antonie* was the first, that caused himselfe, accompanied with

*The vse of
chariots in war*

a minsterell harlot to be drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did *Heliogabalus* after him, naming himselfe *Cibele* the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfetting God *Bacchus*: who sometimes would also be drawne in a coach by two Stagges: and another time by foure mastiue Dogs: and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to be drawne by them in pompe and state, he being all naked. The Emperour *Firmus*, made his coach to be drawne by Estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that he rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheeles. The strangenesse of theis inuentions, doth bring this other thing vnto my fantasie: That it is a kinde of puslanimity in Monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently know what they are, when they labour to show their worth, and endeavour to appeare vnto the world, by excessiue and intollerable expences. A thing, which in a strange country might somewhat be excused; but amongst his natie subiects, where he swayeth all in all, he draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour, that he may possible attaine vnto. As for a gentleman, in his owne priuate house to apparrell himself richly & curiously, I deeme it a matter vaine & superfluous; his house, his household, his traine and his kitchin doe sufficiently answere for him. The counsell which *Isocrates* giueth to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason: when he willeth him to be ritchly-stored and stately adorned with moueables and household-stuffe, forsomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth euen to his posterity or heires: And to avoyde all magnificences, which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loued when I was a younger brother to set my selfe foorth and be gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other necessities; and, it became mee well: There are some on whose backs their ritch Robes weepe, or as wee saye their ritch cloathes are lyned with heauye debts. Wee haue diuers strange tales of our auncient kings frugality about their owne persons, and in their guiftes; great and farre renowned Kings both in credit, in valour and in fortune. *Demosthenes* mainly combates the law of his Cittie, who assigned their publike money to be imployed about the stately setting forth of their playes and feastes: He willeth that their magnificence shoulde be seene in the quantity of talle ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they haue reason to accuse *Theophrastus*, who in his booke of ritches established a contrarye opinion; and vphouldeth such a quality of expences, to be the true fruite of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith *Aristotle*) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any esteeme. The imployment of it, as more profitable, iust and durable would seeme more royal, worthy & commendable, about portes, hauens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitaes, colledges, mending of highwayes and streetes, and such like monuments: in which things Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth shal leaue aye-lasting & comendable memory vnto his name: and wherein our Queene *Catherin* shoulde witnes vnto succeeding ages her naturall liberality & exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answerable to her affection. Fortune hath much spighted me to hinder the structure and breake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great City; and before my death to depriue me of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forward againe. Moreover, it appeareth vnto subiects, spectators of these triumphs, that they haue a shoue made them of their owne ritches, and that they are feasted at their proper charges: For, the people doe easily presume of their kings, as we doe of our seruants; that they should take care plentifully to provide vs of whatsoeuer we stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay handes on it. And therefore the Emperour *Galba*, sitting at supper, hauing taken pleasure to heare a musicion play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handfull of Crownes and put them into his hand, with these wordes; *Take this, not as a guift of the publike money, but of mine owne priuate store.* So is it, that it often commeth too passe, that the common people haue reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which he should feede their belly. *Liberality* it selfe, in a soueraigne hand is not in her owne luster: pryuate men haue more right, and may challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactlye as it is, a King hath nothing that is properly his owne; hee oweth euen himselfe to others. Authority is not giuen in fauour of the authorising, but rather in fauour of the authorised. A superiour is neuer created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour: And a Phisition

is instituted for the sicke, not for himselfe. All Magistracie, euen as each arte, reiecteth her ende out of her selfe. *Nulla ars in se versatur.* No arte is all in it selfe. Wherefore the gouernours and ouerseers of Princes childhood or minoritie, who so earnestly endeauour to imprint this vertue of bounty and liberality in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and esteeme nothing so well imployed, as what they shall giue (an instruction which in my dayes I haue scene in great credit) eyther they preferre and respect more their owne profit then their maisters; or else they vnderstand not aright to whome they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberallity in him, that hath wherewith plentiouly to satisfie what he desireth at other mens charges. And his estimation beeing directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the quality of his meanes, that exerciseth the same, it commeth to prooue vaine in so puissant handes. They are found to be prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore is it but of smale commendation, in respect of other royall vertues. And the onely, (as saide the tyrant *Dionysius*) that agreede and squared well with tiranny it selfe. I would rather teach him the verse of the auncient labourer,

τῇ χειρὶ δεῖ σπείρειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλῳ τῷ θυλάκῳ.

Not whole sackes, but by the hand

A man should sow his seede i'the land.

Plut. de A-
then. Eras.
chil. 3. cent.
1. ad. 32.

That whosoever will reape any commodity by it, must sowe with his hand, and not powre out of the sacke: that *corne must be discretely scattered, and not laushly dispersed*: And that beeing to give, or to say better, to paye and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they haue deserued, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and aduised distributor thereof. If the liberallity of a Prince be without heedy discretion and measure, I woulde rather haue him couctous and sparing. *Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in iustice*: And of all partes of iustice, that dooth best and most belong to Kings, which accompanyeth liberallity. For, they haue it particularly reserued to their charge; whereas all other iustice, they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. *Immoderate bountie, is a weake meane to acquire them good-will*: for, it reiecteth more people, then it obtaineth: *Quo in plures usus sis, minus in multos uti possis. Quid autem est stultitius, quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?* The more you haue vscat it to many, the lesse may you use it to many more; And what is more fond, then what you willingly would doe, to prouide you can no longer doe it? And if it be imployed without respect of merite, it shameth him that receiue the same, and is receiued without grace. Some Tirants haue beene sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very handes of those, whom they had rashly preferred & wrongfully aduanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods vnlawfullye and indirectly gotten, if they shoue to holde in contempt and hatred, him from whome they held them, and in that combine themselues vnto the vulgar iudgement and common opinion. *The subjects of a Prince, rashly excessive in his gifts become impudently excessive in begging*: they adheere, not vnto reason, but vnto example. Verily we haue often iust cause to blush, for our impudencie. We are ouer-paide according to iustice, when the recompence equalleth our seruice: for, doe we not owe a kinde of naturall duty to our Princes? If he beare our charge, he doeth ouer much; it sufficeth if he assist it: the ouerplus is called a benefit, which cannot be exacted; for the very name of libera'ytie, implayeth liber-tie. After our fashion, we haue neuer done; what is receiued is no more reaconed of: onely future liberallitie is loued: Wherefore the more a Prince aceth exhaust himselfe in giving, the more friendes he empouerisheth. How shoulde he satisfie intemperate desires, which increase according as they are replenished? Who so hath his minde on taking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Couetousnesse hath nothing so proper, as to be vngratefull. The example of *Cirus* shall not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings of these dayes, as a touch-stone, to know whither their giuftes be well or ill employed; and make them perceiue, how much more happily that Emperour did wound and oppresse them, then they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and borrow of their vnknowne subjects, and rather of such as they haue wronged and agreede, then of those they haue enriched and done good vnto: and receiue no aydes, where any thing is gratitude, except the name. *Crasus* vpbraided him with

Cic. off. 1. 1.

his lauish bounty, and calculated what his treasure would amount vnto, if he were more sparing and close-handed. A desire surpris'd him to iustify his liberallity, and dispatching letters ouer all partes of his dominions, to such great men of his estate, whome he had particularlye aduanced; entreated euery one to assist him with as much money as they coulede, for an vrgent necessity of his; and presently to send it him by declaration: when all these count-bookes or notes were brought him, each of his friendes supposing that it sufficed not; to offer him no more then they had receiued of his bountious liberallity, but adding much of their owne vnto it, it was found, that the saide summe amounted vnto much more, then the niggardely sparing of *Cræsus*. Wherevpon *Cyrus* saide, *I am no lesse greedy of riches, then other Princes, but am rather a better husband of them. You see with what small venter, I haue purchased the vnualueable treasure of so many friendes, and how much more faithfull treasurers they are to me, then mercenary men would be, without obligation and without affection: and my exchequer or treasury better placed then in paltry coasfers; by which I draw vpon me the hate, the enuie and the contempt of other Princes.* The auncient Emperours were wont to draw some excuse, for the superfluitie of their sportes and publique shoues, for so much as their authority, did in some sorte depend (at least in apparance) from the will of the Roman people; which from all ages was accustomed to be flattered by such kindes of spectacles and excesse.

But they were particular-ones who had bread this custome, to gratifie their con-citizens and fellowes: especially with their purse, by such profusion and magnificence. It was cleane altered, when the Maisters and chiefe rulers came once to immitate the same. *Pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri.* The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberality. *Philip*, because his sonne endeouored by guiftes, to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be dispalesed and chid him in this manner: What? *Wouldst thou haue thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Wilt thou frequent and practise them? then doe it with the benefices, of thy vertue, not with those of thy coasfers:* Yet was it a goodly thing, to cause a great quantite of great trees, all branchie and greene, to bee faire brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but drye grauell, representing a wilde shady forrest, deuoid in due seemely proportion: And the first daye, to put into the same a thousand Estriges, a thousand Stagges, a thousand wilde Boares, and a thousand Buckes, yeelding them ouer to bee hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great Lyons, a hundred Leopar-des, and three hundred huge Beares to be baited and tugde in peeces: and for the third day, in bloudy manner and good earnest to make three hundred couple of Gladiatores or fencers, to combat and murder one another; as did the Emperour *Probus*. It was also a goodlye shoue, to see those wondrous huge Amphitheatres all enchased with rich marble, on the out side curiously wrought with carued statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments,

Baltheus en gemmis, en illa porticus auro.

A belte beset with gemmes beholde,

Beholde a walke bedawb'd with golde.

All the sides rounde about that great voyde, replenished and enuironed from the ground vnto the very toppe, with three or foure score rankes of steps and seates, likewise all of marble couered with faire cushions,

Iuen. Sat. 3.
153.

— *exeat, inquit,*

Si pudor est, et de puluino surgat equestri,

Cuius res legi non sufficit.

If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,

And from his knightly cushion let him rise,

Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conueniently be placed a hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground-worke of it, where sportes were to be acted, first by arte to cause the same

*Spectacula
Romanorum*

Xp

same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow ca-
uerns which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: That ended, immediatlie
to overflowe it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other
strange fishes, all ouer-laide with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a
Sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smoothe and drye againe, for the combat of
Gladiatores: and fourthlie being forthwith cleansed, to strewe it all over with Vermillion
and Storax, instead of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banquet, for all that infinite
number of people: the last acte of one onely day.

*quoties nos descenditis arena
Vidimus in partes ruptaq; voragine terra
Emersisse feras, et isdem saepe latebris
Aurea cum croceo creucrunt arbuta libro.
Nec solum nobis siluestriacernere monstra
Contigit, equoreos ego cum certantibus orsis
Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum,
Sed deforme pecus.*

How oft have we beheld wilde beasts appeare
From broken gulfes of earth, vpon some parte
Of sande that did not sinke? how often there
And thence did golden boughs oresaffron'd starte?
Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,
But I have seene Sea-calues whom Beares withstood,
And such a kinde of beast as might be named
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They have sometimes caused an high steeple mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayde
Amphitheaters, all over-sprede with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sortes, on the
top whereof gushed out streames of water, as from out the source of a purling spring.
Other times they have produced therein a great tall Ship floating vp and downe, which
of it selfe opened and split asunder, and after it had disgorged from out it's bulke foure or
fue hundred wilde beasts to be baited, it closed and vanished away of it selfe, without any
visibile helpe. Sometimes from out the bottome of it, they caused streakes and purlings
of sweete water to spoute vp, bubling to the highest top of the frame, and gentlye wa-
tring, sprinkling and refreshing that infinite multitude. To keepe and cover themselues
from the violence of the wether, they caused that huge compasse to bee all over-sprede,
sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously wrought with the needle, sometimes of filke,
and of some other collour, and in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased, they displaide
and sprede, or drewe and pulled them-in againe.

*Quamuis non modico caleant spectacula sole
Vel educuntur cum venit Hermogenes.*

Though fervent Sunne make't hotte to see a playe,
When linnen-thiues come, sailes are kept away.

Mart. J. 12.
epig. 75. 13

The nets likewise, which they vsed to put before the people, to save them from the harme
and violence of the baited beasts, were wouen with golde.

*auro quoque torta resurgent
Retia.*

Nets with golde enterlaced,
Their shewes with glittering graced.

If any thing be excusable in such lavish excessse, it is, where the inuention and strange-
nesse breedeth admiration, and not the costlie charge. Euen in those vanities, we may
plainely perceiue how fertile and happie those former ages were of other manner
of wittes, then ours are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie, as of all other productions
of nature. Wee may not say that nature employed then the utmost of hir powre. Wee
goe not, but rather creepe and stagger here and there: wee goe our pace. I imagine our
knowledge to be weake in all sences: *wee neither discern far-forward, nor see much backward.* It

It embraceth little, and liveth not long: It is shorte both in extension of time, and in ampleness of matter or inuention.

Hor. car. l. 4
od. 9. 25.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Frigentur, ignoti, longa
Nocte.*

Before great Agamemnon and the rest,
Many liu'd valiant, yet are all suppress't,
Vnmoan'd, vnknowne, in darke obliuions nest.

Lucret. l. 5.
326.

*Et supera bellum Troianum et funera Troia,
Multi alias alij quoque res cecinerunt poeta.*

Beside the Troian warre, Troyes funerall night,
Of other things did other Poets write.

Cic. Nat.
Deo. l. 1.

And Solons narration, concerning what he had learned of the Egyptian Priests, of their states long-life, and manner how to learne and preferue strange or foraine histories, in mine opinion is not a testimonie to be refused in this consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videremus, et temporum, in quam se iriciens animus et intendens, ita late longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram vltimi videat, in qua possit insistere: In hac immensitate infinita, vis innumerabilium appareret formarum.* If we behelde an unlimited greatnesse on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the minde casting it selfe and intente dooth trauell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may inlist; in this infinite immensitie there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes. If whatsoever hath come vnto vs by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would be lesse then nothing, in respect of that which is vnknowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilest we live therein, glideth and passeth away, how wretched, how weake and how shorte is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particulare events, which fortune often maketh exemplare and of consequence: but of the state of mightie common-wealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more, then commeth vnto our notice. We keepe a coyle, and wonder at the miraculous inuention of our artillerie, and rest amazed at the rare deuise of Printing: when as vnknowne to vs, other men, and an other end of the worlde named China, knew and had perfect vse of both, a thousand yeares before. If wee sawe as much of this vaste worlde, as wee see but a least parte of it, it is very likely we should perceiue a perpetuall multiplicite, and ever-rolling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singulare, and nothing rare, if regarde be had vnto nature, or to say better, if relation be had vnto our knowledge: which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which dooth commonly present vs a right-false Image of things. How vanelie doe wee now-adayes conclude the declination and decrepitude of the worlde, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weakenesse, drooping and declination:

Lucret. l. 2.
1159.

*Idemque adeo affecta est aetas, affectaque tellus:
And now both age and land,
So sicke affected stand.*

And as vainely did another conclude it's birth and youth, by the vigor, he perceiued in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties and inuentions of diuers artes;

Ibi. l. 5. 330

*Verum, ut opinor, habet nouitatem, summa, recensq;
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:
Quare etiam quadam nunc artes expoliuntur,
Nunc etiam augeantur, nunc addita nauigijs sunt
Multa.*

But all this world is new, as I suppose
Worlds nature fresh, nor lately it arose:
Whereby some artes refined are in fashion,
And many things now to our navigation
Are added, dayly growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant vs whethet it be the last

last of his bretheren , since both the *Demons*, the *Sybilles* and all wee have hetherto beene ignorant of this ?) no lesse large, fully-peopled , all-things-yeelding and mightie in strength, then ours: neverthelesse so newe and infantine , that hee is yet to learne his A. B. C. It is not yet full fiftie yeares that he knewe neither letters, nor waight, nor measures , nor apparell, nor corne , nor Vines . But was all naked, simply-pure , in Natures lappe , and lived but with such meanes and foode as his mother-nurce afforded him . If we conclude aright of our ende , and the foresayde Poet of the infancie of his age, this late-worlde shall but come to light , when ours shall fall into darkenesse. The whole Vniuers shall fall into a palsey or conuulsion of sinnowes : one member shalbe maymed or shrunken , another nimble and in good plight . I feare, that by our contagion, wee shall directlie have furthered his declination , and hastned his ruine ; and that wee shall too dearely have sould our opinions , our new-fangles and our artes . It was an vnpoluted, harmelesse infant world ; yet have wee not whipped and submitted the same vnto our discipline , or schooled him by the aduantage of our valour or naturall forces ; nor haue wee instructed him by our iustice and integritie ; nor subdued by our magnanimitie . Most of their answers, and a number of the negotiations we have had with them , witnesse that they were nothing shorte of vs, nor be- houlding to vs for any excellencie of naturall witte or perspicuitie , concerning per- tinencie . The wonderfull , or as I may call it amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like seene Citties of *Cusco* and *Mexico*, and amongst infinite such lyke things , the admirable Garden of that King , where all the Trees , the Fruites , the Hearbes and Plantes , according to the order and greatnesse they have in a Garden, were most artificiallye framed in golde : as also in his Cabiner, all the living creatures that his Countrie or his Seas produced , were cast in golde ; and the exquisite beautie of their workes , in precious Stones , in Feathers , in Cotton and in Painting ; shoue that they yealded as little vnto vs in cunning and industrie . But concerning vnfayned devotion , awefull obseruance of lawes , vnspotted integritie , bounteous liberalitie, due loyaltie and free libertie , it hath greatlye auayled vs , that wee had not so much as they : By which aduantage, they have lost, cast-away, sould, vndone and betrayde themselues.

*The
America
The praise of
Inhabitants*

Touching hardinesse and vndanted courage , and as for matchlesse constancie , vn- mooued assurednesse , and vndismayed resolution against paine , smarting , famine and death it selfe ; I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easily finde amongst them , to the most famous ancient examples, wee may with all our industrie discover in all the Annalles and memories of our knowne olde worlde . For, as for those which have subdued them, let them lay aside the wyles, the pollicies and stratagems, which they haue employed to cozen , to cunny-catch and to circumvent them ; and the iust asto- nishment which those nations might iustlie conceiue , by seeing so vnexpected an arriual of bearded men ; diuers in language, in habite, in religion, in behaiour, in forme, in countenance ; and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any ha- bitation was : mounted vpon great and vnknowne monsters ; against those, who had neuer so much as seene any horse, and lesse any beast whatsoever apte to beare, or taught to carry eyther man or burthen ; covered with a shining and hard skinne, and armed with slicing- keene weapons and glittering armor : against them, who for the wonder of the glistering of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife, would haue changed or giuen inestimable ritches in Golde , Precious Stones and Pearles ; and who had neyther the skill nor the mat- ter wherewith at any leasure , they could haue pierced our Steele : to which you may adde the flashing-fire and thundring roare of our shotte and Harguebuses ; able to quell and daunt even *Cesar* himselfe, had he beene so suddainlie surprised and as little experien- ced as they were: and thus to come vnto, and assault fillie-naked people , saving where the inuention of weauing of Cotton cloath was knowne and vsed ; for the most altogether vn- armed, except some bowes, stones , stauces and wodden bucklers : vn suspecting poore peo- ple, surprised vnder coulour of amitye and well-meaning faith , over-taken by the curi- ositie to see strange and vnknowne things : I say, take this disparitie from the conque- rors , and you depriue them of all the occasions and causes of so many vnexpected victories,

victories! When I consider that sterne-vntamed obstinacie, and vndanted vehemence, wherewith so many thousandes of men, of women and of children, doe so infinite times present themselues vnto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and libertie: This generous obstinacie to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easilye and willinglye, then baselye to yeelde vnto their domination, of whome they have; so abhominably beene abvsed: some of them choosing rather to starue with hunger and fasting, beeing taken, then to accept foode at their enemies handes, so baselie victorious: I perceave, that whosoever had vndertaken them man to man, without oddes of armes, of experience or of number, should have had as dangerous a warre, or perhaps more, as any we see amongst vs.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen vnder *Alexander*, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes? or why befell not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, vnder such handes as would gentlye have polished, reformed and incivilized, what in them they deemed to bee barbarous and rude: or would have nourished and fostered those good seedes, which nature had there brought forth: adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their cities, such artes as we had; and that no further then had beene necessarie for them, but therewithall ioyning vnto the originall vertues of the countrie, those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes? What reparation and what reformation would all that farre-spredding worlde have found, if the examples, demeanors and pollicies, wherewith we first presented them, had called and allured those vncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and vs a brotherly societie and mutuall correspondencie? How easie a matter had it beene, profitablie to reforme, and christianlye to instruct, mindes yet so pure and new, so willing to bee taught, beeing for the most parte endowed with so docile, so apte and so yeelding naturall beginnings? whereas contrarywise, wee have made vse of their ignorance and inexperience, to drawe them more easilye vnto treason, fraude, luxurie, auarice and all manner of inhumanitie and crueltye, by the example of our life, and patterne of our customes. Who ever rayfed the seruice of marchandize and benefite of traffike to so highe a rate? So many goodly Cities ransacked and razed; so many nations destroyed and made desolate; so infinite millions of harmelesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massakred, ravaged and put to the sworde; and the richest, the sayrest and best parte of the worlde topsieturuiued, ruined and defaced, for the trafficke of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mecanicall victoryes, oh base conquest. Never did blinde ambition, never did greedye revenge, publike wrongs or generall enmities, so moodilye enrage, and so passionatelye incense men against men, vnto so horrible hostilities, bloodye dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Certaine Spaniardes coasting alongst the Sea in searche of Mines, fortunated to land in a verie fertile, pleasant and well peopled countrye: vnto the inhabitants wherof they declared theyr intent, and showed their accustomed perswasions; saying: That they were quiet and well-meaning-men, comming from farre-countrys, beeing sent from the King of *Castile*, the greatest King of the habitable earth, vnto whome the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principalltie of all the *Indies*. That if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kindlye vsed and courteouslye entreated: They required of them victualles for their nourishment; and some golde for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreover, they declared vnto them, the belieuing in one onely God, and the trueth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threatens. Whose answer was this: That happily they might be quiet and well-meaning, but their countenance shewed them to bee otherwise: As concerning their King, since hee seemed to begge, hee shewed to bee poore and needie: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man louing dissention, in going about to give vnto a thirde man, a thing which was not his owne, so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the auncient possessors of it. As for victualles, they should haue part of their store: And for golde, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small account of, as meere vnpfitable for the seruice of their life, whereas

whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly: and therefore, what quantitie soeuer they should finde, that onelie excepted which was employed about the seruice of their Gods, they might boldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had very well pleased them: but they would by no meanes change their religion, vnder which they had for so long time liued so happily: and that they were not accustomed to take any counsell, but of their friends and acquaintance. As concerning their meanes, it was a signe of want of iudgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition, power and meanes was to them vnkowne. And therefore they should with all speede hasten to auoyde their dominions, forsomuch as they were wote to admit or take in good part the kindeneses and remonstrances of armed people, namely of strangers: otherwise they would deal with them, as they had done with such others, showing them the heads of certaine men sticking vpon stakes about their Cittie, which had lately bene executed. Lo here an example of the stammering of this infancie.

But so it is, that neyther in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, they neyther made staye or attempted any violence, whatsoeuer other commoditie the place yeelded: witnesse my Cannibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peraduenture of all our Westerne partes, Kings ouer so many Kings: the last they deposed and ouercame: He of *Peru*, hauing by them bene taken in a battell, and set at so excessive a rancome, that it exceedeth all beliefe, and that truely payde: and by his conuersation hauing giuen them apparant signes of a free, liberall, vndanted and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composed vnderstanding; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a Million, three hundred five and twenty thousand, and five hundred waightes of golde; besides the siluer and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shoode of massive golde) to discouer (what disloyalty or treachery soeuer it might cost them) what the remainder of this kings treasure might bee, and without controulement enioy whateuer he might haue hidden or concealed from them. Which to compasse, they forged a false accusation and prooffe against him; That he practised to raise his prouinces, and intended to induce his subiects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty. Whereuppon, by the very iudgement of those, who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, he was condemned to be publicly hanged and strangled: hauing first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned alive, by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution in charitie they bestowed vpon him. A horrible and the like never heard-of accident: which nevertheless hee vndismayedlie endured with an vnmouued manner, and trulie-royall grauitie, without ever contradicting himselfe eyther in countenance or speeche. And then, somewhat to mitigate and circumuent those sillie vnsuspecting people amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfetted a great mourning and lamentation for his death, and appointed his funeralles to be solemnly and sumptuouslie celebrated.

The other King of *Mexico*, having a long time manfullie defended his besieged Cittie, and in that tedious sledge, shewed what ever pinching-sufferance and resolute-perseuerance can effect, if ever any couragious Prince or warre-like people shewed the same; and his disastrous successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, vpon conditions to bee vsed as befeemed a King: who during the time of his imprisonment, did never make the least shewe of any thing vnworthye that glorious title. After which victorie, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of golde, they had promised themselues, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly deuise, beganne to wrest and drawe some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But vnable to profit any thing that waye, finding stronger hearts then their torments, they in the end fell to such moodie outrages, that contrarie to all lawe of nations, and against their solempne vowes and promises, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chiefe Princes of his Couete, to the Racke, one in presence of another: The Prince, enuironed round with whotte burning coales, being

*The Cruelty of
the Spaniards*

being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pittious sort turning his dreary eyes toward his Maister, as if he asked mercy of him for that he could endure no longer; The king fixing rigorously and fiercelye his lookes vpon him, seeming to vpbraide him with his remissnesse and puslanimity, with a sterne and setled voyce, vttered these few wordes vnto him; *What? supposest thou I am in a colde bath? am I at more ease then thou art?* Whereat the silly wretch immediately fainted vnder the torture, and yeelded vp the ghost. The king halfe rosted, was carryed away: Not so much for pittie (for what ruth could euer enter so barbarous mindes, who vpon the surmised information of some odde peece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so renowned in desert?) but forsomuch as his vnmatched constancie did more and more make their inhumane cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had courageously attempted by armes to deliuer himselfe out of so long captiuitie and miserable subiection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and neuer danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all aliue foure hundred common men, and three score principall Lordes of a prouince, whome by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we haue out of their owne bookes: for they doe not onely auouche, but vauntingly publish them. *May it be, they doe it for a testimony of their iustice or zeale toward their religion?* verily they are wayes ouer-different, and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed vnto themselves to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would have considered, that it is not amplifide by possession of landes, but of men: and would have beene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necessitie of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding therevnto so bloodie a butcherie, as vpon savage beastes; and so vniverfall as fire or sworde could ever attaine vnto; having purpo selie preserved no more then so many miserable bond-slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and seruice of their mines: So that diuers of their chieftaines have beene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the appointment of the Kings of *Castile*, iustly offended at the feld-scene horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well-nighe all disesteemed, contemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted, that many of their great pillages, and ill gotten goods, have eyther beene swallowed vp by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and ciuill broyles, wherewith themselves have deuoured one another; and the greatest part of them have beene ouerwhelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruite of their victorie. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipte, namely in the handes of so thriftie, warie and wise a Prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceaved hope, which was given vnto his predecessors, and the sayde former abundance of riches, they mette withall at the first discoverie of this new-found worlde, (for although they bring home great quantitie of golde and siluer, wee perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might bee expected thence) it may be answered, that the vse of monie was there altogether vnknowne; and consequentlie, that all their golde was gathered together, seruing to no other purpose, then for shewe, state and ornament, as a mooveable reserued from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines; to collect so huge a heape of vessels and statues for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our golde is employed in commerce and trafficke betweene man and man. We mince and alter it into a thousand formes: we spend, wee scatter and disperse the same to severall vses. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape vp all the golde, they might for many ages hoarde vp together, and keepe it close and vntouch't. Those of the kingdome of *Mexico* were somewhat more encivilized, and better artistes, then other nations of that worlde. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Vniuers was neare his end: and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleeued the state of the worlde, to be devided into five ages, and in the life of five succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which nowe shined vppon them, was the fifth and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an vniverfall inundation of waters. The

second by the fall of the heavens vpon vs, which stifled and overwhelmed euery living thing: in which age they affirme the Giants to haue beene, and showed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to be of the height of twentie handfuls. The third, was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emmotion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent furie of it selfe, remooued and ouerthrew diuers high mountaines: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkeis. (*Oh what impressions doth not the weaknesse of mans beliefe admit?*) After the consumation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued fife and twentie yeares in perpetuall darkenesse: In the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, vpon a certaine day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day beginneth euer since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, dyed their ancient Gods, their new ones haue day by day beene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my aucthor could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change, doth iumpe and meete with that great coniunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and odde yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced diuers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pompe and glorious magnificence, by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor *Greece*, nor *Rome*, nor *Egypt*, can (be it in profit, or difficultie or nobilitie) equall or compare sundrie and diuers of their workes. The cawcie or high-way which is yet to be seene in *Peru*, erected by the Kings of that countrie, stretching from the citie of *Quito*, vnto that of *Cusco* (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, even and fine, and twentie paces in breadth, curiously paved, rayled on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all alongst which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beautilous trees, which they call *Moly*. In framing of which, where they mette any mountaines or rockes, they haue cut, raised and leuelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the ende of euery dayes journey, as stations, there are built state-ly great pallaces, plentifully stored with all manner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-fairing men, as for such armies that might happen to passe that way. In the estimation of which worke I haue especially considered the difficulty, which in that place is particularly to be remembred. For they built with no stones that were lesse then ten foote square: They had no other meanes to carry or transport them, then by meere strength of armes to draw and dragge the carriage they needed: they had not so much as the arte to make scaffolds; nor knew other deuise, then to raise so much earth or rubbish, against their building, according as the worke riseth, and afterwarde to take it away againe. But returne we to our coaches. In steade of them, and of all other carrying beastes they caused themselues to be carried by men, and vpon their shoulders. This last King of *Peru*, the same day he was taken, was thus carried vpon rafters or beames of massiue Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his battaile. Looke how many of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all their ende- uour was to take him aliue) so many others, in order and as it were aye, tooke and vnder- went presently the place of the dead: so that he could neuer be brought down or made to fal, what slaughter so ever was made of those kinde of people, vntil such time as a horse- man furiously ranne to take him by some parte of his body, & so pulled him to the ground.

A wonderfull
Cun's way

The seauenth Chapter.

Of the incommodie of greatness. 3

Since we cannot attaine vnto it, let vs revenge our selues with railing against it: yet is Sit not absolute railing, to finde faulte with any thing: *There are defects found in all things, how faire soeuer in shewe, and desirable they be.* It hath generally this evident aduan- tage, that when euer it pleaseth it will decline, and hath well nigh the choise of one and

other condition. For, a man doth not fall from all heights; diuers there are, whence a man may descend without falling. Verilie, me seemeth, that we value it at too high a rate: and prize over-deare the resolution of those, whome we have eyther seene or heard, to have contemned; or of their owne motion reiected the same. Hir essence is not so euidentlie commodious, but a man may refuse it without wonder. Indeepe I finde the labour verie hard in suffering of euils; but in the contentment of a meane measure of fortune, and shunning of greatnesse, therein I see no great difficultie. In my conceite, it is a vertue, wherevnto my selfe, who am but a simple minnie, might easilie attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe, who would also bring into consideration, the glory, which accompanieth this refusall, wherein may-fall more ambition, then even in the desire and absolute enioying of greatnesse? *For so much as ambition is neuer better directed according to it selfe, then by a straying and unfrequented path.* I shärpen my courage toward pacience, and weaken the same against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wishes as much libertie and indiscretion: but yet, it neuer came into my minde, to wishe for Empire, for royaltie or eminencie of high and commanding fortunes. I ayme not that way: I loue my selfe too well. When I thinke to growe, it is but meanely; with a forced and coward aduancement; fit for me: yea in resolution, in wisdom, in health, in beautie and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this ouerswaying aucthoritie, suppresseth my imaginatiō. And cleane opposite to some other, I should peraduenture loue my selfe better, to be the second or third man in *Perigot*, then the first in *Paris*. At least, without faining, I had rather be the third man in *Paris*, then the first in charge. I wil neither contend with an vsuer of a doore, as a sillie vnknowne man; nor with gaping and adoration make a lane through the throng as I passe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocritie best fit- teth me, as well by my fortune, as by mine owne humor. And have shewed by the conduct of my life and course of my enterprises, that I haue rather sought to auoide, then otherwise to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleased God to call me vnto. *Each naturall constitution, is equally iust and easie.* My minde is so dull and slowe, that I measure not good fortune according to her height, but rather according to her facility. And if my hart be not great enough, it is ratably free and open, and who biddeth me, boldly to publish my weaknesse. Should any will me, on the one part, to conferre and consider the life of *L. Thoriut Baltus*, a worthy gallant man, wise, faire, goodly, healthie, of good vnderstanding, and richly-plentious in all manner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet easfull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed, and well prepared against death, supersticion, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane necessity; dying in his olde age, in an honourable battell, with his weapons in his hand, for the defence of his country; and on the other side the life of *M. Regulus*, so heigh and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious ende: the one vn- mentioned and without dignity, the other exemplare and wonderfully renowned: truely I would say what *Cicero* saith of it, had I the gift of well-speaking as he had. But if I were to sute them vnto mine, I would also say, that the former is asmuch agreeing to my quality, and to the desire I endeuour to conforme my quality vnto, as the second is farre beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneration; and to the other I would willingly attaine by custome. But returne we to our temporall greatnesse, whence we haue digressed. I am distast of all maistry, both actiue and passiue. *Otanes* one of the seauen that by right might challenge the crowne, or pretend the kingdome of *Persia*, resolued vpon such a resolution as I should easilie haue done the like: which was, that he vtterly renounced all manner of claime he might in any sort pretend vnto that crowne, to his fellow competitores, were it either by election or chance: alwayes provided that both himselfe and all his, might liue in that Empire, free from all subiections, and exempted from all manner of commaundement, except that of the auncient lawes: and might both challenge all liberty, and enioy all immunities, that should not preiudice them: being as impatient to commaund, as to be commaunded. *The sharpest and most difficile profession of the world, is (in mine opinion) worthily to act and play the king.* I excuse more of their faultes, then commonly other men doe: and that in consideration of the downe-bearing waight of their immense charge, which much astonisheth me. *It is a very hard taske, to keepe a due measure, in so vnmeasurable a power.* Yet is it, that euen with those, that are of a lesse excellent

lent nature, it is a singular incitation to vertue, to be seated in such a place, where you shall doe no manner of good, that is not registred and recorded: And where the least well-dooing, extendeth to so many persons: And where your sufficiencie (as that of Preachers) is principally directed to the people; a weake and parciall iudge, easilie to be beguiled, and easie to be pleased. *There are but fewe things, of which wee may giue a sincere iudgement:* for there be very fewe, wherein in some sorte or other, we are not particularlie interessed. Superioritie and inferioritie, maistrie and subiection, are joyntly tyde vnto a naturall kinde of enuie and contestation; they must perpetually enter-spoyle one another. I belecue neither the one nor the other, concerning hir companions rights: let vs suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impassible, when or how wee shall make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scottish bookes, struing vpon this subiect. The populare makes the King to be of worse condition then a Carter: and hee that extollieth Monarchie, placeth him both in powre and soueraigntie, many steps aboue the Gods. Now the incommoditie of greatnesse, which here I have vndertaken to note and speake of, (vpon some occasion lately befallne me) is this. There is peradventure nothing more pleasing to the commerce of men, then the *Essayes*, which wee through iea-lousie of honour or valoure, make one against another, be it in the exercise of the body or of the minde: wherein soueraigne greatnesse, hath no true or essentiall part. Verilie, it hath often seemed vnto me, that through over much respect, Princes are therein vsed disdainfully and treated iniuriouslie: For, the thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinitlie offended, was, that thoe which were trained and schooled with me, should forbear to doe it in good earnest, because they found me vnworthy to be withstood or to resist their endeouours. It is that we dayly see to happen vnto them; euery man finding himselfe vnworthy to force himselfe against them. If one perceiue them never so little affected to haue the victorie, there is none but will striue to yeelde it them, and that will not rather wrong his glory, then offend theirs: No man imployeth more diligence then needes he must to serue their honour. What share haue Princes in the throng, where all are for them? Me thinkes I see those *Paladines* of former ages, presenting themselues in ioustes, tiltings and combates, with bodies and armes enchanted. *Briffon* running against *Alexander*, counterfetteth his course: *Alexander* chid him for it: but he should haue caused him to be whipt. For this consideration, was *Carneades* wont to say, that *Princes children* ²⁷ *learn't nothing aright but to mannage and ride horses; forsomuch as in all other excercises, euery man yeeldeth, and giueth them the victory: but a horse who is neither a flatterer nor a Courtier, will as soone throw the childe of a king as the sonne of a base porter.* *Homer* hath beene forced to consent that *Venus* (so sweete a saint and delicate a Goddesse) should be hurt at the siege of *Troy*, thereby to ascribē courage and hardynesse vnto her qualities neuer seene in thoe that are exempted from danger. The Gods themselues are fained to be angry, to feare, to be jealous; to greue, to show passion, and be subiect to mortall sence, thereby to honour them with the vertues which Poets deuise and Philosophers inuent amongst vs: Naie, they are supposed to runne away, and to haue a feeling of all our imperfections. *Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot iustly pretend interest in the honour, or calenge share in the pleasure, that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attempts.* It is pittie a man should be so powerfull, that all things must yeelde and giue place vnto him. Such as are in so high eminencie of greatnesse, their fortune reiects society and conuersation too farre from them; she placeth them in ouer remote and vncouth places, This easfull life and plausible facilitie to bring all vnder, and subiect mens mindes, is anemie to all manner of pleasure. It is a kinde of sliding, and not a going: It is to sleepe, and not to liue. Conceauē man accompanied with omnipotencie, you ouerwhelme him: he must in begging manner craue some empeachment and resistance of you. His being and his good, is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and lost: for, they are not heard but by comparisō, and they are excluded: they haue little knowledge of true praise, beeing beaten with so continuall and vniforme an approbation. Have they to doe with the simplest of their subiects? they haue no meane to take aduantage of him, if he but say; It is because he is my King, he supposeth to haue sufficiently expressed, and you must vnderstand, that in so saying, he hath lent a helping hand to ouerthrowe himselfe. This qualitie suppreseth and consumeth all other true and essentiall qualities: they

are euen drowned in the Royaltie ; which gives them no leaue, to make the offices of their charge to preuaile, except in such actions as directly concerne and stead the same. *To be a King is a matter of that consequence, that onely by it he is so.* That strange-glimmering and eye-dazeling light, which round about enuironeth, overcasteth and hideth him from vs : our weake sight is thereby bleared and dissipated, as being filled and obscured by that greater & further-spredding brightnes. The Romane Senate allotted the honor & prise of eloquence vnto *Tiberius* ; he refused it, supposing that if it had beene true, he could not reuenge himselfe of so limited and partiall iudgement. As we yeeld Princes all aduantages of honor, so we authorize their defects and sooth-vp their vices : not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All *Alexanders* followers bare their heads sideling, as he did. And such as flattered *Dionisius*, in his owne presence did run and iustle one another, and either stumbled at, or over-threw what euer stood before their feete, to inferre; that they were as short-sighted or spur-blinde, as he was. Naturall imperfections haue sometimes serued for commendation and fauour. Nay I haue seene deafnesse affected. And because the maister hated his wife, which is more, paillardise and all manner of dissolution hath thereby beene held in credit; as also disloyaltie, blasphemie, crueltie, heresie, superstition, irreligion, wantonnesse and worse, if worse may be. Yea by an example more dangerous, then that of *Mithridates* his flatterers, who forsomuch as their maister pretended to haue skill in phisick, and aspired to the honour of a good Phisition, came to him to haue their members incized and cauterized. For, these others suffer to haue their soules cauterized; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began : *Adrian* the Emperour, debating with *Fauorinus* the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word; *Fauorinus* did soone yeeld the victory vnto him, his friends finding-fault with him for it; you but jest, my maisters (quoth he) *would you not haue him to be much wiser then I, who hath the absolute command ouer thirtie legions?* *Augustus* writ some verses against *Asinius Pollio*, which *Pollio* hearing, he said, I will hould my peace; for, *it is no wisdom to contend in writing with him, who may proscribe.* And they had reason: For, *Dionisius*, because he could not equall *Philoxenus* in Poesie, nor match *Plato* in discourse, condemned the one to the stone-quaries, and sent the other to be sould as a slave in the Ile of *Aegina*.

The eight Chapter. 8

Of the Arte of conferring.

IT is a custome of our lawe, to condemne some, for the warning of others. To condemne them because they haue misdona, were folly, as saith *Plato*. For what is once done, can neuer be vndone : but they are condemned to the end they should not offend againe, or that others may auoide the example of their offence. *He who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him.* Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes naturall, incorrigible and remediless. But whereas honest men profit the Common-wealth in causing themselues to be imitated. I shall happily benefit the same, in making my selfe to be euited.

Hor. Ser. l. i
Sect. 4. 109

*Nonne vides Albi ut male viuat filius, utque
Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
Perdere quis velit.*

Doe you not see, how that mans sonne liues badly,
That man's a begger by his spending madly?

A lesson great, that none take ioy: His patrimonie to destroy.

By publishing and accusing my imperfections, some man may peraduenture learne to feare them. The partes I most esteeme in my selfe, reape more honour by accusing, then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe, & rest vpon them. But *when all the cardes be told, a man neuer speakes of himselfe, without losse.* A mans owne condemnations are euer increased; praises euer decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrarietie then by similitude; and more by escaping then by following.

following. *Cato* senior had a special regard to this kind of discipline, whē he said, that *wisemen haue more to learne of fooles, then fooles of wisemen*. And that ancient player on the *Lyra*, whom *Pausanias* reporteth, to haue beene accustomed to compell his schollers sometimes to goe heare a bad Player, who dwelt right ouer-against him; where they might learne to hate his discordes and false measures. The horror of cruelty drawes me nearer vnto clemencie, then any patterne of clemencie can possiblie win me. A cunning rider or skilfull horse-man doth not so properly teach me, to sit well on horse-back, as doth one of our Lawyers, or a Vencian by seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speach doth better reforme mine, then any well-polished forme of speaking. The sottish countenance of another, doth daily aduertise and forewarne me. That which pricketh, toucheth and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth. These times are fit to reforme vs backward, more by dissenting, then by consenting; more by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make vse of bad: the lesson of which is ordinary. I haue endeouored, nay I haue laboured to yeeld my selfe as pleasing and affable, as I sawe others peeuisish and froward: as constant, as I saw others variable; as gentle & milde, as I perceiued others intractable & wilde: and as good and honest, as I discerned others wicked and dishonest. But I proposed certaine inuincible measures vnto my selfe. The most fruitfull and naturall exercise of our spirit, is, in my selfe-pleasing conceit, conference. The vse whereof, I finde to be more delightfome, then any other action of our life. And that's the reason, why, if I were now forced to choose, (being in the minde I now am in) I would rather yeeld to loose my sight, then forgoe my hearing or my speach. The Athenians and also the Romans, did euer holde this exercise in high honor and reputation, namely in their *Academies*. And at this day, the Italians do yet keepe a kinde of forme & trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparantly be discerned by comparing their wits vnto ours. The studie and plodding on bookes, is a languishing & weake kinde of motion, and which heateth or earnesteth nothing; whereas conference doth both learne, teach and exercise at once. If I conferre with a stubborne wit, and encounter a sturdy wrestler, he toucheth me to the quick, hits me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side: his imaginations vanquish & confound mine. Ielousie, glory and contention, driue, cast and raise me aboue my selfe. And an vnison or consent, is a qualitie altogether tedious and wearisome in conference. But as our minde is fortifide by the communication of regular and vigorous spirits; it cannot well be expressed, how much it looseth and is bastardized, by the continuall commerce & frequentation, we haue with base, weake and dull spirits. No contagion spreads it selfe further then that, I know by long experience what an ell of it is worth. I love to contest and discoure, but not with many, and only for my selfe. For, to serue as a spectacle vnto great men, and by way of contention, for one to make a glorious show of his ready wit and running tongue; I deeme it a profession farre vnfitting a man of honor. Sottishnes is an ill quality, but not to be able to endure it, & to fret and vexe at it, as it hapneth to me, is another kinde of imperfection, which in importunity is not much behind sottishnes: and that's it I will now accuse in my selfe: I doe with great liberty and facilitie, enter into conference and disputation: forsomuch as opinion findes but a hard soile to enter and take any deepe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what contrarietie soeuer they haue to mine. There is no fantazie so friuolous or humor so extravagant, that in mine opinion is not sortable to the production of humane wit. We others, who debarre our iudgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the diuers opinions: and if we lend it not our iudgement, we easily affoorde it our cares. Where one scale of the ballance is altogether empty, I let the other wauer too & fro, vnder an old wities dreames. And me seemeth, I may well be excused, if I rather accept an odde number, then an euen: Thursday in respect of Friday; if I had rather make a twelfth or fourteenth at a table, then a thirteenth: if when I am traueling I would rather see a Hare coasting, then crossing my way: & rather reach my left, then my right foote, to be shod. All such fond conceits, now in credit about vs, deserue at least to be listned vnto. As for me, they only beare away inanity, & surely they do so. Vulgar and casuall opinions are yet of some waight, which in nature are something els then nothing. And who wadeth not so far into them, to auoide the vice of superstition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulnesse. The contradictions then of iudgements, doe neither offend nor mooue, but awaken and exercise me. We commonly shunne correction, whereas we should rather seeke and present our selues vnto it, chieflie when it

commeth by way of conference, and not of regencie. At every opposition, we consider not whether it be iust; but be it right or wrong, how we may auoide it: In steede of reaching our armes, we stretch forth our clawes vnto it. I should endure to be rudely handled and checked by my friends, though they should call me foole, coxcombe or say I raved. I love a man that doth stoutlie expresse himselfe, amongst honest and worthy men and whose wordes answer his thoughts. We should fortifie and harden our hearing, against the tenderneesse of the cerimonious sound of wordes. I love a friendly societie and a virile and constant familiaritie: An amitie, which in the earnestnesse or vigor of it's commerce, flattereth it selfe: as love in bitings and bloodie scratchings. It is not sufficientlie generous or vigorous, except it be contentious and quareulous: If she be civilised and a skillfull artifice: if it feare a shock or free encounter, and have hir starting hoales or forced by-ways. *Neque enim disputari sine reprehensione potest. Disputation cannot be held without reprehension.* When I am impugned or contraried, then is mine attention and not mine anger, stirred vp; I aduance my selfe towardes him, that doth gaine say and instruct me. *The cause of truth, ought to be the common cause, both to one and other:* What can he answer? The passion of choller hath already wounded his iudgement: trouble, before reason hath seized vpon it. It were both profitable and necessarie, that the determining of our disputations, might be decided by way of wagers; and that there were a materiall marke of our losses: that we might better remember and make more account of it: and that my boye might say vnto me: Sir, if you call to minde; your contestation, your ignorance and your selfe-wilfulnesse, at severall times, cost you a hundred crownes the last yeare: I feast, I cherrish and I embrace trueth, where and in whomsoever I finde it, and willinglie and merilye yeeld my selfe vnto hir; as soone as I see but hir approache, though it be a farre-off, I laye downe my weapons and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And alwayes provided, one persist not or proceede therein, with an over imperious stiffnessse or commanding surlineesse; I am well pleased to be reprooved. And I often accomodate my selfe vnto my accusers, more by reason of ciuilitie, then by occasion of amendment: loving by the facilitie of yeelding, to gratifie and foster their liberie, to teach or aduertise me. It is notwithstanding no easie matter to drawe men of my times vnto it. They haue not the courage to correct, because they want the hart to endure correction: And euer speake with dissimulation in presence one of another. I take so great a pleasure to bee iudged and knowne, that it is indifferent to me, in whether of the two formes I be so. Mine owne imagination doth so often contradict and condemne it selfe, that if another doe it, all is one vnto me; especially seeing, I give his reprehension no other authoritie, then I list. But I shall breake a strawe or fall at oddes with him, that keepes himselfe so alofte; as I know some, that will fret and chafe, if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an iniurie, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that *Socrates* euer smiling, made a collection of such contradictions as were opposed to his discourse, one might say, his force was cause of it; and that the aduantage being assuredlie to fall on his side, he tooke them as a subiect of a new victorie. Neuerthelesse we see on the contrarie, that nothing doth so nicelie yeelde our sence vnto it, as the opinion of preheminence and disdaine of the aduersarie. And that by reason, it rather befits the weakest to accept of oppositions in good parte, which restore and repayre him. Verilie I seeke more the conuersation of such as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an vsauorie and hurtfull pleasure, to haue to doe with men, who admire and giue vs place. *Antisthenes* commanded his children, never to be beholding vnto, or thanke any that should commend them: I feele my selfe more lustie and cranke for the victorie I gaine ouer my selfe, when in the heate or furie of the combate, I perceiue to bend and fall vnder the power of my aduersaries reason, then I am pleased with the victorie, I obtaine of him by his weaknesse. To conclude, I receaue all blowes and allow all attaints giuen directly, how weak soeuer; but am very impacient at such as are stricken at randan and without order, I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victory of the subiect in a manner indifferent. I shall quietly contest a whole day, if the conduct of the controuersie be followed with order and decorum. It is not force or subtiltie, that I so much require, as forme and order. The forme and order, dayly seene in the altercations of Shepheards, or contentions of shop-prentise-boyes; but neuer amongst vs; If they, parte or giue one

one another ouer, it is with inciuitly: and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impacience, cannot make them to forgoe or forget their theame.

Their discourse holdes on his course. If they preuent one another, if they stay not for, at least they vnderstand one another. A man doth euer answere sufficiently well for me, if he answere what I say. But when the disputation is confounded and orderlesse, I quit the matter, and betake me to the forme, with spight and indiscretion: and imbrace a kinde of debating, teasty, headlong, malicious and imperious, whereat I afterward blush. *It is impossible to treat quietly and dispute orderly with a foole.* My iudgement is not onely corrupted vnder the hand of so impetuous a maister, but my conscience also. Our disputations ought to be forbidden and punished, as other verball crimes. What vice raise they not, and heape vp together, beeing ever swayed and commaunded by choller? First we enter into enmitie with the reasons, and then with the men. We learne not to dispute, except it be to contradict: and euery man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth, that the fruite of disputing, is to loose and disanull the trueth. So *Plato* in his common wealth, forbiddeth foolish, vnapt and base-minded spirits, to vndertake that exercise. To what purpose goe you about to quest or inquire that, which is with him, who hath neyther good pace nor proceeding of worth? No man wrongs the subiect, when he quits the same, for want of meanes to treat or mannage it. I meane not a scolasticall and artist meane, but I intend a naturall meane, and of a sound vnderstanding. What will the end be? one goeth Eastward, and another Westward: They loose the principall, and stray it in the throng of incidents. At the end of an houres wrangling, they wot not what they seeke for: one is high, another low, and another wide. Some take holde of a word, some of a similitude. Some forget what was objected against them, so much are they engaged in the pursuite and thinke to follow themselves, and not you. Some finding themselves weake-backt, feare all, refuse all, and at the very entrance mingle the subiect and confound the purpose: or in the heate of the disputation, mutinie to holde their peace altogether: through a spightfull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a foolish modesty auoyding of contention. Prouided that one strike and hit, he careth not how open he lie. Another compteth his wordes, and wayeth them for reasons; Another employeth no thing but the aduantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludeth against himselfe; here another wearie you with idle prefaces, and friuolous digressions. Another armeth himselfe afore hand with iniuries, and seekes after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himselfe of the society, and shake off the conference of a spirite, that presseth and ouerbeareth his. This last hath no insight at all in reason, but still beleagreth you with the dialecticall or logicall close of his clause, and ties you to the rule of his arte or forme of his skill. Now who doth not enter into distrust of sciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any necessity of life, he may reape any solid fruite of them; if he consider the vse we haue of them? *Nihil sanantibus literis. Since learning doth not cure. Who hath learnt any wit or vnderstanding in Logique? Where are her faire promises? Nec ad melius viuendum, nec ad commodius differendum. Neither to liue better nor to dispute fitter.* Shall a man heare more brabbling or confusion in the tittle-tattle of fishwiues or scoulding sluts, then in the publike disputations of men of this profession? I had rather my childe should learne to speake in a Tauerne, then in the schooles of well-speaking Arte. Take you a maister of artes, and conferre with him, why doth he not make vs perceiue this artificiall excellencie, and by the admiration of his reasons. constancie, or with the beauty of his quaint order, and grace of his method, ravish silly women, and bleare ignorant men as we are? Why doth he not sway, winde and perswade vs as he list? Why should one so aduantageous in matter and conduct, entermixe iniuries, indiscretion and chollericke rage with his fence? Let him pull-off his two-faced hooide, his gowne and his latine, let him not fill our eares with meereley beleueed *Aristotle*, you will discouer and take him for one of vs, and worse if worse may be. Me thinks this implication and entangling of speach, where with they so much importune vs, may fittly be compared vnto iuglers play of fast and loose: their nimblenesse combates and forceth our fences, but it nothing shaketh our beliefe: Take away their iugling, what they doe is but base, common and slight. Though they be more wittie and nimble spirited, they are not the lesse foolish, simple and vnapt. I loue wit, and honour wisdom, as much as them that haue it. And beeing rightly vsed, it is the noblest, the most forcible, yea and

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and ritcheft purchase men can make. But in fuch (of which kinde the number is infinite) that vpon it eftablifh their fundamentall fufficiencie and worth : that from their wit refer themfelues to their memory, *sub aliena umbra latentes* : reposing them vnder another mans protection ; and can doe nothing but by the booke (if I may be bould to fay fo) I hate the fame, a little more then fottifhneffe. *In my country, and in my dayes, learning and bookifhneffe, doeth much mend purfes, but mindes nothing at all.* If it chance to finde them empty light and dry, it filleth, it ouer burthens and fwelleth them : a raw and indigefted mafle : if thinne, it doth eafily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them, even vnto exinanition or evacuation. It is a thing of a quality very neare indifferent : a moft profitable accelfory or ornament vnto a well borne minde, but pernicious and hurtfully domagable vnto any other. Or rather a thing of moft precious vfe, that will not bafely be gotten, nor vilie poffeffed. In fome handes a royall fcepter, in other fome a rude mattocke. But let vs proceede. *What greater or more glorious victory can you expect, then teach your enemy, that he cannot withftand you?* When you gaine the aduantage of your propofition it is Trueth that winnerh : when you get the aduantage of the order and conduct, it is you that winne. I am of opinion, that both in *Plato* and in *Xenophon*, *Socrates* difputeth more in fauour of the difputers, then in grace of the difputation : and more to inftroct *Euthydemus* and *Protagoras* with the knowledge of their impertinencie, then with the impertinencie of their arte. He takes holde of the firft matter, as he who hath a more profitable ende, then to cleare it ; that is, to cleare the fpirites he vndertaketh to manage and to exercife. Agitation, furring and hunting is properly belonging to our fubiect or drift ; we are not excufable to conduct the fame ill and impertinently, but to miffe the game and faile in taking, that's another matter. *For we are borne to queft and feeke after truth ; to poffeffe it belongs to a greater power.* It is not (as *Democritus* faide) hidden in the deepes of abiffe : but rather elcuated in infinite height of diuine knowledge. *The world is but a Schoole of inquisition.* The matter is not who fhall put in, but who fhall runne the faireft courfes. As well may he playe the foole that fpeaketh truely, as he that fpeaketh falſely : for we are vpon the manner, and not vpon the matter of fpeaking. My humour is, to haue as great a regarde to the forme, as to the fubſtance ; as much refpect to the Aduocate, as to the caule ; as *Alicibiades* appointed we fhould doe. And I daylie ammuſe my ſelfe to reade in authors, without care of their learning : therein ſeeking their manner, not their ſubiect. Euen as I purſue the communication of ſome famous wit, not that he ſhould teach me, but that I may know him ; and knowing him (if he deſerue it) I may imitate him. Euery one may ſpeake truely, but to ſpeake orderly, methodically, wiſely and ſufficiently, few can doe it. So, falſehood proceeding of ignorance doth not offend me ; ineptneſſe and trifling doth. I haue broken-off diuers bargaines, that would haue bin very commodious vnto me, by the impertinencie of their conteſtation, with whome I did bargain. I am not moued once a yeare, with the faults or ouerſights of thoſe, ouer whome I haue power : but touching the point of the fottifhneſſe and fooliſhneſſe of their allegations, excuſes, and defences, rude & brutiſh, we are euery day ready to goe by the eares. They neyther vnderſtand what is ſaid, nor wherefore, and euen ſo they anſwer ; a thing able to make one diſpaire. I feele not my head to ſhock hard but by being hit with another. And I rather enter into compoſitiō with my peoples vices, then with their raſhneſſe, importunity and fooliſhneſſe. Let them doe leſſe, prouided they be capable to doe. You liue in hope to enſlame their will : But of a block there is nothing to be hoped for, nor any thing of worth to be enioyed. Now, what if I take things otherwiſe then they are ? So it may be : And therefore I accuſe my impacience. And firſt, I ſhould, that it is equally vicious in him, who is in the right, as in him, that is in the wrong : For, it is euer a kinde of tyranicall ſharpeneſſe, not to be able to indure a forme different from his : and verily, ſince there is not a greater fondneſſe, a more conſtant gulliſhneſſe, or more heteroclitie inſpidity then for one to moue or vex himſelfe at the fondneſſe, at the gulliſhneſſe, or inſpidity of the world : For it principally formalizeth and moueth vs againſt our ſelues : and that Philoſopher of former ages ſhould neuer haue wanted occaſion to weepe, ſo long as he had conſidered himſelfe. *Mifo*, one of the ſeauen ſages (a man of a Timonian diſpoſition and Demoratitian humour) being demanded, where-at he laughed alone ; he anſwered, becauſe I laugh alone ? How many follies doe I ſpeake & anſwer euery day, according to my ſelfe ; and then how much more frequent according to others ? And if

I bite

I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? *In fine, we must live with the quick, and let the water runne under the bridge, without any care, or at least without alteration to vs.* In good sooth, why meete we sometimes with crooked, deformed & in body mishapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light-vpon a froward, skittish and ill-ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious aueritie is rather in the iudge, then in the fault. Let vs ever have that saying of Plato in our mouthes: *What I finde vnwholsome, is it not to be vnhealthy my selfe? Am not I in faulte my selfe? May not mine owne aduertisement be retorted against my selfe?* Oh wise and deuine restraint, that curbeth the most vniuersall and common error of men: Not onely the reproches, we doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matters controverted, are ordinarily retortable vnto vs: and wee pinche our selues vp in our owne armes. Whereof antiquitie hath left me diuers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose, by him that first deuiled the same.

Stercus cuique suum bene olet.

Eu'ry mans ordure well, To his owne sense doth smell.

*Eras. chil. 3
cent. 4. ad. 2*

Our eyes see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mock our selues, vpon our neighbours subiect, and detest some defects in others, that are much more apparant in vs; yea and admire them with a strange impudencie & vnheedinesse. Even yesternight, I chanced to see a man of reasonable vnderstanding, who no lesse pleasantly then iustly flouted at anothers fond fashion, & yet vpon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest al men with the impertinent bedrowle & register of his pedigrees, geneologies & alliances, more then halfe false and wrested in; (for it is the maner of such people, commonly to vndertake such foolish discourses, whose qualities are more doubtfull & lesse sure) who if he had imparcially considered & looked vpon himselfe, should doubtles have found himselfe no lesse intemperate, indiscreet & tedious, in publishing & extolling the prerogative of his wifes pedigree and descent. Oh importunate presumption, wherewith the wife seeth her selfe armed by the hands of her owne husband. If he vnderstand Latine, a man should say to him,

Age si hac non insanit satis sua sponte, instiga.

Goe too, if of hir owne accorde before,

*Ter. And.
act. 4. sc. 23*

She were not madde enough, prouoke hir more.

I say not, that none should accuse, except he be spotlesse in himselfe: For then none might accuse: no not spotlesse in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is, that our iudgement charging and blaming another, of whom there is then question, spareth vs nothing, of an inward and seuerer iurisdiction. It is an office of charity, that, *he who cannot remooue a vice for himselfe, should neuer theles endeavour to remooue it from others, where it may haue a lesse hurtful and froward seede.* Nor do I deceme it a fit answer, for him that warneth me of my fault, to say, the same is likewise in him. But what of that? *Well meaning warning is alwayes true and profitable.* Had we a good and sound nose, our owne ordure should be more vnsauory vnto our selues, forasmuch as it is our own. And Socrates is of opinion, that he, who should finde himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or iniury, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the sentence and condemnation of the law, and for his owne discharge & acquittal implore the assistance of the executioners hand: secondly for his sonne, & lastly for the stranger. If this precept take his tune somewhat too high: it should at least be first presented to the punishment of ones owne conscience. Our senses are our proper & first iudges, who distinguish not things, but by externall accidents; and no maruell, if in all partes of the seruice belonging to our society, there is so perpetuall and vniuersall commixture of ceremonies and superficial apparances: so that the best and most effectuell part of policies, consists in that. It is man with whom we haue alwaies to doe, whose condition is maruelouslie corporall. Let those, who in these latter dayes haue so earnestly laboured, to frame and establishe vnto vs, an exercise of religion and seruice of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all, if some be found, who thinke, it would haue escaped and mouldred away betweene their fingers, if it had not held and continued amongst vs, as a marke, a title and instrument of diuision and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference: The gravitie, the gowne and the fortune of him that speaketh, doth often adde and winne credite vnto vaine, trifling and absurde discourses. It is not to be presumed, that one of these gowne Clarkes or quoised Seriants, so followed,

and

and so redoubted, haue not some sufficiencie within him, more then populare: and that a man so fullen, so grim and so disdainfull, to whome so many commissions, charges and authorities are giuen, be not more sufficient and worthy, then another, who saluteth and vaileth to him so farre-off, and whome no man employeth. Not onely the wordes, but the powtings of such people, are considered and registred, euery one applying himselfe to giue them some notable and solide interpretation. If they stoope to common conference, and that a man affoorde or shewe them other then reverence and approbation, they ouerthrowe you with the authoritie of their experience: they haue read, they haue heard, seene & done goodly things, you are cleane ouerwhelmed with examples. I would faine tell them, that the fruit of a Chirurgions experience, is not the story of his practises, or the remembrance that hee hath cured foure who had the plague, and healed as many that had the Goute, except he knowe and haue the wit, from his vse and experience, to drawe a methode how to frame his iudgement and by his skill and practise make vs perceauce, he is become wiser in his arte. As in a consort of instruments, one heares not seuerally a Lute, a Vyol, a Flute or a paire of Virginalles, but a perfect-full harmonie: the assemble and fruite of all those instruments in one. If their trauels and charges haue amended them, it is in the production of their vnderstanding to make it appeare. It sufficeth not to number the experiments; they ought to be well poised and orderly sorted: and to extract the reasons and conclusions they containe, they should be well digested and thoroughly distilled. There were never so many Historians. It is euer good and profitable to heare them: for out of the magazin of their memorie, they store vs with diuers good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chiefe part, for the assistance and directing of our life. But now adayes we seeke not after that, but rather whether the collectors and reporters of them be praise-worthy themselves. I hate all manner of tyrannie, both verball and effectuall. I willinglie bandie and oppose my selfe against these vaine and friuolous circumstances, which by the fences delude our iudgement; and houlding my selfe aloofe-off from these extraordinarie greatneses, haue found, that for the most parte, they are but men as others be:

Iuuen. Sat.
8.73.

*Rarus enim firmè sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.*

For common sence is sildom found
In fortunes that so much abound.

They are peradventure esteemed and discerned lesse then they be, forsomuch as they vnder take more, and so show themselves; they answer not the charge they haue taken. *There must necessarilie be more vigour and strength in the bearer, then in the burthen.* He who is not growne to his full strength, leaues you to guesse, whether he haue any left him beyond that, or haue beene tride to the utmost of his powre. He who fainteth vnder his burthen, bewrayeth his measure and the weakenesse of his shoulders. That's the reason, why amongst the wiser sorte, there are so many foolish and vnapt mindes seene, and more then of others. They might happilie haue beene made good husbandmen, thriuing marchants and plodding artificers. Their naturall vigour was cut out to this proportion. Learning is a matter of great consequence: they faint vnder it. To enstall and distribute, so rich and so powerfull a matter, and auailefully to employe the same, their witte hath neither sufficient vigour, nor conduct enough to manage it. It hath no preuailing vertue but in a strong nature; and they are very rare: And such as are but weake (saith *Socraies*) corrupt and spoylinglie deface the dignitie of Philosophie, in handling the same. Shee seemeth faultie and vnprofitable, being ill placed and vnorderly disposed. Loë how they spoile and entangle themselves.

Claud Eutrop. 1.303

*Humani qualis simulator simius oris,
Quem puer aridens, pretioso stamine serum
Velaui, nudasq; nates ac terga reliquit,
Ludibrium mensis.*

Such counterfaicts as Apes are of mans face,
Whom children sporting-at, featly in case
In costly coates, but leaue his backside bare
For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.

To those likewise, who sway and commaund vs, and have the world in their owne hands, tis not sufficient to have a common vnderstanding, and to be able to doe, what we can effect. They are farre beneath vs, if they be not much aboue vs. As they promise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not onely a countenance of respect and grauitie, but often of thrift and profit: *Megabyssus* going to visite *Apelles* in his workehouse, stood still a good while without speaking one worde, and then began to discourse of his workes. Of whom he receiued this rude and nipping check: *So long as thou heldest thy peace, by reason of thy garish clothes, goodly chaines and stately pompe, thou seemdest to bee some worthy gallant: but now thou hast spoken, there is not the simplest boye of my shop, but scorneth and contemns thee.* That great state of his, those rich habilliments, and goodly traine, did not permit him to be ignorant with a popolare ignorance and to speake impertinentlie of painting. He should haue kept mute, and concealed his externall and presuming sufficiencie. Vnto how many fond and shallow mindes, hath in my dayes, a sullen, colde and silent countenance, serued as a title of wisedome and capacitie? Dignities, charges and places, are necessarily given, more by fortune, then by merite: and they are often to blame, that for it laye the blame on Kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder, that being so vntowarde, they should therein have so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima, nisse suos.* Chiefe vertue it is knowne, In Kings to knowe their owne. For Nature hath not given them so perfect a sight, that it might extend it selfe and overlooke so many people, to discerne their pre-excellencie; and enter their breasts, where lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by coniectures, and as it were groping they must trye vs: by our race, alliances, dependences, riches, learning, and the peoples voyce: all ouer-weake arguments. He that could denie a meane, how men might be iudged by lawe, chosen by reason, and aduanced by desert, should establishe a perfect forme of a Commonwealth. Yea but he hath brought that great businesse vnto a good passe. It is to say something; but not to say sufficiently. For, this sentence is iustly receaved, *That counsels ought not be iudged by the events.* The Carthaginians were wonte to punish the ill counsels of their Captaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Romane people hath often refused triumphes too famous, succesfull and most profitable victories, forsoomuch as the Generals conduct, answered not his good fortune. It is commonly perceaued by the worldes actions, that fortune, to teach vs, how farre hir powre extendeth vnto all things; and who taketh pleasure to abate our presumption, having not beene able to make sillie men wise, she hath made them fortunate, in enuie of vertue: And commonlye gives hir selfe to fauour executions, when as their complot and devise is meerelie hers. Whence we dayly see, that the simplest amongst vs, compasse diuers great and important affaires, both publike and priuate. And as *Sirannex* the Persian Prince, answered those, who seemed to wonder how his negotiations succeeded so ill, his discourses beeing so wise: *That he was onely maister of his discourses, but fortune mistress of his affaires successe.* These may answer the like; but with a contrary byas. Most things of the world are made by themselves.

Virg. AEn.
l. 3. 395.

Fata viam inueniunt.

Fates finde and know, which way to goe.

The issue doth often authorise a simple conduct. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of vse and example, then of reason. And as one amazed at the greatnesse of some businesse, I have sometimes vnderstood by those who had atchieved them, both their motiues and addresses: wherein I have found but vulgar aduises: and the most vulgar and vsed, are peraduenture the surest and most commodious for the practise, if not for the shewe. And what if the plainest reasons are the best seated: the meanest, basest and most beaten, are best applyde vnto affayres? To maintaine the authoritic of our Kings-counsell, it is not requisite, that prophane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then from the first barre. To vphould it's reputation, it should be revered vpon credit, and at full. My consultation doth somewhat roughlie hew the matter, and by it's first show, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke, I am wonte to resigne to heauen,

Permitte diuis catera.

Hor. l. 1. Od.
9.9.

How all the rest shall goe,

Giue leaue to God to knowe.

Good

Good and bad fortune, are in my conceit two soveraigne powers. T'is folly to thinke, that humane wisdom may acte the full part of fortune. And vaine is his enterprize, that presumeth to embrace both causes and consequences, and leade the progresse of his fact by the hand. And aboue all, vaine is in militarie deliberations. There was never more circumspection and militarie wisdom, then is sometimes seene amongst vs: May it be that man feareth to loose himselfe by the way, reseruing himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say moreover, that euen our wisdom and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse, is sometimes moued by one ayre, and sometimes by another: and there be many of these motions, that are governed without me. My reason hath dayly impulsions and casuall agitations:

Virg. Geor.
li. 420.

*Vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios dum nubula ventus agebat,
Concipiunt.*

The shewes of mindes are chang'd, and brests conceaue
At one time motions, which anon they leaue,
And others take againe, As windes drive clouds amaine.

Let but a man looke who are the mightiest in Cities and who thriue best in their businesse: he shall commonly finde, they are the silliest and poorest in wit. It hath hapned to simple women, to weake children, and to mad men, to commaund great states, as well as the most sufficient Princes. And the gullish or shallow-pared (saith *Thucydides*) doe more ordinarilie come vnto them, then the wisest and subtillest. We ascribe their good fortunes effects, vnto their prudence.

Plaut. Psen.
act. 5. sc. 4.

*ut quisque fortuna vitur,
Ita praellet: atque exinde sapere illum omnes dicimus.*
As men their fortune vse, so they excell,
And so we say, they are wise and doe well.

Wherefore I say well, that howsoever, events are but weake testimonies of our worthe and capacite. I was now vpon this point, that we need but looke vpon a man aduanced to dignitie; had we but three dayes before knowne him to be of little or no worthe at all: an image of greatnesse, and an Idea of sufficiencie, doth insensiblie glide and creepe into our opinions; and we perswade our selues, that increasing in state, in credite and followers, he is also encreased in merite. We iudge of him, not according to his worth; but after the manner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne hir wheele, let him againe decline and come downe amongst the vulgar multitude; euery one with admiration enquireth of the cause, and how he was rayfed so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some say. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when he was so alofte? Are Princes pleased with so little? Nowe in good sooth wee were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in my dayes. Yea the verie maske of greatnesse, or habite of maiestie, represented in Tragedies, doth in some sorte touch and beguile vs. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adoratores. All inclination and submission is due vnto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoope; my knees are. *Melanthis* being demanded, what he thought of *Dionysius* his tragedy, answered, I haue not seene it, so much was it ouerclouded with language. So should those say, that iudge of great mens discourses: I haue not vnderstoode his discourse, so was it ouerdarkened with grauity, with greatnesse and with maiesty. *Antisthenes* one day perswaded the Athenians, to commaund, that their Asses should as well be employed about the manuring of grounds, as were their horses: who answered him, that the Ass was not borne for such seruice: that's all one (quoth he) there needes but your allowance for it: for the most ignorant and incapable men you imploy about the directing of your warres, leaue not to become out of hand most worthy, onely because you employe them. Whereon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the king, whom they have made amongst them, and are not contented to honour him, vnlesse they also adore him. Those of *Mexico*, after the ceremonies of his consecration are finished, dare no more looke him in the face: but as if by his royaltie, they had deified him, they afterward deeme him to be a God: Amongst the othes, they make him sweare, *to maintaine their religion, to keepe their lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant, iust and debonaire*: he is also sworne, to make

in the face : but as if by his royalty, they had deified him, they afterwarde deeme him to be a God : Amongst the oathes, they make him sweare *to maintaine their religion, to keepe their lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant, iust and debonaire*; he is also sworne, to make the Sunne march in his accustomed light: in time of need to cause the cloudes showre downe their waters; to enforce riuers to runne in their right wonted chanel; and compell the earth to produce all necessary things for his people. I differ from this common fashion, and more distrust sufficiencie, when I see it accompanied with the greatnesse of fortune, and aplauded by popolare commendation. We should heede fully marke, of what consequence it is, for a man to speake in due time, to choose fit opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrall authority : to defend himselfe from others oppositions, by a nod or mouing of the head, by a smile, a shrug. or a silence, before an assembly, trembling with reuerence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shoote his boulte, and giue his opinion vpon a frivolous subiect, which but jestingly was tossed : oo and fro at his table, beganne even thus; he cannot choose but be a lyer, or an ignorant asse, that will say otherwise then, &c. Follow this Philosophicall point, out commeth a dagger, and there is some mischife. Loe here another aduertisement; from whence I scape good vse; Which is, that in disputations and conferences, all good seeming wordes, ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Most men are rich of a strange sufficiencie. Some may chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answere, to vse a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holdeth not all he borroweth, may peraduenture be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeelde, what truth or goodnes so ever it seemeth to containe. A man must cyther combat the same in good earnest, or drawe-backe, vnder colour of not vnderstanding the matter: to try on al partes, how it is placed in it's author. It may fortune, that we shut our selues vp, and further the stroake, beyond its bearing. I haue sometimes in the necessity and throng of the combat, employed some reuiradoes or turnings, which beyond my intent, have prooved false offers. I but gave them by tale, and they were receiued by waight. Euen as when I contend with a vigorous man; I please my selfe to anticipate his conclusions: I ease him the labour to interpret himselfe: I endeouour to preuent his imperfect and yet budding imagination: the order and pertinencie of his vnderstanding forwarneth and menaceth a farre off: of these others I doe cleane contrary; a man must vnderstand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall termes: *This is good; that's naught*: and that they iump right; see whether it be fortune, that iumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restraine their sentence; wherefore it is, and which way it is. These vniuersall judgements, I see so ordinarily say nothing at all. They are men, that salute a whole multitude, in throng and troupe. Such as have true knowledge of the same, salute and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a hazardous enterprise. Whence I have oftner then daylie scene, to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to show themselves ingenious, by obseruing in the reading of some worke, the point of beauty: stay their admiration with so bad a choise; that in lieu of teaching vs the authors excellencie, they showe vs their owne ignorance. This manner of exclamation is safe; *Loe this is very excellent; Surely this is very good*, having hard a whole page of *Virgile*. And that's the shift whereby the subtilt saue themselves. But to vndertake to followe him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected iudgement to goe about to marke which way a good author surmounteth himselfe; pondering his wordes, his phrases, his inuentions, and his severall vertues one after another: *Away; goe by; It is not for you. Videndum est non modo, quid quisque loquatur; sed etiam, quid quisque sentiat, atque etiam qua de causa quisque sentiat.* Man must take heede not onely what he speakes, but what he thinkes; and also why he thinkes. I daylie heare fooles, vtter vnfoolish wordes. Speake they any good thing; let vs vnderstand whence they know it, how farre they vnderstand and whereby they holde it. We helpe them to employ this fine word, and this goodly reason, which they possesse not, & have but in keeping; they have happily produced the same by chance and at randan, our selues bring it in credit and esteeme with them. You lend them your hand; what to doe? The konne you no thanks, and thereby become more simple, and more foolish. Doe not second them; let them goe-on: they will handle this matter as men affraide to bewray themselves; they dare neither change her seate or light, nor enter into it. Shake it never so little, it escapeth them

xp

Pretenders
to Science.

them; they quit the same, how strong and goodly fouer it be. They are hand-some weapons, but ill haisted. How often have I seene the experience of it? Now if you come to expound and confirme them, they take holde of you, and presently steale the aduantage of your interpretation from you. *It was that which I was about to say: It was iust my conceite: if I haue not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech.* Handy-dandie, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. *Hegesias* his position, that *a man must neither hate nor accuse, but instruct*, hath some reason else where. But here, it is iniustice to assist, and inhumanity to raise him vp againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of lesser worth. I love to have them entangle and bemire themselves more then they are, and if it be possible, to wade so deepe into the gulphe of error, that in the end they may recall and readuise themselves. *Sottishnesse and distraction of the senses, is no disease curable by a trick of aduertisement.* And we may fitly say of this reparation, as *Cyrus* answered one, who vrged him to exhort his army in the nicke when the battell should beginne; *That men are not made warlike and couragious in the field, by an excellent oration; no more then one becommeth a ready cunning musician, by hearing a good song.* They are prentisages that must be learnt aforehand, by long and constant institution. This care wee owe to ours, and this assiduitie of correction and instruction: but to preach to him that first passeth by, and sway the ignorance or fondnesse of him we meete next, is a custome I cannot well away with. I seldome vse it, even in such discourses as are made to me; and I rather quit all, then come to these far-fetched and magistrale instructions. My humour is no more proper to speake, then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how false and absurd fouer I iudge them, I never crosse or gibe them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more spight me in sottishnesse then that it pleaseth it selfe more, then any reason may iustly be satisfide. It is ill lucke, that wisdome forbids you to please and trust your selfe, and tends you alwayes away discontented and feareful: whereas wilfulnes and rashnesse, fill their guests with gratulation and assurance. It is for the simplest & least able, to looke at other men ouer their shoulders, ever returning from the combat full of glory and gladnes. And most often also, this outrecuidance of speech and chearefulness of countenance, giveth them the victory ouer the by-standers, who are commonly weake, and incapable to iudge aright and discern true aduantages. *Obstinacie and earnestnesse in opinion, is the surest tryall of folly and selfe conceite.* Is there any thing so assured, so resolute, so disdainfull, so contemplatiue, so serious and so grave, as the Ass? May we not commixe with the title of conference & communication, the sharpe and interrupted discourses, which mirth and familiarity introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily iesting one with another? An exercise, to which my naturall blithenesse makes me very apt. And if it be not so wire-drawne and serious, as this other exercise I now speake of, yet is it no lesse sharpe or ingenious, nor lesse profitable, as it seemed to *Lycurgus*. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit vnto it, and have therein more lucke then inuention; but I am perfect in sufferance; for I endure the reuenge, not onely sharpe but also indiscrete, without any alteration. And to any assault giuen me, if I haue not presently or stoutely wherewith to worke mine owne amends, I amuse not my selfe to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and selfe-wil'd contestation, enclining to pertinacie: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, remit my selfe to a better houre to right my selfe. *He is not a marchant that ever gaineth.* Most men change both voyce and countenance, where might faileth them: And by an importunate rage, insteade of avenging themselves, they accuse their weakenesse, and therewith bewray their impacience. In this ioylity we now and then harpe vppon some secret strings of our imperfections; which, settled or considerate we cannot touch without offence: and we profitably enter-aduertize our selues of our defects. There are other handy-sportes, indiscrete, fond and sharpe, iust after the French manner; which I hate mortallye: I have a tender and sensible skinne: I haue in my dayes seene two Princes of our royall blood brought to their graves for it. *It is an ill-seeming thing for men, in iest to hitte, or in sporte to streake one another.* In other matters, when I will iudge of any bodye, I demaund of him, how farre or how much hee is contented with himselfe: how farre his speache or his worke pleaseth him. I will auoyde these goodlye excuses, *I did it but in iest:*

xy
 Friendly Re-
 parties.

N xp

Hors play

The third Booke.

563

Ablatum medijs opus est incudibus istud.

This worke away was brought,

Halfe hammered, halfe wrought,

Ouid. Trist.

l. 1. eleg. 6.

29.

I was not an houre there; I haue not seene him since. Now I say, let vs then leaue these partes, give me one that may represent you whole and entire, by which it may please you to be measured by another. And then; what finde you fairest in your owne worke? is it that or this part? the grace or the matter, the inuention, the iudgement, or the learning? For I ordinarily perceiue, that *a man misseth as much in iudging of his owne worke, as of anothers.* Not onely by the affection, he therein employeth; but because he hath not sufficiencie to know, nor skill to distinguish it. The worke of it's owne power and fortune, may second the worke-man, and transport him beyond his inuention and knowledge. As for me, I iudge not the worth of anothers worke more obscurely then of mine owne: and place my Essayes sometimes lowe, sometimes high, very vnconstantly and doubtfully. There are dyuers bookes profitable by reason of their subiectes, of which the author reapeth no commendations at all: And good bookes, as also good workes, which make the worke-man ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankets, and the fashion of our garments; and I shall write it with an ill grace: I shall publish the Edicts of my time, and the letters of Princes that publikely passe from hand to hand: I shall make an abridgement of a good booke (and every abridgement of a good booke, is a foole abridged) which booke shall come to bee lost; and such like things. Posterity shall reape singular profit by such compositions: but I, what honour, except by my good fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read *Philip de Comines*, (now dyuers yeares since) a right excellent author, I noted this speach in him, as a saying not vulgar: That *a man should carefullye take heede, how he doe his maister so great or much seruice, that he thereby be hindred from finding his due recompence for it.* I should have commended the inuention, but not him. After that I found it in *Tacitus*: *Beneficia eo usque lata sunt, dum vident turcopolus posse, ubi multum anteveneri pro gratia odium redditur.* Benefites are so long wel-come, as wee thinke they may bee requited, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hate is return'd for thanks and good will. And *Seneca* very stoutely. *Nam qui putat esse turpe non redere, non vult esse cui reddat.* For he that thinkes it a shame not to requite, could wish, he were not whom he should requite. *Q. Cicero* with a looser byas: *Qui se non putat satisfacere, amicus esse nullo modo potest.* He that thinkes he doth not satisfie, can by no meanes be a friend. The sub-

Corn. Tacit.

Ann. l. 4.

Seneca.

epist. 81. f.

Cicero.

iect according as it is, may make a man be iudged learned, wise and memorious: but to iudge in him the partes most his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beauty of his minde; 'tis very requisite, we know first what is his owne, and what not: and in what is not his owne, what we are behoulding to him for, in consideration of his choise, disposition, ornament, and language he hath thereunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empaired the forme? as many times it commeth to passe. We others that have little practise with bookes, are troubled with this; that when we meete with any rare or quaint inuention in a new Poet, or forcible argument in a Preacher, wee dare not yet commend them, vntill wee have taken instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies. And vntill then I ever stand vpon mine owne guard. I come lately from reading ouer, (and that without any intermission) the story of *Tacitus* (a matter not vsuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together vpon a booke) and I have now done it, at the instant request of a gentleman, whom *France* holdeth in high esteeme; as well for his owne worth and valour, as for a constant forme of sufficiencie and goodnes, apparantly seene in diuers brethren of his. I know no author, that in a publique register entermixeth so many considerations of manners, and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary, to what he thinketh: who beeing especially to follow the lives of the Emperours of his time, so dyuers and extreame in all manner of forme, so manye notable and great actions, which, namelye their cruelty produced in their subiectes: hee had a more powerfull and attractive matter, to discourse and relate, then if hee had beene to speake or treat of battels and vniuersall agitations. So that I often finde him barren, sleightly running-over those glorious deaths, as if hee feared to attediate and molest vs with their

Note

Tacitus Ep. 21

His opinion of
Tacitus

multitude and continuance. This forme of historye is much more profitable: *Publike innouations, depend more on the conduct of fortune: priuate on ours.* It is rather a iudgement, then a deduction of an history: therein are more precepts, then narrations: It is not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learne: *It is so fraught with sentences, that right or wrong they are hudled vp:* It is a seminary of morall, and a magazine of politique discourses, for the prouision and ornament of those, that possesse some place in the managing of the world. He euer pleadeth with solide and forcible reasons; after a sharpe and witty fashion: following the affected and laboured stile of his age: They so much loved to raise and puffe themselves vp, that where they found neither sharpenesse nor subtilty in things, they would borrow it of wordes. He draweth somewhat neare to *Senecas* writing. I deeme *Tacitus* more sinnowie, *Seneca* more sharpe. His seruice is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present: you would often say, he pourtrayeth and toucheth vs to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith, doe manifestly accuse themselves to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be found, and enclining to the better side of the Romane affaires. I am neuertheless something greued, that hee hath more bitterly iudged of *Pompey*, then honest mens opinions, who lived and conuersed with him, doe well allowe-off: to have esteemed him altogether equall to *Marius* and *Silla*, saying that he was more close and secret. His intention and canuasing for the gouernement of affaires, hath not bene exempted from ambition, nor cleared from reuenge: and his owne friendes haue feared, that had he gotten the victory, it would haue transported him beyond the limites of reason; but not vnto an vnbridled and raging measure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatned vs with so manifest a crueltye, and expresse tyranny. Yet must not the suspition be counterpoised to the euidence: So doe not I beleeeve him.

That his narrations are naturall and right, might happylie be argued by this: That they doe not alwayes exactly apply themselves to the conclusions of his iudgements; which he pursueth according to the course he hath taken, often beyond the matter he sheweth vs; which he hath dayned to stoope vnto with one onely glance. He needeth no excuse to haue approoved the religion of his times, according to the lawes which commaunded him, and bene ignorant of the true and perfect worship of God. That's his ill fortune, not his defect. I haue principallye considered his iudgement, whereof I am not everye where thoroughly resolved. As namely these wordes contayned in the letter, which *Tiberius* beeing sicke and aged, sent to the Senate. *What shall I write to you my maisters, or how shall I write to you, or what shall I not write to you in these times? May the Gods and Goddesse loose me worse, then I daylie feele my selfe to perish, if I can tell.* I cannot perceiue why hee should so certainly applye them vnto a stinging remorte, tormenting the conscience of *Tiberius*: *At least when my selfe was in the same plight, I saw it not.* That hath likewise seemed somewhat demisse and base vnto me, that having saide, how hee had excercised a certayne honourable magistracie in *Rome*, hee goeth about to excuse himselfe, that it is not for ostentation, hee spake it: This one trick, namely in a minde of his quality, seemeth but base and cource vnto mee: For, not to dare speake roundly of himselfe, accuseth some want of courage: A constant, resolute and high iudgement, and which iudgeth soundly and surely, euery hand while vseth his owne examples, as well as of any strange thing; and witnesseth as freely of himselfe, as of a third person: A man must overgoe these popolare reasons of ciuility, in fauour of trueth and libertye. I dare not onely speake of my selfe: but speake alone of my selfe. I stragle when I write of any other matter, and digresse from my subiect. I doe not so indiscretely love my selfe, and am not so tide and commixt to my selfe, as that I can not distinguish and consider my selfe apart: as a neighbour; as a tree. It is an equall error, eyther not to see how farre a mans worth stretcheth, or to say more of it then one seeth good cause. *We owe more love to God, then to our selues, and know him lesse, and yet we talke our fill of him.* If his writings relate any thing of his conditions: he was a notable man, vp-right and couragious; not with a superstitious vertue, but Philosophicall and generous: He may be found ouer hardy in his testimonies: As where hee houldeth, that a souldier carrying a burthen of woode, his handes were so stiffly benumbed with colde, that they stuck to his woode, and remayned so fast

vnto

vnto it, that as deade flesh they were diuided from his armes. In such cases I am wont to yeelde vnto the authoritie of so great testimonies. Where he also saierh, that *Vespasian* by the fauour of the God *Serapis*, healed in the cittie of *Alexandria* a blinde woman, with the rubbing and anoynting her eyes with fasting spetle: and some other miracles, which I remember not well now: he doth it by the example & deuoir of all good historians. They keepe a register of important euent: among publike accidents, are also popular reports and vulgar opinions. It is their part to relate common conceites, but not to swaie them. This part belongeth to Diuines and Philosophers, directors of consciences, Therefore that companion of his, and as great a man as he, saide most wisely: *Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere quæ accepti: I write out more then I beleue: for neither can I abide to affirme what I doubt of, nor to withdraw what I haue heard: And that other: Hæc neque affirmare neque refellere opera precium est: fama rerum standum est. It is not worth the talke, or to avouch, or to refute these things; we must stand to report.* And writing in an age, wherein the beleue of prodigies beganne to decline, he saierh, he would notwithstanding not omit to insert in his *Annales*, and giue footing to a thing receiued and allowed of so many honest men, and with so great reuerence by antiquitie. It is very well saide: That they yeelde vs the historie, more according as they receaue, then according as they esteeme it. I who am king of the matter I treat of, and am not to giue accompt of it to any creature liuing, do neuerthelesse not altogether beleue my selfe for it: I often hazard vpon certaine outlips of my minde, for which I distrust my selfe; and certaine verball wilie-beguilies, whereat I shake mine eares: but I let them runne at hab or nab; I see some honour them selues with such like things: 'Tis not for me alone to iudge of them. I present my selfe standing and lying, before and behinde, on the right and left side, and in all by naturall motions. *Spirites alike in force, are not euer alike in application and tast.* Loc here what my memorie doth in grosse, and yet very vncertainely present vnto me of it. In breefe, all iudgements are weake, demisse and imperfect.

The ninth Chapter. *The Calamities of France
Domesticall cares
Brouail
Of Vanitie. 8 Great Scaies hardly destroyed*

There is peraduenture no vanitie more manifest, then so vainely to write of it. What Diuinitie hath so diuinely expressed thereof vnto vs, ought of all men of vnderstanding to be dilligently and continually meditated vpon. Who seeth not, that I haue entred so large a field, and vndertaken so high a pitch, wherein so long as there is either Inke or Paper in the world, I may vncessantly wander and flie without encombrance? I can keepe no register of my life by my actions: fortune placeth them too lowe: I hould them of my fantasies. Yet haue I seene a gentleman, who neuer comunicated his life, but by the operations of his bellie; you might haue seene in his house, set out for a show, a row of basins for seauen or eight dayes: It was all his studie; it was all his talke: All other discourfes were vnfavorie to him. These are somewhat more ciuile, the excrements of anould spirite, sometimes hard, sometimes laxatiue; but euer indigested. And when shall I come vnto an end of representing a continuall agitation, or vncessant alteration of my thoughts, what subiect soeuer they happen vpon; since *Diomedes* filled six thousand bookes onely with the subiect of Grammar? what is idle babling like to produce, since the saltring and libertie of the tongue hath stuft the world with so horrible a multitude of volumes? So many wordes onely for wordes. Oh *Pithagoras*, why didst thou not coniure this tempest? One *Galba* of former ages, being accused for liuing idlie; aunswered, that all men ought to giue an accompt of their actions, but not of their abiding. He was deceiued; for iustice hath also knowledge and animaduersion ouer such as gather stuble (as the common saying is,) or looke about for gape-seed. But there should be some correction appointed by the lawes, against foolish and vnprofitable writers, as there is against wagabonds and loyterers: so should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockerie: Scribling seemeth

to be a Symthome or passion of an irregular and licentious age. When writt wee euer so much as we haue done since our intestine troubles? or when filled the Romaines so many volumes, as in the times of their ruine? Besides that, *the refining of wits in a common wealth, doth seldome make them the wiser:* this idle working proceedeth of this; that all men doe ouer-slowly giue them selues to the office of their function, and are easily withdrawne from it. The corruption of the times we liue in, is wrought by the particular contribution of euery one of vs: some conferre treason vnto it, some iniustice, other some irreligion, tyrannie, avarice & cruelty; according as they are more or lesse powerfull: the weaker sorte, whereof I am one, imparte foolishnesse, vanitie and idlenesse vnto it. It seemeth to be the season of vaine things; when the damageable presse vs. *In a time, where to do euill is common: to do nothing profitable, is in a manner commendable.* One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the last, that shall be atached: whilst they shall provide for the worser sorte and the most hurtfull, I shall haue leasure to amend my selfe: For, me thinkes it would be agaynst reason busily to insist and pursue pettie inconueniencies, when great ones infect vs. And the Phisition *Philotimus*, to one that offred him his finger to dresse, by whose face, looke and breath he apparently perceaued, that he had an impostume in his loonges; My friend (quoth he) *It is now no fit time to busie your selfe about your nayles.* Yet concerning this purpose, I sawe not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memorie (for diuers respects,) I hold in singular account, who in the midst of our troublous mischiefes: when, no more then at this time, neither lawe, nor iustice, nor magistrate was executed or did his office, published certaine fillie reformations, concerning the excesse of apparall, gluttonie and diet, and abuses committed among pettie-fogging lawiers. They be ammusings wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that so men may say they are not cleane forgotten. Euen so doe these others, who mainely applie them selues to forbid certaine manners of speech, dances and vaine sportes, vnto a people wholly giuen ouer to all licenciousnesse and execrable vices. *It is then no conuenient time for a man to wash and netifie himselfe, when he is assailed by a violent feuer.* It onely belongs to Spartans, to tricke, to combe and wash themselues at what time they are readie to cast themselues into some extreame hazard of life. As for me, I am subiect to this ill custome, that if but a pump sit not handsonly vpon my foote, I shall also neglect my shirt and my cloake: for I disdain to correct my selfe by halves: when I am in bad estate, I flesh my selfe on euill and abandon my selfe through dispaire, and run to a downefall, and (as the saying is) cast the hast after the hatchet. I grow obstinate in empairing; and esteeme my selfe no more worthie of my care, eyther all well or all euill. It is a fauour to me, that the desolation of our state doth sutablie meet with the desolatio of my age: I rather endure that my euils should thereby be surcharged, then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The wordes I vtter agaynst misfortune, are wordes of spite. My courage insteede of yeelding, doth grow more obstinate; and contrarie to others, I finde my selfe more giuen to deuotion, *in prosperous then aduerser fortune:* according to *Xenophons* rule, if not according to his reason. And I rather looke on heauen with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more careful to increase my health when it smiles vpon me, then to recouer it when I haue lost it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and instruction, as aduersities and crosses are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good conscience, men neuer become honest but by aduerser and crosse chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motiue vnto moderation, and forcible spurre vnto modestie. Prayers winne me, menaces reiect me, fauours relent me, feare imperuerfeth me. Amongst humane conditions, this one is verie common, that wee are rather pleased with strange things then with our owne: we loue changes, affect alterations, and like innouations.

*Ipsa dies ideo nos grato perluit haustu,
 Quod permutatis hora recurrit equis.*

Times therefore vs refresh with welcome ayre,
 Because their houres on chang'd horse doe repayre.

And my share is therein. Such as follow the other extremitie, onely to be well pleased with and in themselues; and selfe-conceitedly to ouer-esteeme what they possesse aboue others

others; and acknowledge no forme sayrer, then that they see; if they be not more aduised then we, they are indeed more happy. I enuie not their wisdom, but grudge their good fortune: This greedy humor of new and vnquenched desire of vnknowne things, doth much increase and nourish in me a desire to trauell: but diuers other circumstances conserre vnto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake-off the gouernment of mine owne household. *It is some pleasure to command, were it but ouer a mole-hill, and a delight to be obeyed.* But it is a pleasure ouer vniforme and languishing. Besides that it is euer necessarily entermixed with troublous cares, and hart-wearying thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppression of your owne people; sometimes the contentions and quarrels of your neighbours, and other times their insulting and vsurpation ouer you, doth vex, doth trouble and afflict you.

Hor. car. l.
3. od. 1. 29.

*Aut verberata grandine vineæ,
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sydera, nunc hyemes iniquas.*

Or Vineyards beate and wet with haile and raine,
Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees complaine;
Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres,
That scorch the fieldes, sometime of winters warres.

And that God will hardly once in halfe a yeare send you a season, that shal throughly please your Bayly, and content your Reccauer: and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

Lucret. l. 5.
215.

*Aut nimis torret feruoribus arboribus Sol,
Aut subito perimunt imbres, gelideque pruina,
Flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant.*

Or with excessiue heate heau'ns Sunne doth toast,
Or sodaine stormes do kill, and chilling frost,
Or violent whirle-winde blastes doe vex the coast.

As that new and well-shapen shoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote: and that a stranger knowes not what it costes you, and what you contribute to maintaine the show of that order, which is seene in your household: and which peraduenture you purchase at too high a rate. *It was very late before I betooke my selfe to husbandrie.* Those whom nature caused to be borne before me, haue long time ridde me of that carefull burthen: I had alreadie taken another habite, more sutable to my complexion. Neuerthelesse by that I haue obserued therein, I finde it to be rather a troublesome, then a hard occupation. Whosoever is capable of any other thing, may easily discharge that. If I would seeke to grow ritch; that way would seeme ouer-long and tedious to me: I would then haue serued our kings; a trade more beneficiall then all others; since I pretend but to get the reputation, that as I haue gotten nothing, so haue I not wasted any thing; sutable to the rest of my life; as vnfit to effect any good, as improper to worke any euill of consequence: and that I onely seeke to weare out my life, I may (God be thanked) doe it without any great attention: if the worst come to passe, before pouertie assaile you, seeke by preuention to cut of your charges, and by husbanding your expences keepe afore hand with it; that is it I trust vnto, and hope to reforme my selfe before it come neare or enforce me to it. As for other matters, I haue forestalled many degrees and established sundry wayes in my minde, to liue and rubbe out with lesse then I haue. I say to liue with contentment. *Non estimatione census, verum victu atque culin, terminatur pecunia modus.* The measure of money is limited not by the estimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of living and other furniture. My very neede doth not so precisely possesse my whole estate, but that without touching to the quick or empaireing the maine, fortune shal finde something to play vpon, or take hold of. My very presence as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my household affaires: I applie my selfe thereunto but somewhat dispiightfully: considering the manner of my house, which is, that seuerally to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Trauels do not much hurt me, were it not for the charges, which are exceeding great & beyond my ability: hauing euer bin accustomed to iourney not onely with necessary, but also with decent equipage; & that's the reason I make but short iorneis & trauel not

Cic. Parad.

Note well his
Domesticall
cares &c

xp

not to often: wherein I imploy but the scumme and what I can well spare, temporising and differing, according as it commeth more or lesse. *I will not haue the pleasure of my wandring, to corrupt the delight of my retiring.*

Contrary-wise my intent is, that they nourish and fauor one another. Fortune hath steaded me in this; that since my chiefeft profession in this life, was to liue delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously: it hath depriued me of neede to hoarde vp riches, to prouide for the multitude of my heires. For one, if that bee not sufficient for him, where with I haue liued so plentiously, at his owne perill be it. His indiscretion shall not deserue, that I wish him more. *And euery man* (according to the example of *Phocion*) *provideth sufficiently for his children, that provideth they be not unlike to him.* I should by no meanes be of *Crates* his minde, or commend his proceeding. He left his mony with a banquier vpon this condition: That if his children were fooles, he should deliuer it them: but prouing wise and able to shift for themselues, he should distribute the same amongst the greatest fooles. As if fooles, being least capable to make shift without it, were more capable to vse riches. So it is, that the hurt proceeding from my absence, doeth not (in myne opinion) deserue, so long as I shall haue meanes to beare it, I should refuse to accept the occasions that offer themselues, to distract me from this toyle some assistance. There is euer some peece out of square. Sometimes the businesse of one house, and other times the affaires of another, doe hurry you. You pry too neare into all things: herein, as well as els where, your perspicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may mooue me to anger; and remooue from the knowledge of things, that thriue not: yet can I not so vse the matter, but still I stumble (beeing at home) vpon some inconuenience, which displeaseth me. And sleight knaveries, that are most hidden from me, are those I am best acquainted with. Some there are, which to auoyde a further mischiefe, a man must helpe to conceale himselfe: vaine prickings (vaine sometimes) but yet ever prickings. The least and sleightest hindrances, are the sharpest. *And as the smallest letters hurt our eyes most, so the least affaires grieue vs most:* A multitude of slender euils, offendeth more, then the violence of one alone, how great soeuer. Euen as ordinary thornes beeing smale and sharpe, prick vs more sharpely and sans threatning, if on a sudaine we hit vpon them. I am no Philosopher: Euils oppresse me according as they waigh; and waigh according to their forme, as well as accoding to the matter; and often more. I have more insight in them, then the uulgar sort; and so haue I more patience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lye heauy vpon me. Life is a tender thing, and easie to be distempered. Since I beganne to grow towards peeuish age, and by consequence toward frowardnesse, *nemo enim resistit sibi cum ceperit impelli;* For no man stayes himselfe when he is set on going. What ever fond cause hath brought me to it; I prouoke the humour that waye: which afterward by his owne motion is fostred and exasperated, attracting and heaping vp one matter vpon another, to feede it selfe withall.

Stillicidij casus lapidem cauat:

By often falling on,

Euen water breakes a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consume and vlcerate me. Ordinary inconueniences are never light. They are continuall and irreparable, if they continuallye and inseperately aryse from the members of husbandry. When I consider my affaires a farre-off, and in grosse; I finde, be it because I haue no exact memory of them, that hetherto they have thrived beyond my reasons and expectation. Me thinkes I drawe more from them, then there is in them: their good successe betrayeth me. But am I waded into the businesse? See I all these parcels march?

Virg. AEn.
l. 5. 720.

Tum vero in curas animum diducimus omnes.

Then we our minde deuide,

To cares on euery side.

A thousand things therein giue me cause to desire & feare. Wholy to forsake them is very easie vnto me: without toying and vexation altogeather to apply my selfe vnto them; is most hard. It is a pittypull thing, to be in a place, where whatsoever you see, doeth set you a worke and concerne you. And me thinkes, I enioy more blithely and taste more choisely the pleasures of a stranger house, then of mine owne: and both my minde and taste runne more freely and purely on them. *Diogenes* answered according to my humor, when

beeing

being demanded what kinde of Wine he liked best: *Another mans*, sayd he. My father delighted to build at *Montaigne*, where he was borrie: and in all this policie of domestick affaires, I love to make vse of his examples and rules; vnto which I will as much as possible I can tye my successors. Could I doe better for him, I would performe it. I glory his will is at this day practised by me, and doth yet worke in me. God forbid I should ever suffer any image of life to perish vnder my handes, that I may yeelde vnto so good and so kinde a father. If I have vndertaken to finish any olde peece of wall, or repaire any building eyther imperfect or decayde: it hath certainly beene, because I had rather a respect to his intention, then a regarde to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or litherneffe, that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had layde, or beginnings he had leaft in his house: by so much the more, because I am in great likelyhood to be the last possessor of it, namely of my race, and set the last hand vnto it. For, concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is sayde to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hawking, nor gardines, nor such other delights of a retired life, can much embusie or greatly amuse me. It is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions, that are incommodious to me. I care not so much to have them vigorous and learned, as I labour to have them easie and commodious vnto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and sound, if they be profitable and pleasing. Those, who hearing me relate mine owne insufficiencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still whispering in mine eares, that it is but a kinde of disdain, and that I neglect to knowe the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their seasons and orders; how my wines are made, how they graft; and vnderstand or know the names and formes of hearbs, of simples, of frutes, and what belongs to the dressing of meates wherewith I live and whereon I feed; the names & prizes of such stufes I clothe my selfe withall, onely because I doe more seriously take to hart some higher knowledge; bring me in a maner to deaths doore. That is meer sortishnes; & rather brutishnes then glory: I would rather be a cūning horseman, the a good Logician.

*Quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indigat usus,
Diminibus molliq; paras detexere iunco?*

*Virg. buc.
ecl. 2. 71.*

Why rather with soft wings make you not speed
To worke-vp something, whereof there is need?

We hinder our thoughts from the generall and maine point, and from the causes and vniuersall conducts; which are very well directed without vs; and omit our owne businesse; and *Michaell*, who concernes vs nearer then man. Now I most commonly staye at home, but I would please my selfe better there, then any where els.

*Sit mea sedes vrinam Senectæ,
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,*

*Hor. car. l.
2. od. 6. 6.*

Militiaque.

Some repaire and rest to mine olde age I craue,
Iournying, sailing, with a weary warring
O let an end have.

I wote not whether I shall come to an end of it. I would that in lieu of some other part of his succession, my father had resigned me that passionate love and deare affection, which in his aged yeares he bare vnto his household husbandrie. He was very fortunate, in conforming his desires vnto his fortunes, and knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike Philosophie may how it list accuse the basenesse and blame the sterilitie of my occupation, if as he did, I may but once finde the taste of it. I am of this opinion, that the honorablest vacation, is to serue the Common-wealth, and be profitable to many. *Fructus enim ingenij et virtutis, omnisque prestantia, tum maximus accipitur, quum in proximum quemque confertur.* For then is most fruite reaped both of our witte and vertue, and all other excellencie, when it is bestowed vpon our neighbours. As for me I departe from it: Partlye for conscience sake; (for whence I discern the waight, concerning such vacations, I also discover the slender meanes I have to supply them withall: And *Plato* a maister workeman in all politike government omitted not to abstaine from them) partlye for litherneffe. I am well pleased to enioye the worlde, without troubling or pressing my selfe with it; to live a life, onely excusable: and which may neyther bee burthensome to me, nor to any other. Never did man goe more plainelie and careleslie to worke in the

Cicer. Amis.

"
He had a
daughter
but no son

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the care and gouernement of a third man, then I would, had I a ground to worke vpon. One of my wishes at this instant, should be to finde a sonne in lawe, that could handfomlie allure and discretely beguile my olde yeares, and lull them a sleepe; into whose hands I might depose, and in all soueraigntie resign the conduct and managing of my goods; that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gaine vpon them what I gaine: alwayes provided he would but carie a truely-thankfull and friendly minde. But what? we live in a worlde, where the loyaltie of our owne children is not knowne. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travell, hath it freely and without controule: as well might he deceave me in keeping of reckonings. And if he be not a Diuell, I binde him to deale well and honestly, by my carelesse confidence. *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et alijs in peccando suspicando fecerunt.* Many haue taught others to deceave, while themselves feare to be deceaved, and haue giuen them iust cause to offend, by suspecting them vniustly. The most ordinarie assurance I take of my people, is a kinde of disacknowledge or neglect: I neuer presume vices, but after I have seene them: and trust more young men, such as I imagine to be least debauched and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather heare at two moneths end, that I have spent foure hundred crownes, then every night when I should goe to my quiet bed, have mine eares tyred and my minde vexed with three, fiue or seauen. Yet in this kinde of stealing, have I had as little stolne from me as any other: True it is, I lende a helping hand to ignorance. I wittinglye entertaine a kinde of troubled and vncertaine knowledge of my money: Vntill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amisse if you allowe your boye or seruant some small scope for his disloyaltie and indiscretion; If in grosse wee have sufficientlie leaft to bring our matters to passe, this excesse of fortunes-liberalitie; let vs somewhat more suffer it to stand to hir mercie: It is the gleaners fee. After all I esteeme not so much my peoples fidelitie, as I disesteeme their iniurie. Oh base and absurde studie, for a man to studye his money, and please himselfe with handling and coumping the same: for that's the waye whereby couetousnesse maketh hir approaches. Since eightene yeares, that I haue had the full disposing of my goods in mine owne hands, I could never yet bee brought to over-looke, neyther titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principall affaires, that should necessarilie passe through my knowledge and care.

It is no Philosophicall contempt, to neglect worldly and transitorie things: my taste is not so exquisitelye nice; for I value them according to their worthe at least: but true-lye it is an inexcusable sloathfulnesse and childish negligence. What would I not rather doe, then reade a contract? And more willinglye, as a slave to my businesse, with carke to ouer-looke, and care to suruaye a companye of olde-dustie bookes, and plodde vppon mustie writings? and which is worse, other mens, as so many doe daylye for money? I have nothing so deare as care and paine: and I onely endeuoure to become carelesse and retchlesse. I had, in mine opinion, beene fitter (if it might be) to live by others fortune, without bounden dutie or bondage. And yer I wotte not (the matter beeing thoroughly sifted) whether according to my humor and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocket vp at my seruants and familiars handes, hath not more abiection, importunitie and sharpenesse, then the following of another man should haue, better borne then my selfe, and who should guide mee somewhat at mine ease.

Seruitus obedientia est fracti animi et abiecti, arbitrio carentis suo: Seruice is an obedience of an abiect broken hart, that cannot dispose of it selfe. Crates did woofe, who voluntarily cast him selfe into the liberties of povertie, onely to ridde himselfe of the inconueniences, indignities and cares of his house. Which I would not doe: I hate pouertie as much as grieve; yet could I finde in my harte to change this manner of life, with another lesse glorious and not so troublesome. Being absent, I discharge my selfe of all such carefull thoughts, and should lesse feeble the ruinous downe-fall of a Towre, then being present, the fall of a Tile. Alone my minde is easilie freed, but in companie, it endureth as much as a Ploughmans. My horse vncurb'd, his reynes misplaced, or a stirop or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in check a whole day long. I rouze my courage sufficiently against inconuenience; mine eyes, I cannot.

Sensus ò superi sensus!

At home I am ever answerable for whatsoeuer is amisse. Few maisters, (I speake of meane condition, as mine is; whereof if any be, they are the more happy) can so fully rely vpon a second, but still a good part of the burthen shall lie vpon them. That doeth peradventure take some thing from my fashion, in entertaining of guestes or new commers; and happily I have beene able to stay some, more by my kitchin, then by my behaiour or grace: as doe the peevish and fantastick; and I greatly diminish the pleasure I should take in my house, by the visitations and meetings of my friendes. No countenance is so foolish, or so ill becoming a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about his household or domestike affaires; to see him whisper one of his seruants in the eare, and threaten another with his lookes. It should insensibly glide-on, and represent an ordinarye course. And I vtterly dislike, that a man should entertayne his guestes with eyther excusing, or boasting of the entertainment he affordeth them. I loue order and cleanelinesse,

— et cantharus et lanx,

x^s

Hor. l. i
epist. 5. 23.

x^p

Ostendunt mihi me,

My dish, my drinking kanne,

Show me what kinde of man.

well nigh as much as plenty: In mine owne house I exactly looke vnto necessity, little vnto state, and lesse vnto ornament. If your neighbours seruant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be ouerthrowne, you but laugh at it: you sleepe quietly whilst Sir such a one is busie casting vp of accoumpts, and over seeing his stocke with his steward, and all about your prouision for to morrow. I speake according to mine opinion: omitting not in generall to thinke, how pleasing an amusemēt it is to certayne natures, to see a quiet and prosperous household, directed by a formall and guided by a regulare order. But not intending to fasten myne owne errors and inconueniences to the matter: Nor to gaine say *Plato*, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow, is, to apply himselfe to his owne priuate businesse, without iniustice. When I iourney, I haue nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my mony is laide out: which is disposed with one only precept. Over many partes are required in hoarding and gathering of goods: I haue no skill in it. In spending, I haue some knowledge, and how to give my expences day; which indeede is it's principall vse. But I attend it ouer ambitiously, which makes it both vnequall and deformed: and besides that immoderate in one and other visage. If it appeare and make a good show, if it serue the turne, I indiscretely goe after it; and as indiscretely restraine my selfe, if it shine or smile not vpon me. Whatsoeuer it bee, eyther arte or nature, that imprints this condition of life into vs, by relation to others; it doeth vs much more hurt then good. In going about to frame apparances according to the common oppinion, we defraude our selues of our owne profits. Wee care not so much, what our state, or how our being is, in vs and in effect, as we doe how and what it is, in the publique knowledge of others. Euen the goodes of the minde, and wisdom it selfe, seeme fruitlesse vnto vs, if onely enioyed by vs: except it bee set foorth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some, whose golde runnes by streames in places vnderground, and that imperceptible: others extend the same in plates and leaves: So that to some, pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the worlde iudging the employment and value, according to the outward showe. All ouer-nice care and curious heede about riches, hath a touch or a taste of auarice. Even their dispensing and over regulare and artificiall lyberalities are not worthe a warye heede-taking, and counteruayle not a paynfull diligence. Who so will make his expence even and iust, makes it strict and forced. Eyther close-keeping, or employing of monye, are in themselues thinges indifferent; and admitte no cullour of good or euill, but according to the applycation of our will. The other cause that drawes me to these iourneyes or vagaries, is the dissent or disparitie in the present manners of our state: I could easily comfort my selfe with this corruption, in regard of the publike interest;

— peioraque sacula ferri,
Temporibus, quorum sceleri non inuenit ipsa
Nomen, et a nullo posuit natura metallo.

Iuuen. sat.
13. 28.

The third Booke.

Times worse then times of Iron, for whose bad frame
And wickednesse eu'n nature findes no name,
Nor hath from any mettall set the same.

But not for mine owne: I am in particular ouer-pressed by it. For round about where I dwell, we are, by the ouer-long licentiousnes of our intestine ciuill warres almost growneould, in so licentious and riotous a forme of state,

Virg. Geor.
l. 1. 505.

*Quippe ubi fas verum atque nefas;
As where of good and bad,
There is no difference had.*

That in good trueth, it were a wonder, if it should continue and maintaine it selfe.

Virg. AEn.
l. 9. 612.

*Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes
Connectare iuuat pradas, et viuere rapto.
They armed plow the land, and ioy to driue,
And draw new booties, and on rapine lue.*

To conclude, I see by our example, that the societie of men doth hould and is sewed together, at what rate soeuer it be: where euer they be placed, in mouing & closing, they are ranged and stowed together; as vneuen and rugged bodies, that orderles are hudled in some close place, of them selues finde the way to be vnited and ioynd together one with another: and many times better, then arte could haue disposed them. King *Philip* assembled a rable of the most lewd reprobate and incorrigible men he could finde out, all which he placed in a Citie, which of purpose he had caused to be built for them, of whom it bare the name. I imagine, that euen of their vices, they erected a politike contexture amongst themselves, and a commodious and iust societie. I see not one action, or three, or a hundred, but euen diuers manners, admitted and commonly vsed: so extrauagant (namely in disloyaltie) and so barbarous in inhumanitie, which in my conceite, are the worst and most execrable kinde of vices, that I haue not the hart so much as to conceaue them without horror: All which I in a manner admire as much as I detest. The exercise of these egregious villanies, beareth a brand of vigore and hardinesse of minde, as much as of error and irregulare confusion. Necessitie composeth, and assemblith men together. This casuall combining is afterward framed into lawes. For, there haue beene some as barbarously-sauage, as humane opinion could possible produce, which notwithstanding haue kept their bodies in as good health and state, in long life, as those of *Plato* or *Aristotle* could doe. And to say true, all these descriptions of policie, fained by arte and supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish, to be put in practise. These great and long-continuing altercations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious rules to vnite vs together, are altercations onely proper for the exercise of our wit: As in artes, diuers subiects are found, that haue no essence but in agitation and disputing, without which they haue no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of gouernment, were to be established in a new world; but we take a world alreadie made and formed to certaine customes: we engender not the same as *Pyrrha*, nor beget it as *Cadmus*. By what meanes soeuer we haue the priuiledge to re-creat and range the same anew, we can very hardly wrest it from the accustomed habit and folde it hath taken, except we breake all. *Solon* being demaunded, whether he had established the best lawes he could for the *Athemians*: answered, yea of those they would haue receaued: with such a shift doth *Varro* excuse him selfe; saying, that if he were newly to be ginne to write of religion, he would plainely tell what his beleefe were of it: But being alreadie receiued, he will speake more of it according to custome, then to nature. Not to speake by opinion, but consonant to trueth, the most excellent and best policie, for any nation to obserue, is that vnder which it hath maintained it selfe. It's forme and essentiall commoditie doth much depend of custome. We are easily displeased with the present condition: yet do I hould that to wish the gouernment of few, in a popular estate: or in a Monarchie, another kinde of policie, it is a manifest vice and meere follie.

Pibrac.

*Ayme l'estat tel que tu le uois estre,
S'il est royall ayme la royauté,
S'il est de peu, ou bien communauté,
Ayme l'aussi, car Dieu t'y a fait naistre.*

Loue thou the state, as thou see'st it to be,
If it be Regall, love the royall race,
If of a few, or common-weale, embrace
It as it is; borne there God pointed thee.

So was the good Lorde of *Pibrac* wonte to speake of it, whome we have lately lost: a man of so quaint and rare witte, of so sound iudgement and of so milde and affable behaiour. The vntimely losse of whome, with that of the Lorde of *Foin*, both fatallie hapning to vs at one time, are surelie losses of great consequence vnto our crowne. I wotte not well, whether *France*, amongst all the men it hath least, is able to affoorde vs two such other Gentlemen, as may cyther in sinceritie and worthe, or in sufficiencie and iudgement, for the counsell of our Kings, matche these two Gascoynes. They were two mindes diuerslie faire, and verilye, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and gloriousslie shining, every one in hir forme. But alas, what destenie had placed them on the Theater of this age, so dissonant and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so farre from agreeing with our tumultuous stormes? Nothing dooth so neerelie touche and so much overlaye an estate, as innouation; *Onelye change dooth giue forme to iniustice, and scope to tyrannie*. If some one piece bee out of square, it may be vnderpropt: one may oppose himselfe against that, which the alteration, incident, and corruption, naturall to all things, dooth not too-much elonge and drawe vs from our beginnings and grounded principles: But to vndertake to re-errect and found againe so huge a masse, and change or remooue the foundations of so vaste a frame, belongeth onely to them, who in steed of purging, deface, and in lieu of cleansing, scrape out: that will amende particular faultes by an vniuersall confusion, and cure diseases by death: *Non tam commutandum quam euertendarum rerum cupidi. Not so desirous to have things altered, as overthrowne*. The worlde is fondlye vnapt to cure it selfe: So impacient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it onely aymeth to ridde it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. We see by a thousand examples, that it dooth ordinarilye cure it selfe at it's owne charges: *To bee freedde from a present euill, is no perfect cure, except there bee a generall amendment of condition*. The ende of a skilfull Chirurghion, is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and adressing of his cure: he aymeth further, that is, to make the naturall to growe againe, and reduce the party to his due becing and quality. Whoever proposeth onely to remooue what gnaweth him, shall be to seeke: for good doth not necessarily succede euill: another, yea a worthe euill may succede it. As it hapned vnto *Cesares* murtherers, who brought the common-wealth to so distressefull a plunge, that they repented themselues, they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortunated to dyuers, yea in our dayes. The French that liue in my times, know very well what to speake of such matters. *All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and shake a state very much*. He that should rightly respect a sound recovery or absolute cure, and before all other things throughly consult about it, might happily grow slacke in the businesse, and beware how he set his hand vnto it. *Pacinnus Calauinus* corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable example. His fellow Citizens had mutined against their magistrates; He becing a man of imminent authority in the City of *Capua*, found one daye the meanes to shut vp the Senate in the Guildehall or Pallace, then calling the people together in the market place, tolde them; That the day was now come, wherein with full and vnresisted liberty, they might take vengeance of the tyrants, that had so long and so many wayes oppressed them, all which hee had now at his mercye, alone and vnarmed. His opinion was, that orderly by lots, they should be drawne out one after another: which done, they might particularly dispose of euery one: and whatsoever should bee decreede of them, should immediatlye be executed vppon the place; provided they should therewithall presently aduise and resolute to nominate and establishe some honest and vndetected man, to supplie the roome of the condemned, least their Citie should remayne voyde of due officers. To which they graunted, and heard no sooner the name of a Senator read, but a loude exclamation of a generall discontent was raysed against him: which *Pacinnus* perceauing, he requested silence, and thus bespake them. My country men, I see very well, that man must be cut-off, hee is a pernicious

*Pacinnus
Calauinus*

5

ous and wicked member ; but let vs have an other sound-good man in his place ; and whome would you name for that purpose ? This vnexpected speech bred a distracted silence ; each one finding himselfe to seeke and much confounded in the choise . Yet one, who was the bouldest-impudent amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest ; who was no sooner heard, but a generall consent of voyces, louder then the first, followed, all refusing him : as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull causes and iust obiections, vtterly to reject him . These contradicting humours growing more violent and whott, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurlic-burly in drawing of the second and third Senator, and in naming and choosing their successors ; about which they could never agree . As much disorder and more confusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demission and displasing . About which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearied themselues, they began, some heare, some there, to scatter and steale-away from the assemblie : Every one with this resolution in his minde, that *the ouldest and best knowne euill, is ever more tollerable, then a fresh and vnexperienced mischiefe*. By seeing our selues pitiouslie tossed in continuall agitation : for what have we not done ?

Hor. car. l.
1 ad. 95. 33

*Eheu cicarricum et sceleris pudet,
Fratrumq; : quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas ? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus ? unde manus inuentus
Metu Decorum continuit ? quibus
Pepercit aris ?*

Alas for shame of wickednesse and scarres
Of brother-country-men in ciuill warres.
We of this hardned world, what doe we shunne ?
What have we execrable least vndone ?
To set their hand whereto hath youth not dared
For feare of Gods ? what altars hath it spared ?

I am not very suddaine in resoluing or concluding.

Ter. Adel.
act. 4. sc. 7.

xp

*ipsa si velit salus,
Seruare prorsus non potest hanc familiam ;*
This familie if safetie would
Keepe safe, I doe not thinke it could.

Yet are we not peradventure come vnto our last period. The preferuation of states, is a thing in all likelyhood exceeding our vnderstanding . A ciuill policie (as *Plato* saith) is a mightie and puissant matter, and of very harde and difficult dissolution ; it often indureth against mortall and intestine diseases : yea against the iniurie of vniust lawes, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of Magistrates, and against the licentiousnesse and sedition of the people. In all our fortunes, we compare our selues to that which is above vs, and looke towards those that are better . Let vs measure our selues by that which is beneath vs, there is no creature so miserable-wretched, but findes a thousand examples to comforte himselfe withall . It is our fault, that we more vnwillinglie behould what is above vs, then willinglie what is beneath vs. And *Solon* sayde, that should a man heape vp in one masse all euils together, there is none, that would not rather choose to carrie back with him such euils as he already hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of euils, and take his allotted share of them . Our Common-wealth is much crazed, and out of tune . Yet have diuers others beene more dangerouslie-sick, and have not dyde . The Gods play at hand-ball with vs, and toss vs vp and downe on all hands, *Enimvero Dij nos homines quasi pilas habent* . The Gods perdye doe reckon and racket vs men as their tennis-balles . The destinies haue fatallie ordained the state of Rome, for an exemplare patterne of what they can do in this kind. It containeth in it selfe all formes and fortunes that concerne a state : whatsoeuer order, trouble, good or bad fortune may in any sorte effect in it. What man may iustly dispaire of his condition, seeing the agitations, troubles, alterations, turmoyles and motions, wherewith it was tossed too and fro, and which it indured ? If the extension of rule, and farre-spredding domination, be the perfect health of a state, of which opinion I am not in any wise (and *Isocrates* dooth greatly

Great States
are hardly
brought to naught

Plaut. capt.
Prol.

greatly please me, who instructeth *Nicocles*, not to enuie those Princes, who haue large dominations; but such as can well maintaine and orderlye preserve those that haue beene hereditarie escheated vnto them) that of *Rome* was neuer so sound; as when it was most sicke and distempred. The worste of it's forme, was to it the most fortunate. A man can hardly distinguish or knowe the image of any policie vnder the first Emperors; it was the most horrible and turbulent confusion that could bee conceaued; which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued; preserving; not a Monarchie bounded in his limites, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so euill affected, so confusedly commanded, and so vniustly conquered.

*nec gentibus ullis
Commodat in populum terræ pelagiq; potentem,
Inuidiam fortuna suam.*

Lucret. l. 3.
82.

Fortune doth to no other nation lend
Enuie, against that people force to bend,

Which both by land and sea their force extend.

All that shaketh doth not fall: The contexture of so vaste a frame holds by more then one nail. It holds by it's antiquitie: as olde buildings, which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or morter, and neverthelesse live and subsist by their owne waight,

*nec iam validis radicibus hærent
Pondere tutæ suo est.*

Ibid. 138.

Though now to no strong roote it sticke so fast,
Yet is it safe by selfe-waight, and will last.

Moreouer he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely suruayes the flankes and dykes: to iudge well of the strength of a place; he must heedily marke how, and view which way it may be approached, and in what state the assailant stands. Few vessels sinke with their owne waight, and without some extraordinary violence. Cast we our eyes about vs, and in a generall suruay consider all the world; all is tottring; all is out of frame. Take a perfect view of all great states both in Christendome and where euer els we haue knowledge of, and in all places you shall finde a most euidēt threatning of change and ruine;

*Et sua sunt illis incommoda, parque per omnes
Tempestas.*

Their discommodities they knowe:

One storme alike ore-all doth growe.

Astrologers may sport themselues, with warning vs, as they doe of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions: their diuinations are present and palpable, we need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. We are not onely to drawe comfort, from this vniuersall aggregation of euils and threats; but also some hope for the continuance of our state: forso-much as naturally, nothing falleth, where all things fall: a generall disease is a particular health: Conformitie is a qualitie enemie to dissolution. As for me, I nothing dispaire of it, and me thinks I already perceauē some starting hoales to save vs by:

*Deus hac fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice.*

Hor. epod.
13. 10.

It may be, God with gracious entercourse,
Will re-establishe these things in their course.

Who knowes, whether God hath determined it shall happen of them, as of bodies that are purged, & by long-griuous sicknesses brought to a better & sounder state; which throughly-purged diseases doe afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely-perfect health, then that they tooke from them? That which grieueth me most, is, that coumpting the symphonies or affects of our euil, I see as many meerly proceeding of nature, and such as the heauens sends vs and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne surfet, or excessse, or misdyet, or humane indiscretion confer vpon vs. The very Planets seeme orderly to declare vnto vs, that we haue continued long enough, yea and beyond our ordinary limits. This also grieues me, that the nearest euill threatning vs, is not a distemper or alteration in the whole and solide masse, but a dissipation and diuision of it: the extreamest of our feares. And even in these fantastickall humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treason of my memorie, least vnwarily it haue made me to register some things twise. I hate to correct

and agnize my selfe, & can neuer endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I here set downe nothing that is new or lately found-out. They are vulgar imaginations; & which peraduenture having bin conceived a hundred times, I feare to have already enrouled them. Repetition is ever tedious, were it in *Homer*: But yrkesome in things, that have but one superficial and transitory show. I am nothing pleased with inculcation or wresting-in of matters, be it in profitable things, as in *Seneca*. And the manner of his Stoike schoole displeaseth me, which is, about every matter, to repeate at large, & from the beginning to the end, such principles and presuppositions, as serue in generall: and euery hand-while to re-aleadge anew the common arguments, and vniuersall reasons. My memorie doth dayly growe worse and worse, and is of late much empai red:

Hor. Epod.
14-3.

Pocula lethæos ut si ducentia somnos.

Arenæ faucē traxerim.

As though with drye lips I had drunke that vp,
Which drawes oblivions sleepe in drowfie cup.

I shall henceforward be faine (for hitherto thanks be to God, no capitall fault hath hapned) whereas others seeke time and occasion, to premeditate what they have to say, that I auoide to prepare my selfe, for feare I should tye my selfe to some strict bond, on which I must depend. To be bound and tide doth somewhat distract me: namely when I am wholly to relye and depend on so weake an instrument, as is my memorie. I neuer read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. *Lynceſtez* being accused of a conspiracie against *Alexander*, the very same day, that according to custome, he was led forth in presence of all the armie, to be heard in his owne defence, had in his minde a premeditated oration, which he had studiouſlie learn't by rote; whereof, stammering and faltring, hauing vttered some words: And wresting with his memory, and striving to run it over againe, he was suddainly charged by the soldiers that were about him & slaine with pikes; as they who held him to be convicted. His amazement and silence, serued them as a confession. For they supposed, that having had so long leasure in prison to prepare himselfe, it was not (as they thought) his memory failed him, but his guiltie conscience bridled so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly wel spoken, The very place, the company & expectation astonieth a man, when he most aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe, when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence? As for me, if I be tide vnto a prescript kinde of speaking, what bindes me to it, doth also loose me from it, when I have committed and wholly assigned my selfe vnto my memory; I so strongly depend on the same, that I overwhelme it: she faints vnder her owne burthen. So much as I refer my selfe vnto her, so much am I deuied from my selfe: vntill I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine, in concealing the bondage wherevnto I was engaged: whereas my disſigne is, in speaking, to represent a maine carelesnesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and vnpremeditated, or casuall motions as rising of present occasions; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make show I came prouided to speake wel: a thing above all vnseemely, to men of my profession, and of over strict an obligation, to one that cannot holde much: *Preparation gives more to hope, then it brings with it.* A man doth often strip himselfe into his doblet, to leape shorter, then he did in his gowne. *Nihil est his, qui placere volunt, tam aduersarium, quam expectatio.* There is none so great an enemy to them that would please, as expectation. It is written of *Curio* the Orator, that when he proposed the distribution of the partes of his oration, into three or foure; or the number of his arguments and reasons, it was his ordinary custome, either to forget some one, or adde one or two more vnto it. I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconuenience: as one hating these selfe-promises and prescriptions: Not onely for the distrust of my memory; but also because this forme drawes over neare vnto an artifice. *Simpliciora militares decet. Plaine wordes and manners become Martialists.* Sufficeth, I have now made a vow vnto my selfe, no more to vnder-take the charge, to speake in any place of respect: For, to speake in reading what one hath written; besides that it is most foolish & absurde, it is a matter of great disaduantage to such as by nature were interrested or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my present inuention, much lesse: I have it by nature so dull & troubled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in suddaine, and stead me in important necessities. May it please the gentle reader, to suffer this one part of Essay to runne on, and this third

straine

straine or addition of the rest of my pictures peeces. I adde, but I correct not: First, because he who hath hypothekised or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparance, that he hath no longer right in the same: let him, if he be able, speake better els where, and not corrupt the worke he hath already made sale-off: Of such people, a man should buy nothing, but after they are dead: let them thoroughly thinke on it, before they produce the same. Who hastens them? My booke is alwayes one: except that according as the Printer goes about to renew it, that the buier depart not altogether empty-handed, I give my selfe law to adde thereto (as it is but vncoherent checkie, or ill ioyned in-laid-worke) some supernumerall embleme. They are but ouer-waights, which disgrace not the first forme, but giue some particular price vnto euery one of the succeeding, by an ambitious pettie subtilty. Whence notwithstanding, it may easily happen, that some transposition of chronology is thereto commixt: my reportes taking place according to their opportunity, and not euer according to their age. Secondly, for so much as in regard of my selfe, I feare to lose by the exchange: My vnderstanding doth not alwayes goe forward, it sometimes goes also backward: I in a manner distrust mine owne fantasies as much, though second or third, as I doe when they are the first; or present, as past. *We many times correct our selues as foolishly, as we taxe others vnadvisedly.* I am growne aged by a number of yeares since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure score. But I doubt whether I be encreased one inch in wisdom. My selfe now, and my selfe anon, are indeede two; but when better, in good sooth I cannot tell. *It were a goodly thing to be olde, if we did onely march towardes amendment.* It is the motion of a drunkard, stumbling, reeling, giddie-brain'd, formeles; or of reedes, which the ayre dooth casually waue to and fro, what way it bloweth. *Antiochus* in his youth, had stoutly and vehemently written in fauor of the Academy; but being olde he changed copy, and writ as violently against it: which of the two I should follow, should I not euer follow *Antiochus*? Hauing once established a doubt, to attempt to confirme the certainty of humane opinions, were it not an establishing of a doubt; and not of the certainty? & promise, that had he had another age given him with assurance to liue, he should euer have bin in termes of new agitations; not so much better, as other and different? Publike fauor hath giuen me some more bouldnes, then I hoped for: but the thing I feare most, is to breed a glutting society. I would rather spur, then bee weary. As a wise man of my time hath done. Commendation is ever pleasing, fro whom, from whence, or wherefore soeuer it come: yet ought a man be informed of the cause, if he will iustly please and applaude himselfe therewith. Imperfections themselves haue their meanes to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation, is little happy if it come to encounter: And I am deceiued, if in my dayes, the worst compositions and absurdest bookes haue not gained the credit of popular breath. Verily I am much beholding to diuers honest men, and I thanke them, that vouchsafe to take my endeouours in good parte. There is no place where the defects of the fashion doe so much appeare, as in a matter, that in it selfe hath nothing to recommend it. Good reader blame not me, for those that passe here, eyther by the fantazie or vnwarinesse of others: for euery hand, each workman, brings his owne vnto them. I neither meddle with orthographie (and would onely haue them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointing: I haue small experience in either. Where they altogether breake the sence, I little trouble my selfe therewith; for at least they discharge me. But where they will wrest-in and substitute a false sence (as often they do) and wyre-draw me to their conceits, then they spoile me. Neverthelesse, when the sentence is not strong or sinnowie according to my meaning, an honest man may reject it to be mine. He that shall know how little laborious I am, & how framed after mine owne fashion, will easilie beleue, I would rather endite anew, as many more other Essayes, then subiect my selfe to trace these over againe, for this childish correction. I was saying erewhile, that being plunged in the deepest mine of this new kinde of metall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different customes from mine; and other opinions, by which they holde together by a knot, commanding all other knots: but am not also without some hazard, amongst those, with whome all things are equally lawfull: most of which cannot now a dayes empaire their market, towarde our iustice: whence the extreame degree of licenciousnesse proceedeth. Casting over all the particulare circumstances that concerne me, I finde no one man of ours, to whome the inhibition of our lawes costeth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or

The third Booke.

The state of
his own fa-
mily during
of Long war-
res in France
see 580

in losse appearing (as Lawyers say) more then vnto my selfe. And some there be, that in chollerike heate and humorous furie will cracke and vaunte much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once wee come to an equall ballance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great haunte and officious in entertayning all sortes of people (for I could neuer bee induced, to make an implement of warre thereof: which I perceau much more willingly to bee sought-out and flocked vnto, where it is furthest from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affe&tion: and it were a harde matter to gourmandize my selfe vppon mine owne dung-hill: And I repute it a wonderfull and exemplare strangenesse, that having vndergone so many stormie-wracks, so diuers changes and tumultuous-neighbour agitations, it doth yet to this day continue free, and (as I may say) an vndefiled Virgine from shedding of blood, spoile or sacking. For, to say true, it was possible for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoeuer it was. But the contrary inuasions, hostile incursions, alternations and vicissitudes of fortune, round about me, have hetherto more exasperated, then mollified the humour of the countrie: & recharge me with dangers and invincible difficulties. I haue escaped. But it grieueth me that it is rather by fortune; yea and by my discretion then by justice: And it vexeth me, to be without the protection of the lawes and vnder any other safegarde, then theirs. As things now stand, I liue more then halfe by the fauour of others; which is a seuer obligation. I would not be endebted for my safetie, neither to the goodnesse, nor to the goodwill of other great men, which applaude themselves with my libertie and legalitie; nor to the facilitie of my predecessors or mine owne manners: for, what if I were other then I am? If my demeanor, the libertie of my conuersation, or happily alliance, binde my neighbours: it is a crueltie, that they should acquit themselues of it, in suffering me to liue, and that they may say; we giue him a free and vndisturbed continuation of devine seruire, in the chaple of his house, whilst all other Churches round about him, are by vs prophaned and deserted; and we freely allowe and pardon him the fruition of his goods and vse of his life, as he maintaineth our wiues, and in time of neede keepeth our cattle. It is long since, that in my house, we have a share in *Lycurgus* the Athenians praise, who was the generall storier, depositarie and guardian of his fellow-cittizens goods and purses. I am now of opinion, that a man must live by lawe and authoritie, and not by recompence or grace. How many gallant men have rather made choise to loose their life, then bee indebted for the same? I shunne to submit my selfe to any manner of obligation. But above all, to that which bindes me by dutye or bondes of honour. *I finde nothing so deare, as what is given me: and that because my will remaines engaged by a title of ingratitude:* And I more willingly receaue such offices, as are to bee sold. A thing easie to bee beleaved; for these I give nothing but money; but for those, I give my selfe. The bonde that houldes mee by the lawe of honestie, seemeth to mee much more vrgent and forcible, then that of ciuill compulsion. I am more gentlye tide by a Notarie, then by my selfe. Is it not reason, that my conscience bee much more engaged to that, wherein shee hath simplie and onely beene trusted? Els, my faith oweth nothing; for shee hath had nothing lent hir. Let one helpe himselfe with the confidence or assurance he hath taken from me. *I would much rather breake the prison of a wall or of the lawes, then the bonde of my worde.* I am nicelie scrupulous in keeping of my promises, nay almost superstitious; and in all subiects I commonly passe them vncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no waigh-tie consequence, I adde force with the iealousie of my rule: shee rackes and chargeth me with hir owne interrest. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogether mine owne and free, if I speake the worde, or name the pointe, me thinkes I prescribe the same vnto me: and that, to giue it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it vnto himselfe. Me seemes I absolutely promise, when I speake it. Thus I make but small bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe, is more moouing, forcible and seuer, then that of the iudges, who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation: the constraint of my conscience is more rigorous and more strictly seuer: I faintly followe those duties, to which I should be haled, if I did not goe to them. *Hoc ipsum ita instum est quod rectè fit, si est voluntarium.* This is so iust as it is well done, if it be voluntarie. If the action have no glimps of libertie, it hath neither grace nor honour.

Promises
well performed

Cic. off. l. 1.

Quod

* *Quod me ius cogit, vix voluntate impetrent.*

Ter. Add.
act. 3. sc. 4.

What law enforceth me to doe,
By will they can scarce winne me to.

Where necessity drawes me, I love to relent my will. *Quia quicquid imperio cogitur, exigenti magis, quam præsianti acceptum refertur.* For whatsoever is enforced by command, is more imputed to him that exacteth then in him that performeth. I know some, that follow this aire, even vnto iniustice: They will rather give, then restore; sooner lend, then pay; and more sparingly doe good to him, to whome they are bound to doe it. I bend not that way, but am mainly against it. I love so much to disoblige and discharge my selfe, that I have sometimes esteemed as profit, the ingratitude, the offences, and indignities, I had received of those, to whom either by nature or accident, I was by way of friendship somewhat behoulding: taking the occasion of their fault for a quittance and discharge of my debt. Although I continue to pay them the apparant offices with common reason; I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by iustice, which I did by affection, and somewhat to ease my selfe with the attention and diligence of my inward will. *Est prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentia.* It is a wisemans part to keepe a hand as on the course, so on the carter of his good-will: Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too vrgent and ouer-pressing: at least for a man that by no meanes would be enthroned. Which husbandry standes me in steade of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeede I am much displeased, they should thereby be of lesse worth: but so it is, that I also save some thing of my engagement & application towards them. I allow of him, that loues his childe so much the lesse, by how much more he is either deformedly crooked, or scald-headed: And not onely when he is knauish or shrewd, but also being vnluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abated of his worth and naturall estimation) alwayes provided, that in such a colde and sleight affection, he beare himselfe with moderation and exact iustice. In me, proximity of blood doth nothing diminish, but rather aggrauate defects. After all, according to the skill I have in the knowledge of benefites and thankfulnessse, which is a knowledge very subtile and of great vse, I see no man more free and lesse indebted, then hitherto I am my selfe. What euer I owe, the same I owe simply to common and naturall obligations. There is no man more absolutely quit and cleare els whence.

Cic. de
Amic.

Xp

— *nec sunt mihi nota potuerunt*

arroganter dictum

Munera.

With gifts I am not much acquainted,
Of mighty men, and much lesse tainted.

Princes give me sufficiently, if they take nothing from me, and doe me much good, if they doe me no hurt: it is all I require of them. Oh how much am I behoulding to God, for so much as it hath pleased him, that whatsoever I enioy, I have immediately receaued the same from his grace: that he hath particularly reserued all my debt vnto himselfe. I most instantly beseech his sacred mercy, that I may never owe any man so much as one essentiall God-a-mercy. Oh thrife fortunate liberty, that hath brought me so farre. May it end successfully. I endeavour to have no manner of neede of any man. *In me omnis spes est mihi.* All my hope for all my helpe is my selfe. It is a thing that every man may effect in himselfe: but they more easily, whom God hath protected and sheltred from naturall and vrgent necessities. Indeede it is both lamentable and dangerous, to depend of others. Our selues, which is the safest and most lawfull refuge, are not very sure vnder our selues. I have nothing that is mine owne but my selfe: yet is the possession thereof partly defective and borrowed. I manure my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things els should forsake me, I might finde some thing, wherewith to please and satisfie my selfe. *Eleus Hippias* did not onely store himselfe with learning, that in time of neede he might ioyfully withdraw himselfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company: nor onely with the knowledge of Philosophy, to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispose of him, manfully to passe ouer such incommodities, as exteriorly might come vnto him. But moreouer he was so curious in learning to dresse his meate, to notte his haire, to make his clothes, breeches & shooes, that as much as could possible be, he might wholly rely & trust to himselfe & be freed from all foraine helpe. A man doth more freely and more blithely enioy borrowed goods: when it is not a bounden iouissance and constrained

superbe religiosus

constrained through neede : and that a man hath in his will the powre, and in his fortune the meanes to live without them. I know my selfe well. But it is very hard for me to imagine any liberalitie of another body so pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie so free, so hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tirranicall, disgraced and attended on by reproche, if so were that necessitie had forced and tide me vnto it. *As to giue is an ambitious qualitie, and of prerogative, so is taking a qualitie of submission.* Witnesse the iniurious & pick-thanke refusal, that *Baiazeth* made of the presents which *Themir* had sent him. And those which in the behalfe of *Soliman* the Emperour were sent to the Emperour of *Calcut*, did so vex him at the hart, that he did not onely vtterly reject and scornfully refuse them; saying, that neither himselfe nor his predecessors before him, were accustomed to take any thing, and that their office was rather to give; but besides he caused the Ambassadors, to that end sent vnto him, to be cast into a deepe dungeon. When *Theris* (saith *Aristotle*) flattereth *Iupiter*: when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend to put them in minde of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have receaved of them. Those I see familiarly to employe and make vse of all men, to begge and borrowe of all men, and engage themselves to all men, would doubtlesse never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tasted they as I have done, the sweete content of a pure and vndepending libertie: and if therewithall (as a wiseman ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himselfe into such an obligation, or libertie-depriving bond. It may happily be paide sometimes, but it can never be vtterly dissolued. It is a cruell bondage, to him that loveth, throughly and by all meanes to have the free scope of his libertie. Such as are best and most acquainted with me, knowe, whether euer they sawe any man living, lesse soliciting, lesse craving, lesse importuning or lesse begging, then I am, or that lesse employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, sithence so many parts of my humours or manners contribute therevnto. As a naturall kinde of stuborneesse; an impacience to be denide; a contraction of my desires and desseignes; and an insufficiencie or vntowardlinesse in all manner of affaires; but above all, my most fauoured qualities, lethall sloathfulnessse, and a genuine libertie. By all which meanes, I have framed an habite, mortally to hate, to be behoulding to any creature els, or to depend of other, then vnto and of my selfe. True it is, that before I employe the beneficence or liberalitie of an other, in any light or waightie occasion, small or vrgent neede soever: I doe to the vtmost powre employe all that ever I am able, to auoide and forbear it. My friends doe strangely importune and molest me, when they sollicite and vrge me to entreate a third man. And I deeme it a matter of no lesse charge and imputation, to disingage him that is endebted vnto me, by making vse of him, then to engage my selfe vnto him that oweth me nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any comberfome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre vnto all manner of carke and care) I am commodiously easie and ready in times of any bodies necessitie. And I have also more auoyded to receiue, then sought to giue: which (as *Aristotle* saith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefite others, and that little she hath bestowed me, the same hath she also meanelly and indifferently placed. Had shee made me to be so borne, that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I would then have beene ambitious in procuring to be beloved, but never to be feared or admired. Shall I expresse it more insolentlie? I would haue had as much regarde vnto pleasing, as vnto profitting. *Cyrus* doth most wiselye, and by the mouth of an excellent Captaine and also a better Philosopher, esteeme his bountie and prise his good deedes, farre beyonde his valour and about his warlike conquests. And *Scipio* the elder, wheresoever he seeketh to prevaile and set forth himselfe, rateth his debonairitie and valueth his humanitie about his courage and beyond his victories: and hath ever this glorious saying in his mouth: *That hee hath left his enemies as much cause to loue him, as his friends.* I will therefore say, that if a man must thus owe any thing, it ought to bee vnder a more lawfull title, then that whereof I speake, to which the lawe of this miserable warre dooth engage me; and not of so great a deabt, as that of my totall preservation and whole estate: which dooth vnreparable over-whelme mee. I haue a thousand times gone to bedde in mine house, imagining I should the verye same night, eyther have beene betrayde or slaine in my bedde: compounding

a strange nature

compounding and conditioning with fortune, that it might be without apprehension of fearefull astonishment and languishment; And after my prayers, have cride out,

Impius hac tam culta non alia miles habebit?

Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest

By godlesse souldiers be posselt?

Virg. eclog.

1.11.

What remedie? It is the place where my selfe, and most of my ancestors were borne: there-in have they placed their affection and their name. *We harden our selues vnto whatsoeuer we accustome our selues.* And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custome hath beene a most fauourable present, given vs by nature, which encreth and lulleth our sence a sleepe, to the suffering of diuers euils: Civill warres have this one thing worse, then other warres, to cause every one of vs to make a watch-towre of his owne house.

Quam miserum, porta vitam muroq; tueri,

Vixque sua tutum viribus esse domus!

Ouid. Trist.

1.4. el. 1.69

How harde with gate and wall our life to garde,

And scarce be safe in our owne houses barde!

It is an ykefome extremitie, for one to be troubled and pressed even in his owne household and domesticall rest. The place wherein I dwell, is ever both the first and last to the batterie of our troubles; and where peace is never absolutely discerned,

Tum quoque cum pax est, trepidant formidine belli.

Lucan. l.1.

256.

Eu'n when in peace they are,

They quake for feare of warre.

— *quoniam pacem fortuna lacessit;*

Hac iter est bellis, melius fortuna dedisses

Orbe sub Eo sedem, gelidæque sub Arcto,

Errantesq; domos.

Ibid. 252.

As oft as fortune troubleth peace, their race

Warres makes this waye: fortune with better grace,

In th'Esterne world thou shouldst have giv'n them place,

Or wandring tents for warre, vnder the colde North-starre.

I sometimes draw the meanes to strengthen my selfe against these considerations, from carelesnesse & idlenesse: which also in some sort bring vs vnto resolution. It often befalleth me, with some pleasure, to imagine what mortal dangers are, & to expect them. I do even hood-wink't, with my head in my bosome & with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death, without considering or knowing it, as into a deepe, hollow & bottomlesse abisse, which at one leape doth swallow me vp, and at an instant doth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of insipiditie & indolencie. And in these short, suddaine or violent deaths, the consequence I fore-see of them, affoordes me more comfort, then the effect of feare. They say, that *eu'n as life is not the best, because it is long, so death is the best, because it is short.* I estrange not my selfe so much by being dead, as I enter into confidence with dying. I enwrap and throwd my selfe in that storme, which shall blinde and furiously wrap me, with a ready and insensible charge. Yea if it hapned (as some gardners say) that those Roses and Violets are ever the sweeter & more odoriferous, that grow neere vnder Garlike and Onions, forsomuch as they suck and draw all the ill fauours of the ground vnto them: so that these depraved natures, would drawe & suck all the venome of mine ayre, and infection of my climate; and by their neerenesse vnto me, make me so much the better and purer; that I might not loole all. That is not; but of this, something may be, forsomuch as goodnesse is the fairer and more attracting when it is rare, and that contrariety stiffneth, and diuerstie encloseth well-doing in it selfe, and by the iealousie of opposition and glory, it doth inflame it. Theeves and stealers (godamercie their kindnesse) have in particular nothing to say to me: no more have I to them. I should then haue to do with over many sorts of men. *Alike consciences lurke vnder diuers kinds of garments: Alike crueltie, disloyaltie and stealing.* And so much the worse, by how much it is more base, more safe and more secret vnder the coullour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed iniurie, then a deceuing-traitrous wrong; an hostile and war-like, then a peacefull and lawfull. Our feaver hath seized vpon a body, which it hath not much empai'd. The fire was in it, but now the flame hath taken hould of it. The reporte is greater; the hurt but little. I ordinarily aunswer such as demaund reasons for my voyages: That *I knowe what I shunne,*

but

but wotte not what I seeke. If one tell mee, there may bee as little sound health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer, then ours: I answer first, that it is very harde:

Vir. Geor. l.
1. 506.

Tam multa scelerum facies.
The formes so manifolde
Of wickednesse we holde.

His love to
Paris

Secondly, that it is euer a gaine, to change a bad estate for an uncertaine. And that others euils, should not touch vs so neare as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutinie so much against *France*, but I must needes looke on *Paris* with a fauourable eye: It hath my hart from my infancie: whereof it hath befallne me as of excellent things: the more other faire and stately citties I have seene since, the more hir beautie hath powre and doth still v-surprisingly gaine vpon my affection. I love that Cittie for hir owne sake, and more in hir onely subsisting and owne being, then when it is full-fraught and embellished with foraine pompe and borrowed garish ornaments: I love hir so tenderly, that even hir spots, hir blemishes and hir wartes are deare vnto me. I am no perfect French-man, but by this great-matchlesse Cittie, great in people, great in regarde of the felicitie of hir situation; but aboue all, great and incomparable in varietie and diversitie of commodities: The glory of *France*, and one of the noblest and chiefe ornaments of the world. God of his mercie free hir, and chase away all our diuisions from hir: Being entirely vnited to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that, shall be the worst, which shall breede discorde and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir selfe. And surely, I am in as great feare for hir, as for any other parte of our state. So long as she shall continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreat, to retire and shrowde my selfe at all times: a thing able to make me forget the regret of all other retreates. Not because *Socrates* hath sayde it, but because such is in truth my humour, and peradventure not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my countrymen; and I as kindly embrace a *Poloniarr* as a Frenchman; postponing this naturall bonde, to the vniuersall and common. I am not greatlye stricken with the pleasantnesse of naturall ayre. Acquaintances altogether new and wholy mine, doe in my conceite counteruaile the woorth of all other vulgare and casuall acquaintances of our neighbours. Friendships meere acquired by our selues, doe ordinarily exceede those, to which we are ioyned, eyther by communication of Climate, or affinity of blood. Nature hath plac't vs in the world, free and vnbound, and wee emprison our selues into certaine streights: As the kings of *Persia*, who bound themselves neuer to drinke other water, then of the riuer *Choaspez*: foolishly renouncing all lawfull right of vse in all other waters: and for their regarde dride vp all the rest of the world. What *Socrates* did in his latter dayes, to deceme a sentence of banishment worse, then a doome of death against himselfe, beeing of the minde I am now, I shall neuer be neither so base-minded, nor so strictly habituated in my country, that I would follow him. These celestial liues, have diuers images, which I imbrace more by estimation, then by affection. And some to extraordinary, and so highly eleuated, which because I am not able to conceiue, I cannot embrace by estimation. This humor was very tenderly apprehended by him, who deemed al the world to be his Cittie. True it is, he disdained peregrinations, & had not much let his foote beyond the territory of *Athens*. What, if he bewailed the mony his friend offered to lay out, to disengage his life, and refused to come out of prison, by the intercession of others, because he would not disobay the lawes, in a time wherein they were otherwise so corrupted? These examples are of the first kind for me. Of the second, there are others, which I could finde in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceede the power of my action; but some exceede also the force of my iudgement. Besides these reasons, I deeme trauell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall exercitation, to marke things vknownne, and note new objects. And as I have often saide, I know no better schoole, to fashion a mans life, then vncessantly to propose vnto him the diuersity of so many other mens liues, customes, humors and fantasies; and make him taste or apprehend one so perpetual variety of our natures shapes or formes. Therein the body is neither absolutely idle nor wholly troubled: and, that moderate agitation doth put him into breath. My selfe, as crazed with the chollicke as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-backe, without wearinesse or tiring.

n

x^p

Vires ultra sortemque senecta.

Beyond strength ordinary,

Which olde yeares vse to carry.

Virg. AEn. x^p
l. 6. 114.

No wether is to me so contrary, as the scorching heate of the parching Sunne. For, these Umbrels or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romanes, the Italians vse, doe more weary the armes, then ease the head. I would faine faine know what industry it was in the Persians, so anciently, and euen in the infancie of luxuriouse (as *Xenophon* reporteth) to fanne themselves, & at their pleasures to make colde shades. I loue rainy and durty wether, as duckes doe. The change eyther of aire or climate doth nothing distemper me. All heauens are a like to me, I am neuer vexed or beaten, but with internall alterations, such as I produce my selfe, which surprise and possesse me least in times of way-fairing. It is a hard matter to make me resolute of any iourney: but if I be once on the way, I hould out as long and as farre, as another. I strue as much in small, as I labour in great enterprises: and to prepare my selfe for a short journey or to visite a friend, as to vndertake a farre-set voyage. I haue learn't to frame my journies after the Spanissh fashion, all at once and outright; great and reasonable. And in extreame heates, I trauell by night, from Sunne-set to Sunne-rising. The other fashion, confusedly and in halt to baite by the way and dine, especially in Winter, when the dayes are so short, is both troublesome for man, and incommodious for horse. My iades are the better, and houlde out longer. No horse did euer faile me, that held out the first dayes journey with me. I water them in all waters; and onely take care of their last watring, that before I come to myne Inne they haue way enough to beate their water. My slothfullnesse to rise in the morning, alloweth such as follow mee sufficient leasure to dyne, before we take horse. As for me, I neuer feede ouer late: I commonly get an appetite in eating, and no otherwise: I am neuer hungry but at the table. Some complaine, that beeing marryed, and well stroken in yeares I haue enured my selfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercise. They doe me wrong: The best time for a man to leaue his house, is when he hath so ordred and settled the same, that it may continue without him: and when hee hath so disposed his affaires, that they may answere the auncient course and wonted forme. It is much more indiscretion, and an argument of want of iudgement, to goe from home, and leaue no trusty garde in his house, and which for lacke of care may be slowe or forgetfull in prouiding for such necessities, as in your absence it may stand in neede of. *The most profitable knowledge, and honourablest occupation for a matron or mother of a familie, is the occupation and knowledge of huswifery. I see diuers conetous, but few huswives.* It is the mistris-quality that all men should seeke after, and aboue all other indeuour to finde: as the onely dowry, that serueth, eyther to ruine and ouerthrow, or to saue and enrich our houses. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught mee, I require in a marryed woman the oeconomicall vertue aboue all others. Wherein I would haue her absolutely skilfull, since by my absence I commit the whole charge, and bequeath the full gouernement of my household to her.

I see (and that to my grieve) in diuers houses the maister or goodman come home at noone all weary, durty and dustie, with drudging and toying about his businesse, when the mistris or good-wife, is eyther scarce vp, or if she bee, she is yet in her closet, dressing, decking, smuggling or trimming of her selfe. It is a thing onely fitting Queenes or Princes; whereof some doubt might be made. *It is ridiculous that the idleness; and vniust that the litherneffe of our wines should bee fostred with our sweate and main-tayned by our trauell:* No man (as neare as I can) shall fortune to haue a more free and more absolute vse, or a more quiet and more liquide fruition of his goods, then I haue. *If the husband bring matter; nature her selfe would haue women to bring forme.* Concerning dueties of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be interrested, or preiudiced by the husbands absence, I beleue it not. Contrariwise, it is a kinde of intelligence, that easily growes colde by an ouer continuall assistance, and decayeth by assiduitie; for, *to stand still at racke and manger breedeth a society.* Every strange woman seemeth to vs an honest woman: And all feeble by experience, that a continuall seeing one another, can not possible represent the pleasure, men take by parting and meeting againe. These interruptions fil me with a new kinde of affection, toward mine owne people, & yeild me the vse of

x^p

x^p

Houswifery

of my house more pleasing : vicissitude dooth now and then en-earnest my minde towarde one , and then towarde another . I am not ignorant how true amitie hath armes long enough , to embrace , to claspe and hould from one corner of the worlde vnto another : namely in this , where is a continuall communication of offices , that cause the obligation , and revive the remembrance thereof . The Stoikes say , that there is so great an affinitie and mutuall relation , betweene wise men , that he who dineth in *France* , feedeth his companion in *Egypt* ; and if one of them doe but houlde vp his finger , where ever it be , all the wise men disperfed vpon the habitable land , feele a kinde of ayde thereby . *Peruissance and possession , appertaine chieflie vnto imagination .* It embraceth more earnestly and vncessantly what she goeth to fetch , then what we touche . Summon and coumpt all your dayly amusements ; and you shall finde , you are then furthest and most absent from your friend , when he is present with you . His assistance releaseth your attention , and giveth your thoughts libertie , at all times and vpon every occasion , to absent themselues . If I be at *Rome* , or any where els , I hould , I suruaye and governe my house and the commodities , which I have left about and in it . I even see my walles , my trees , my grasse and my rents , to stand , to growe , to decaye and to diminish , within an inche or two of that I should doe when I am at home ,

Ante oculos errat domus , errat forma locorum .

My house is still before mine eyes ,

There still the forme of places lyes .

If we but onely enioy what we touche , farewell our crownes when they are in our coasfers , and adiew to our children , when they are abroad or a hunting ; we would have them neerer . In the garden is it farre-off ? within halfe a dayes iourney ? What , within tenne leagues , is it farre or neere ? If it be neere : what is eleven , twelue , or thirteene ? and so step by step . Veilie that woman who can prescribe vnto hir husband , how many steps end that which is neere , and which step in number begins the distance she coumpts farre , I am of opinion , that she stay him betweene both .

*Hor. l. 2.
epist. 1. 38.*

Ibid. 45.

excludit iurgij finis.

Let the conclusion , Exclude confusion .

Vt permissio , calidaeque pilos vi equine

Paulatim vello : et demo unum , demo etiam unum

Dum cadat elusus rariore ruentis acerui .

I vse the graunt , and pluck by one and one

The horte-taile haire , till when the bush is gone ,

I leaue the lade a curtall taile or none .

And let them bouldly call for Philosophie to helpe them . To whom some might reproche , since she neither discerneth the one nor other end of the ioynt , betweene the overmuch and the little ; the long and the short ; the light and the heauie , the neare and the farre ; since she neither knowes the beginning nor ending thereof , that she doth very vncertainly iudge of the midle . *Rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium .* Nature hath affoorded vs no knowledge of hir endes . Are they not yet wives and friendes of the deceased , that are not at the ende of this , but in the other world ? we embrace both those that have beene , and those which are not yet , not onely the absent . We did not condition , when we were married , continually to keepe our selues close hugging one another , as some , I worte not what little creatures doe , we see daily ; or as those bewitched people of *Karenti* , in a kinde of dogged manner . And a woman should not haue hir eyes so greedily or so dotinglye fixed on hir husbands fore-part , that if neede shall require , she may not view his hinder-partes . But might not the saying of that cunning Painter , who could so excellently set forth their humours and pourtraye their conditions , fitlye be placed heare , liuely to represent the cause of their complaintes ?

*Ter. Adelp.
act. 1. sc. 2.*

Vxor , si cesses , aut te amare cogitat ,

Aut te te amari , aut potare , aut animo obsequi ,

Et tibi bene esse soli , cum sibi sit male .

If you be slowe , your wife thinkes that in love you are ,

Or are belou'd , or drinke , or all for pleasure care ,

And that you onely fare well , when she ill doth fare .

Or

Or might it be, that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them: and that they are sufficiently accommodated, provided they disturbe and incommode you? In truly-perfect friendship, wherein I presume to have some skill and well-grounded experience; I give my selfe more vnto my friend, than I drawe him vnto me. I doe not onely rather love to doe him good, then he should doe any to me; but also, that he should rather doe good vnto himselfe, then vnto me; For then doth he me most good, when he doth it to himselfe. And if absence be either pleasing or beneficiall vnto him, it is to me much more pleasing, then his presence: and *that may not properly be termed absence, where meanes and wayes may be found to entre-advertise one another.* I have heretofore made good vse, and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the benefite, and extended further the possession of life, by being divided and farre-asunder: He lived, he rejoyced, and he sawe for me, and I for him, as fully, as if he had beene present: Being together, one partie was idle: Wee confounded one another. The separation of the place, made the conjunction of our mindes and willes, the richer. *This insatiate and greedie desire of corporall presence, dooth somewhat accuse the weakenesse in the iorissance of soules.* Concerning age, which some alleage against me; it is cleane contrarie. It is for youth, to subject and bondage it selfe to common opinions, and by force to constraîne it selfe for others. It may fitte the turne of both; the people and it selfe: *Wee have but overmuch to doe with our selves alone.* According as naturall commodities faile vs, let vs sustaine our selves by artificiall meanes. It is injustice, to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and forbid age to devise and seek them. When I was yong, I concealed my wanton & covered my youthfull passions, with witte; and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the sadde and incident to yeeres, with sport and debauches. Yet do *Platoes* lawes forbid men to travell abroad, before they are fortie or fiftie yeares of age, that so their travell may fort more profitable, and proove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the saide lawes, which forbiddeth men to wander abroad, after they are once three score. Of which age, few that travell farre-journeis returne home againe. What care I for that? I vnder-
take it not, either to returne or to perfect the same. I onely vnder-
take it to be in motion: So long as the motion pleafeth me; and *I walke that I may walke. Those runne not, that runne after a Benefice or after a Hare; But they runne, that runne at barriers and to exercise their running.* My desseigne is every where divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes: each day makes an end of it. Even so is my lifes voyage directed. Yet have I seene diverse far-coun-
tries, where I would have beene glad to have beene staied. Why not? If *Chrysippus, Diogenes, Cleambes, Antipater* and *Zeno*, with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe, and severely-strict Sect forooke their Countries (without just cause to be offended with them) onely to enjoy an other aire? Truly the greatest griefe of my peregrinations, is, that I cannot have a firme resolution, to establish my abiding where I would. And that I must ever resolve with my selfe to returne, for to accommodate my selfe vnto common humours. If I should feare to die in any other place, then where I was borne; if I thought I should die at my ease, farre from mine owne people: I would hardly goe out of *France*, nay I should scarcely goe out of mine owne parish, without feeling some dismay. I feele death ever pinching mee by the throate, or pulling me by the backe: But I am of an other mould; to me it is ever one, and at all times the same. Nevertheless if I were to chuse; I thinke it should rather be on horsebacke, than in a bed; from my home, and farre from my friends. There is more hart-
sorrow, than comfort, in taking ones last farewell of his friends. I doe easily forgett or neglect these dueties or complements of our common or civill curtesie. For, of Offices apper-
taining to vnaffected amitie, the same is the most displeasing and offensive: And I should as willingly forget to give a body that great adiew, or eternall farewell. If a bodie reape any commoditie by this assistance, he also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seene diverse die most pittiously, compassed and beset round with their friends and servantes: Such multitudes and thronging of people doth stifle them. It is against reason, and a testimonie of small affection, and little care they have you should die at rest. One offendeth your eyes, another molesteth your eares, the third vexeth your mouth: You have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your body, but is tormented and grieved. Your heart is ready to burst for pittie, to heare your friends moanes and complaints; and to riue asunder with spite, to heare peradventure some of their wailings and moans, that are but fained and counterfet. If a man

care tibi & B. Anno 1680

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lesse

Dying
at home or
abroad

have ever had a milde or tender nature, being weake and ready to die, he must then necessarily have it more tender and relenting. It is most requisite, that in so vrgent a necessitie, one have a gentle hand and fitly applied to his fences, to scratch him where he itcheth; or else he ought not be clawed at all. *If wee must needes have the helpe of a Midwife, to bring vs into this world; there is reason we should also have the ayding-hand of a wise man, to deliver vs out of the same.* Such a one, and therewithall a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase verie deare, onely for the service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdainfull vigor, which so fortifieth it selfe, that at such times nothing aydeth, nor nothing troubleth: I flie a lower pitch. I seeke to squat my selfe, and steale from that passage: not by feare, but by Art. My intent is not in such an action, to make either triall or shew of my constancie. Wherefore? Because, then shall the right and interest I have in reputation cease. I am content with a death vnited in it selfe, quiet and solitarie, wholie mine, convenient to my retired and private life. Cleane contrary to the Roman superstition, where hee was judged vnhappy, that died without speaking, and had not his neereft friendes to close his eyes. I have much adoe to comfort my selfe, without being troubled to comfort others: cares and vexations enow in my minde, without needing circumstances to bring me new; and sufficient matter to entertaine my self, without borrowing any. This share belongs not to the part of societie: It is the act of one man alone. *Let vs live, laugh and be merry amongst our friendes, but die and yeelde vp the ghost amongst strangers, and such as we knowe not. Hee who hath money in his purse, shall ever finde some ready to turne his head, make his bedde, rubbe his feete, attend him, and that will trouble and importune him no longer, than he list: and wil ever shew him an indifferent and well-composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a man leave to doe what he please, and complaine as he list.* I daily endeavour by discourse to shake-off this childish humor and inhumane conceit, which causeth, that by our griefes and paines we ever desire to moove our friends to compassion and sorrowe for vs, and with a kinde of sympathie to condole our miseries and passions. We endeare our inconveniences beyond measure, to extract teares from them: And the constancie we so much commend in all others, vndavntedly to endure all evill fortunes; we accuse and vpbraide to our neereft allies, when they molest vs: wee are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our calamities; if they doe not also afflict themselves for them. A man should as much as he can set forth and extend his joy; but to the vtmost of his power, suppress and abridge his sorrowe. He that will causlessly be moaned and sans reason, deserveth not to be pittied when he shall have cause and reason for it. *To be ever complaining and alwayes moaning, is the way never to be moaned and seldome to be pittied: and so often to seeme over-passionately-pittisfull, is the meane to make no man feelingly-ruthfull towards others. He that makes himselfe dead being alive, is subiect to be accompted alive when he is dying.* I have scene some take pepper in the nose, forso much as they were tolde that they had a cheerfull countenance; that they looked wel; that they had a temperate pulse: to force laughter, because some betraide their recoverie: and hate their health, because it was not regreetable. And which is more, they were no women. I for the most, represent my infirmities such as they are: And shunne such wordes as are of evill preface, and avoyde composed exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at least an orderly-settled countenance of the by-standers and assistants, is sufficiently-convenient to a wise and discreete sicke-man, who though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not picke a quarrell with health. He is pleased to behold the same, sound and strong in others; and at least for company-sake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and find himselfe to faint and sincke downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits & imaginations of life, nor doth he avoyd common entertainements. I will studie sicknesse when I am in health: when it comes, it will really enough make hir impressiõ, without the help of my imagination. We deliberately prepare our selves before-hand for any voyage we vndertake, & therein are resolved: the houre is set when we will take horse, and we give it to our company, in whose favour we extend it. I finde this vnexpected profit by the publication of my manners, that in some sort it serveth me for a rule. I am sometimes surprized with this consideration, not to betray the historie of my life. This publike declaration, bindes me to keepe my selfe within my course, and not to contradict the image of my conditions: commonly lesse disfigured and gaine-faied, then the malignitie and infirmitie of moderne judgements doth beare. The vniformitie and singleness of my manners, produceth a visage of easie interpretation; but because the fashion
of

of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of vse, it giveth detraction to faire play. Yet is it true, that to him, who will goe about loyally to injure me, me thinkes I do sufficiently afford him matter, whereby he may detract and snarle at my avowed and knowne imperfections, and wherewith hee may be satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmishing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discoverie and accusation, hee thinkes I barre him of his snarling, it is good reason hee take his right, towards amplification and extension: Offence hath her rights beyond justice: And that the vices, whereof I shew him the rootes in me, he should amplifie them to trees. Let him not onely employ thereunto those that possesse me, but those which but threaten mee. Injurious vices both in qualitie and in number. Let him beate me that way. I should willingly embrace the example of *Dion* the Philosopher. *Antigonus* going about to scoffe and quip at him touching his birth and ofspring, hee interrupted him and tooke the word out of his mouth: I am (saide he) the sonne of a bond-slave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whoore, whome my father by reason of his base fortune, tooke to wife: Both were punished for some misdeede. Being a childe, an Orator bought me as a slave, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse; and dying, left mee all his goodes; which having transported into this cittie of *Athens*, I have applied my selfe vnto Philosophie. Let not Historians busie themselves in seeking newes of mee. I will at large blazon my selfe, and plainly tell them the whole discourse. *A generous and free-minded confession doth disable a reproch and disarm an iniurie*. So it is, that when all *Cardes* be tolde, me seemes, that I am as oft commended as dispraised beyond reason. As also me thinks, that even from my infancie, both in ranke and degree of honour, I have had place given me, rather above and more, than lesse and beneath that which appertained to mee. I should better like to be in a countrie, where these orders might either be reformed or contemned. Amongst men, after that striving or altercation for the prerogative or vpper hand in going or sitting, exceedeth three replies, it becommeth incivill. I neither feare to yeelde and give place, nor to follow and proceede vnjustly, so I may avoyde such yrkesome and importunate contestations. And never did man desire precedencie or place before me, but I quitted the same without grudging. Besides the profite I reape by writing of my selfe, I have hoped for this other, that if ever it might happen my humours should please or sympathize with some honest man, he would before my death seeke to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I have given him much ground: For, whatsoever a long acquaintance or continuall familiaritie might have gained him in many wearisome yeares, the same hath hee in three dayes fully teene in this Register; and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantasie is this of mine; many things I would be loath to tell a particular man, I vtter to the whole worlde. And concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a Stationers shop.

Excutienda damus precordia.

Our very entrailes wee,

Lay foorth for you to see.

Perf. sat. 5. 22.

If by so good markes and tokens, I had ever knowne or heard of any one man, that in this humour had beene answerable to me, I would assuredly have wandred very farre to finde him out: For, the exceeding joy of a sortable and in one consent-agreeing company, cannot (in mine opinion) be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. *Oh God! who can expresse the value or conceive the true worth of a friend?* How true is that ancient golden saying, that the use of a friend is more necessary and pleasing, then of the elements, water and fire. But to returne to my former discourse: There is then no great inconvenience in dying farre from home and abroad. We esteeme it a part of duty and decencie to withdraw our selves for naturall actions, lesse hideous and lesse disgracefull then this. But also those that come vnto that, in languishing maner to draw a long space of life, should not happily wish with their miserie to trouble a whole family. Therefore did the Indians of a certaine countrie deeme it just and lawfull, to kill him that should fall into such necessitie. And in another of their Provinces, they thought it meete to forsake him, and as well as hee could leave him alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last, proove they not themselves tedious and intolerable? Common offices proceede not so farre. Perforce you teach crueltie vnto your best friends; obdurating by long vse, both wife and children, not to feele, nor to conceive, nor to moane your evils any longer, The groanes and outcries of my chollike, cause no

more ruth and wailing in any body. And should we conceive pleasure by their conversation (which seldome hapneth, by reason of the disparitie of conditions, which easily produceth either contempt or envy towards what man soever) is it not too-too much, therewith to abuse a whole age? The more I should see them with a good heart to straine themselves for me, the more should I bewaile their paine. *The law of curtesie alloweth vs to leane upon others, but not so unmanerly to lie upon them and underpropt our selves in their ruine.* As he who caused little infants to be slaine, that with their innocent blood he might be cured of a malady he had. Or another, who was continually stored with yong tendrels or lasses, to keepe his old-frozen limbs warme a nights, and entermix the sweetenesse of their breath with his old-stinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitarie qualitie. I am sociable even vnto excesse, yet doe I thinke it reasonable, at last to substraet my importunitie from the sight of the world, and hatch it in my selfe. Let mee shrowd and shrugge my selfe into my shell, as a tortoise; and learne to see men, without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in so steepy a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But here will some say, that in their farre journies you may peradventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needefull things. To whom I answer, that for things most necessary in such cases, I ever carry most of them with me: And that, *wherever we are, we cannot possibly avoide fortune, if she once take upon her to persecute vs.* When I am sicke, I want nothing that is extraordinarie: what nature cannot worke in me, I will not have a Bolus, or a glister to effect. *At the very beginning of my agues or sickenesse that* cast me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my senses and neere vnto health, I reconcile my selfe to God by the last duties of a Christian; whereby I finde my selfe free and discharged; and thinke I have so much more reason and authoritie over my sickenesse. I finde lesse want of Notaries and counsell, then of Phisitions. What I have not disposed of my affaires or settled of my state when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it being sicke. Whatever I will doe for the service of death, is alwayes ready doone. I dare not delay it one onely day. And if nothing be done, it is as much to say, that either some doubt hath delaide the choise: For, *sometimes it is a good choise, not to chuse at all:* Or that absolutely I never intended to doe any thing. I write my booke to few men, and to few yeares. Had it beene a matter of lasting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language: According to the continuall variation, that hitherto hath followed our French tongue. Who may hope, that it's present forme shall be in vse fiftie yeares hence? It dayly changeth and slips our hands: and since I could speake the same, it is much altdred and well nigh halfe varried. We say it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but saith as much of hirs. It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and still differeth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a stay. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to fasten it vnto them, whose credite shall either diminish or encrease, according to the fortune of our state. For all that, I feare not to insert therein divers private articles, whose vse is consumed amongst men living now adayes: and which concerne the particular knowledge of some, that shall further see into it, then with a common vnderstanding. When all is done, I would not (as I often see the memory of the deceased tossed too and fro) that men should descant & argue: *Thus and thus he iudged; thus he lived; thus he meant: had hee spoken when his life left him, hee would have given I wot what: There is no man knew him better then my selfe.* Now, as much as modestie and decorum doth permit me; I here give a taste of my inclinations and an essay of my affections: which I doe more freely and more willingly by word of mouth, to any that shall desire to be thoroughly informed of them. But so it is, that if any man shall looke into these memorialls, he shall finde, that either I have saide all, or desseigned all. What I cannot expresse, the same I point at with my finger.

Lucr. lib. I. 419

*Verum animo satis hac vestigia parva sagaci**Sunt, per qua possis cognoscere cetera tute.*

But this small footing to a quicke-sent minde

May serve, whereby safely the rest to finde.

I leave nothing to be desired or diuined of me. If one must entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truely and justly. I would willingly come from the other world, to give him the lie, that should frame me other then I had beene: were it he meant to honour me. I see that of the living, men never speake according to truth; and they are ever made to be,

be, what they are not. And if with might and maine, I had not vpheld a friend of mine whom I havelately lost, he had surely bin mangled and torne in a thousand contrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours : I confesse, that in travelling I seldome alight in any place or come to any Inne, but first of all I cast in my minde whether I may conveniently liethere, if I should chance to fall sicke; or dying, die at my ease and take my death quietly. I will, as neere as I can, be lodged in some convenient part of the house, and in particular from all noise or stincking favours; in no close, filthy or smoaky chamber. I seeke to flatter death by these frivolous circumstances : Or as I may rather say, to discharge my selfe from all other trouble or encômbance; that so I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall happily lie very heavy vpon me. I will have her take a full share of all my lives eases and commodities : it is a great part of it and of much consequence, and I hope it shall not belie what is past. Death hath some formes more easie then others', and assumeth diuers qualities; according to all mens fantazies. Among the naturall-ones, that proceeding of weakenesse and heavy dulnesse, to me seemeth gentle and pleasant. Among the violent, I imagine a precipice more hardly, then a ruine that overwhelmes me : and a cutting blow with a sword, then a shot of an harquebuse : and I would rather have chosen to drinke the potion of *Socrates*, then wound my selfe as *Cato* did. And though it be all one, yet doeth my imagination perceive a difference, as much as is betweene death and life, to cast my selfe into a burning furnace, or in the channell of a shallow river. *So foolishly doth our feare respect more the meane, then the effect.* It is but one instant; but of such moment, that to passe the same according to my desire, I would willingly renounce many of my lives-dayes. Since all mens fantazies, finde either excesse or diminution in her sharpenesse; since every man hath some choise betweene the formes of dying, let vs trie a little further, whether we can finde out some one, free from all sorrow and griefe. Might not one also make it seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with *Anthoine* and *Cleopatra*? I omit to speake of the sharpe and exemplare efforts, that philosophie and religion produce. But amongst men of no great fame, some have beene found (as one *Petronius*, and one *Tigillinus* at *Rome*) engaged to make themselves away, who by the tenderesse of their preparations have in a maner lulled the same asleepe. They have made it passe and glide away, even in the midst of the securitie of their accustomed pastimes and wanton recreations : Amongst harlots and good fellows; no speech of comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambitious affectation of constancie, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of sinnes committed, no apprehension of their soules-health, ever troubling them; amid sports, playes, banquetting, surfetting, chambring, jesting, musicke and singing of amorous verses : and all such popular and common entertainments. Might not wee imitate this manner of resolution in more honest affaires and more commendable attempts? *And since there are deaths good vnto wise men and good vnto fooles, let vs finde some one that may be good vnto such as are betweene both.* My imagination presents me some easie and milde countenance thereof, and (since we must all die) to be desired. The tyrants of *Rome* have thought, they gave that criminall offender his life, to whom they gave the free choise of death. But *Theophrastus* a Philosopher so delicate, so modest and so wise, was he not forced by reason, to dare to vtter this verse, latinized by *Cicero*:

Vitam regit fortuna non sapientia.
 Fortune our life doth rule,
 Not wisdome of the schoole.

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 5
Theoph. Calisth.

Fortune giveth the facilitie of my lives-condition some aide; having placed it in such a time, wherein it is neither needefull nor comber some vnto my people. It is a condition I would have accepted in all the seasons of my age : but in this occasion to trusse vp bag and baggage, and take vp my bed and walke : I am particularly pleased, that when I shall die, I shall neither breede pleasure nor cause sorrow in them. She hath caused (which is the recompence of an artist) that such as by my death may pretend any materiall benefite, receive thereby elsewhere, joyntly a materiall losse and hinderance. Death lies sometimes heaue vpon vs, in that it is burthen some to others : and interesteth vs with their interest, almost as much as with ours : and somtimes more; yea altogether. In this conveniencie of lodging that I seeke, I neither entermix pompe nor amplitude; For, I rather hate it. But a certaine simple and homely proprietie, which is commonly found in places where lesse Art is, and that

Plotin.

nature honoureth with some grace peculiar vnto her selfe. *Non ampliter sed munditer convivium. Plus salis quam sumptus. Not a great, but a neate feast. More conceite then cost.*

And then, it is for those, who by their vrgent affaires are compelled to travell in the midst of deepe Winter, and amongst the Grifons, to be surprized by such extremities in their journies. But I, who for the most part never travell, but for pleasure, will neither be so ill advised, nor so simply guided. If the way be fowle on the right hand, I take the left: If I find my selfe ill at ease or vnfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I see no place, and come no where, that is not as pleasant, as convenient and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is, that I ever finde superfluitie superfluous: and observe a kinde of empeachment in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I omitted or left any thing behind me that was worth the seeing? I returne backe; It is ever my way, I am never out of it. I trace no certaine line, neither right nor crooked. Comming to any strange place, finde I not what was tould mee? As it often fortuneth, that others judgements agree not with mine, and have most times found them false, I grieve not at my labour: I have learned that what was reported to be there, is not. I have my bodies complexion as free, and my taste as common, as any man in the world. The diversitie of fashions betweene one and other nations, concerneth me nothing, but by the varieties-pleasure. *Each custome hath his reason.* Be the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter or of earth; be my meate boyled, roasted or baked; butter or oyle, and that of Olives or of Wall-nuts; hot or colde; I make no difference; all is one to me: And as one, that is growing old, I accuse this generous facultie; and had neede that delicatenesse and choise, should stay the indiscretion of my appetite, and sometime ease and solace my stomake. When I have beene out of *France*, and that to do me curtesie, some have asked me, whether I would be served after the French maner, I have jested at them, and have ever thrust-in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men besotted with this foolish humor, to fret & chafe, when they see any fashions contrary to theirs. They thinke themselves out of their element, when they are out of their village: Where ever they come, they ever keepe their owne countrie fashions, and hate, yea & abhorre all strange maners. Meete they a Countiman of theirs in *Hungarie*, they feast that good fortune: And what doe they? Marry close and joine together, to blame, to condemne and to scorne so many barbarous fashions as they see. And why not Barbarous, since not French? Nay happily they are the better sort of men, that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Most take going out but for comming home. They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some vnkowne ayre. What I speake of such, puts mee in minde in the like matter, of that I have heretofore perceived in some of our yong Courtiers. They onely converse with men of their coate; and with disdain or pitty looke vpon vs, as if we were men of another World. Take away their new-fangled, mysterious and affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byase. As farre to seeke and short of vs, as we of them. That saying is true; That *An honest man is a man compounded.* Cleane contrary, I travell fully glutted with our fashions: Not to seeke Gaskoines in *Sicilie*; I have left over manie at home. I rather seeke for Græcians and Persians: Those I accost, them I consider, and with such I endeavor to be acquainted: to that I prepare and therein I employ my selfe. And which is more, me seemeth, I have not met with many maners, that are not worth ours. Indeepe I have not wandred farre, scarcely have I lost the sight of our Chimnies. Moreover, most of the casual companies you meete withall by the way, have more incommoditie than pleasure: a matter I doe not greatly take hold of, and lesse now that age doeth particularize and in some sorte sequester me from common formes. You suffer for others, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is yrksome, the other troublesome: but yet the last is (in my conceipt) more rude. *It is a rare chaunce and seld-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable worth, to have an honest man, of singular experience, of a sound iudgement, of a resolute understanding and constant resolution, and of maners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a good will.* I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seek with discretion and with great heed obtaine, before he wander from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightful without communication; and no delight absolute, except imparted. I do not so much as apprehend one rare conceipt, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed, to have

have produced the same alone, and that I have no sympathizing companion to impart it unto. *Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec enuntiam, reiiciam.* If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keepe it concealed, and not utter it, I would refuse it. The other strain'd it one note higher. *Si contigerit ea vita sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis, quamvis omnia, quae cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret & contempletur, tamen si solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat à vita.* If a wise-man might leade such a life, as in abundance of all things he may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowlege, yet if he must be so solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life. Architas his opinion is futable to mine, which was, that it would bee a thing vnpleasing to the very heavens and distastefull to man, to survey and walke within those immense and divine coelestiall bodies, without the assistance of a friend or companion: *Tet is it better to be alone, than in tedious and foolish company.* Aristippus loved to live as an alien or stranger every where.

Cic. Offic. lib. 1.

*Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
Auspicijs,
Iffates would me permit
To live as I thinke fit,*

Virg. Æn. lib. 4
339.

I should chuse to weare out my life with my bum in the saddle, ever riding.

— *visere gestiens,*

*Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebula pluuijque rores.
Delighting much to goe and see
Where fire heats rage furiously,
Where clouds and rainy dewes most be.*

Hor. car. lib. 3.
od. 3. 54.

Have you not more easie pastimes? What is it you want? Is not your house well seated, and in a good and wholesome ayre? Sufficiently furnished, and more then sufficiently capable? His Royall Majestie hath in great state beene in the same, and more than once taken his repast there. Doth not your family in rule and government leave many more inferior to hir, than above hir in eminencie? Is there any locall thought or care, that as extraordinarie doth vicerate, or as indigestible doth molest you?

*Objections
against his
inclination
to Travell*

*Quæ te nunc coquat & vexet sub pectora fixa.
Which now boyles in thy brest.
And let's thee take no rest.*

Enni. Cic. Sen-
nect. p.

Where doe you imagine you may be without impeachment or disturbance? *Nunquam simpliciter fortuna indulget.* Fortune never favours fully without exception. You see then, there is none but you that trouble and busie your selfe: and every where you shall follow your self, and in all places you shall complaine. For, *Here below there is no satisfaction or content, except for brutall or divine mindes.* He who in so just an occasion hath no content, where doth he imagine to finde it? Vnto how many thousands of men, doth such a condition as yours, bound and stay the limites of their wilhes? *Reforme but your selfe; by that you may doe all.* Whereas towards fortune you have no right or interest, but patience. *Nulla placida quies est, nisi quam ratio composuit.* There is no pleasing settled rest, but such as reason hath made-up. I see the reason of this advertisement, yea I perceive it wel. But one should sooner have done and more pertinently, in one bare word to say vnto me: *Be wise.* This resolution is beyond wisdom. It is her Worke and hir production. So doth the Phisition, that is ever crying to a languishing, heart-broken sicke-man, that he be merry and pull vp a good hart; he should lesse foolishly perswade him if he did but bid him, *To be healthie;* as for me I am but a man of the common stamp. It is a certaine, sound and of easie-vnderstanding precept: Be content with your own; that is to say, with reason: the execution wherof notwithstanding is no more in the wiser sort, than in my self: *It is a popular word, but it hath a terrible far-reaching extension.* What comprehends it not? *All things fall within the compasse of discretion and modification.* Wel I wot, that being taken according to the bare letter, the pleasure of travell brings a testimony of vnquietnesse and irresolution. Which to say truth, are our mistrisse and predominant qualities. Yea, I confesse it: I see nothing, be it but in a dreame or by withing, whereon I may take hold. Onely varietie and the possession of diversitie doth satisfie me: if at least any thing satisfie me. In travell this doth nourish me, that without interest I may stay my selfe; and

that I have meanes commodiously to divert my selfe from it. I love a private life, because it is by mine owne choyce, that I love it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a publike life; which peradventure is as much according to my complexion. I thereby serve my Prince more joyfully and genuinely, because it is by the free election of my judgement and by my reason, without any particular obligation. And that I am not cast or forced therevnto, because I am unfit to be received of any other, or am not beloved: so of the rest. *I hate those morseles that necessitie doth carve me.* Every commoditie, of which alone I were to depend, should ever hold me by the throate:

Propert. li. 3. cl.
2. 23.

Alter remus aquas, alter mihi radat arenas.

Let me cut waters with one oare,
With th' other shave the sandie shoare.

Psal 93. 11.

One string alone can never sufficiently hold me. You will say, there is vanitie in this amusement. But where not? And these goodly precepts are vanitie, and *Meere vanitie is all worldly wisdom.* *Dominus novit cogitationes sapientum, quoniam vana sunt.* The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are vaine. Such exquisite subtilities, are only fit for sermons. They are discourses, that will send vs into the other World on horsebacke. *Life is a material and corporall motion; an action imperfect and disordered, by it's owne essence:* I employ or apply my selfe to serve it according to it selfe.

Vir. Æn. l. 6.
743.

Quisque suos patimur manes:

All of vs for our merit,
Have some attending spirit.

Cic. Offic. lib. 1

Sic est faciendum, ut contra naturam universam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata, propriam sequamur. We must so worke, as we endeavor nothing against Nature in generall, yet so observe it, as we follow our owne in speciall. To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no humane being can establish and ground it selfe? And to what end serve these rules, that exceede our vse and excell our strength? I often see, that there are certaine Ideaes or formes of life proposed vnto vs, which neither the proposer nor the Auditors have any hope at all to follow; and which is worse, no desire to attaine. *Of the same paper, whereon a iudge writ but even now the condemnation against an adulterer, hee will teare a scantlin, thereon to write some love-lines to his fellow-iudges wife. The same woman from whom you came lately and with whom you have committed that unlawfull-pleasing sport, will soone after, even in your presence, raile and scolde more bitterly against the same fault in her neighbour, than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemne men to die for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults.* I have in my youth seene a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreame licentiousnes; and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railling reformation, according to Divinitie, that happilie the World hath seene these manie-manie yeares. *Thus goes the world, and so goe men.* We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but we keep another course: Not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrarie judgement. Heare but a discourse of Philosophie read; the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth presently tickle your spirite and moove you. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your conscience: it is not to her that men speake. Is it not true? *Ariston saide, that Neither Bath nor Lecture are of any worth, except the one wash cleane, and the other cense all filth away.* One may busie himselfe about the barke, when once the pith is gotten out: As when we have drunke-off the Wine, wee consider the graving and workmanship of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient Philosophie, this one thing may be noted, that one same workeman publisheth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licentiousnesse. And *Xenophon in Clinias* bosome, writ against the Aristippian vertue. It is not a myraculous conversion, that so doth wave and hull them too and fro. But it is, that *Solon* doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and sometimes in form of a Law-giver: now he speaketh for the multitude, and now for himselfe. And takes the free and naturall rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect soundnes.

Iuv. Sat. 13. 124

Curentur dubij medicis maioribus agri.

Let patients in great doubt,
Secke great Phisitions out.

Antisthenes alloweth a wise man to love and doe what he list, without respect of lawes, especially

especially in things he deemeth needfull and fit: Forasmuch as he hath a better vnderstanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His Disciple *Diogenes* saide; *To perturbations we should oppose, reason; to fortune, confidence; and to lawes, nature: To dainty and tender stomakes, constrained and artificiall ordinances.* Good stomakes are simplie served with the prescriptions of their naturall appetite. So doe our Physicians, who whilst they tie their patients to a strik't diet of a panada or a sirope, feede themselves vpon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meate, and drinke all maner of good Wine. I wot not what Bookes are, nor what they meane by wisdom and philosophie (quoth the Curtizan *Lais*) but sure I am, those kindes of people knocke as often at my gates, as any other men. Because our licentiousnesse transports vs commonly beyond what is lawfull and allowed, our lives-precepts and lawes have often bene wrested or restrained beyond vniverfall reason.

Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum Permittas.

Iuv. Sat. 14. 233

No man think's it enough so farre t'offend
As you give lawfull leave (and there to end)

It were to be wished, there were a greater proportion betweene commaundement and obedience: And *vnjust* seemeth that ayme or goale whereto one cannot possibly attaine. *No man is so exquisitely-honest or upright in living, but brings all his actions and thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes; and that tenne times in his life might not lawfully be hanged.* Yea happily such a man, as it were pitie and dangerously-hurtful to loose, and most vnjust to punish him.

xv

*Olle quid ad te,
De cute quid faciat ille vel illa sua?*

*Mart. li. 7. epig.
9. 1.*

Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or shee
With their owne skinner for themselves doing bee?

And some might never offend the lawes, that notwithstanding should not deserve the commendations of vertuous men: and whome Philosophie might meritoriously and justly cause to be whipped. So troubled, dimme-sighted and partiall is this relation. *We are farre enough from being honest according to God: For, we cannot be such according to our selves. Humane wisdom could never reach the duties, or attaine the deuoues it had prescribed vnto it selfe.* And had it at any time attained them, then would it doublelesse prescribe some others beyond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend. So great an enemy is our condition vnto consistence. Man dooth necessarily ordaine vnto himselfe to be in fault. Hee is not very craftie, to measure his dutie by the reason of another being, than his owne. To whom prescribes he that, which he expects no man will performe? Is he vnjust in not dooing that, which he cannot possibly atchieve? The lawes which condemne vs, not to be able; condemne vs for that we cannot performe. If the worst happen, this deformed libertie, for one to present himselfe in two places, and the actions after one fashon, the discourses after another; is lawfull in them, which report things: But it cannot be in them, that acknowledge themselves as I doe. I must walke with my penne, as I goe with my feete. The common high way must have conference with other wayes. *Catoes* vertue was vigorous, beyond the reason of the age he lived in: and for a man that entermedled with governing other men, destinated for the common service; it might be saide to have bene a justice, if not vnjust, at least vaine and out of season. Mine owne manners, which scarce disagree one inch from those now currant, make me notwithstanding in some sorte, strange, vnknown and vnsofiable to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distasted and out of liking with the world, wherein I live and frequent: but wel I know, I should have small reason to complaine, the world were distasted and out of liking with me, since I am so with it. The vertue assigned to the worlds affaires, is a vertue with sundry byases, turnings, bendings and elbowes, to apply and joyne it selfe to humane imbecilitie; mixed and artificiall: neither right, pure or constant, nor meere innocent. Our Annales, even to this day, blame some one of our Kings, to have over-simply suffered himselfe to be led or mis-led by the conscientious perswasions of his Confessor. *Matters of state have more bold precepts.*

*exeat aula,
Qui vult esse pius.
He that will godly bee,
From Court let him be free.*

*Lucan. bell. civ.
lib. 8. 493.*

I have

I have heretofore assayed to employ my opinions and rules of life, as new, as rude, as im-
polished or as vnpoluted, as they were naturally borne with me, or as I have attained them
by my institution; and wherewith, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular, I
serve mine owne turne, vnto the service of publike affaires and benefit of my Common-
wealth: A scholasticall and novice vertue; but I have found them very vnapt and danger-
ous for that purpose. He that goeth in a presse or throng of people, must sometimes step
aside, hold in his elbowes, crosse the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forsake the
right way, according as it falls out: Live he not so much as he would himselfe, but as others
will: not according to that he proposeth to himselfe, but to that which is proposed to him:
according to times, to men and to affaires; and as the skillfull Mariner, *saille with the winde.*
Plato saith, that *who escapes untainted and cleane-handed from the managing of the world; es-*
capeth by some wonder. He sayes also, that when he instituteth his Philosopher as chiefe o-
ver a Commonwealth; he means not a corrupted or law-broken Commonwealth, as that of
Athenz; and much lesse, as ours, with which wisdom herselfe would be brought to a *non-plus*,
or put to her shifts. And a good hearb, transplanted into a soile very diverse from her nature,
doth much sooner conforme it selfe to the soile, then it reformeth the same to it selfe. I fee-
lingly perceive that if I were wholly to enure my selfe to such occupations, I should require
much change and great repairing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and
diligence?) I would not. Of that little which in this vacation I have made triall-of, I have
much distasted my selfe: I sometimes finde certaine temptations arise in my minde, towards
ambition; but I start aside, bandie and opinionate my selfe to the contrarie:

Catull. byr. epig.
8.19.

At tu Catulle obstinatus obdura.

Be thou at any rate,

Obdurate, obstinate.

I am not greatly called, and I invite my selfe as litle vnto it. Libertie and idlenesse, my chiefe
qualities, are qualities diametrically contrary to that mysterie. We know not how to distin-
guish mens faculties. They have certaine devisions and limites vneasie and over nice to be
chosen. *To conclude by the sufficiency of a private life, any sufficiencie for publike use, it is ill con-*
cluded: Some one directeth himselfe well, that cannot so well direct others; and composeth
Essayes, that could not worke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege, that could
but ill commaund and marshall a battell: and discourseth well in private, that to a multitude
or a Prince would make but a bad Oration. Yea peradventure, tis rather a testimonie to
him that can do one, that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirits
are not much lesse apt for base things, then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be ima-
gined, that *Socrates* would have given the Athenians cause to laugh at his owne charges, be-
cause he could never justly compt the suffrages of his tribe, and make report thereof vnto
the counsell? Truly the reverence I beare and respect I owe vnto that mans perfections,
deserveth that his fortune bring to the excuse of my principall imperfections, one so notable
example. Our sufficiencie is retailed into small parcells. Mine hath no latitude, and is in
number very miserable. *Saturninus* answered those, who had conferred all authoritie vpon
him, saying, *Oh you my fellow-souldiers, you have lost a good Captaine, by creating him a bad Ge-*
nerall of an Armie. Who in time of infection vanteth himselfe, for the worlds-service, to em-
ploy a genuine or sincere vertue, either knowes it not, (opinions being corrupted with ma-
ners; in good sooth, heare but them paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie them-
selves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules: in hiew of pourtraying vertue,
they onely set forth meere injustice and vice: and thus false and adulterate they present the
same to the institution of Princes) or if he know it, hee wrongfully beausteth himselfe; and
whatever he saith, he doth many things whereof his owne conscience accuseth him. I should
easily believe *Seneca*, of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, vpon condition he
would freely speake his minde of it vnto me. *The honourablest badge of goodnesse in such a ne-*
cessitie, is ingenuously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults; to stay and with his
might, hinder the inclination towards evill: and avie to follow this course, to hope and wish better.
In these dismembings or havocks of *France*, and divisions wherinto we are miserablyaine,
I perceive every man travell and busie himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better sort,
with much dissembling and falsehood. Hee that should plainely and roundly write of it,
should write rashly and viciously. Take the best and justest part, what is it else but the
member

member of a crafed, worme-eaten and corrupted body? But of fuch a body, the member leaft ficke, is called found : and good reason why, becaufe our qualities have no title but in comparifon. Civill innocencie is meafured according to places and feafons. I would be glad to fee fuch a commendation of *Agefilaus* in *Xenophon*, who being entreated of a neighbour Prince, with whom he had fometimes made warre, to fuffer him to paffe through his countrie, was therewith well pleased; granting him free paffage through *Peloponnefe*, and having him at his mercy, did not only not emprifon nor empoifon him, but according to the tenour of his promife, without fhew of offence or vnkindenefle, entertained him with all curtefie and humanitie. To fuch humours, it were a matter of no moment : At other times and elfewhere, the libertie and magnanimitie of fuch an action fhall be highly efteemed. Our gullifh Gaberdines would have mockt at it. So little affinitie is there betweene the Spartan and the French innocencie. Wee have notwithstanding fome honeft men amongst vs ; but it is after our fafhion. Hee whose maners are in regularitie eftablifhed above the age he liveth-in; let him either wrefte or muffle his rules: or (which I would rather perfwade him) let him withdraw himfelfe apart, and not medle with vs. What fhall he gaine thereby?

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero, & miranti iam sub aratro
Piscibus inventis & foeta comparo mule.*

Luve. sat. 13. 64

See I a man of holineffe and vertues rare,
To births bimembred, vnder wonderful plow-share,
Fifh found, or moiles with fole, this monfter I compare.

One may bewaile the better times, but not avoide the prefent : one may defire other magiftrates, but notwithstanding he muft obey thofe he hath : And happily is it more commendable to obey the wicked, than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed and antient lawes of this Monarchie fhall be extant and fhine in any corner thereof; there will I be; there will I abide. And if by any difafter they fhall chaunce to have contradiction or empeachment amongst themfelves, and produce two factions, of doubtfull or hard choife : my ellection fhall be to avoide, and if I can efcape this ftorme. In the meane while, either nature or the hazard of warre, fhall lend me their helping hand. I fhould freely have declared my felfe betweene *Cefar* and *Pompey*. But betweene thofe three theeves which came after, where either one muft have hid himfelfe, or followed the winde : which I deeme lawfull, when reafon fwayeth no longer.

Quo diverfus abis?

Whither have you recourfe,
So farre out of your courfe?

*Virg. Æn. lib. 5
166.*

This mingle-mangle is fomewhat befide my text. I ftragle out of the path; yet is it rather by licence, then by vnadvifedneffe: My fantasies follow one another : but fometimes a farre-off, and looke one at another; but with an oblique looke. I have heretofore caft mine eyes vpon fome of *Platoes* Dialogues; bemoled with a fantafticall varietie: the firft part treated of love, all the latter of Rethorike. They feare not thefe variances; and have a wonderfull grace in fuffering themfelves to be transported by the winde; or to feeme fo. The titles of my chapters, embrace not alwayes the matter : they often but glance at it by fome marke: as thefe others, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*; or thefe, *Sylla*, *Cicero*, *Torquatus*. I love a Poeticall kinde of march, by frifkes, skips and jumps. It is an arte (faith *Plato*) light, nimble, fleeting and light-brain'd. There are fome treatifes in *Plutarke*, where he forgets his theame, where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie and chance, all ftuffed with ftrange matter. Marke but his vagaries in his *Dæmon* of *Socrates*. Oh God! what grace hath the variation, and what beautie thefe startings and nimble escapes; and then moft, when they feeme to imply carelefneffe and casualtie : It is the vnheedie and negligent reader, that loofeth my fubject, and not my felfe. Some word or other fhall ever be found in a corner, that hath relation to it, though clofely couched. I am indiscreetly and tumultuoufly at a fault; my file and wit are ftill gadding alike. A little folly is tolerable in him, that will not be more fottifh; fay our maifters precepts, and more their examples. A thoufand Poets labour and languifh after the profe-manner, but the beft antient profe, which I indifferently fcatte here and there for verfe, fhineth every where, with a poeticall vigor and boldneffe, and representeth fome aire or touch of it's fury : Verely ſhe ought to have the maiftrie and preheminence

preheminence given her in matters of speech. A Poet (saith *Plato*) seated on the Muses
 footstool, doth in a furie powre-out whatsoever commeth in his mouth, as the pipe or
 cocke of a fountaine, without considering or ruminating the same: and many things escape
 him, diverse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Ancient Divinitie is al-
 together Poetic (say the learned) and the first Philosophie. It is the originall language of the
 Gods. I vnderstand that the matter distinguisheth it selfe. It sufficiently declareth where it
 changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth and where it rejoyneth; without enter-
 lacings of words, joyning ligaments & binding seames, wrestled-in for the service of weake
 and vnattentive eares: and without glosing or expounding my selfe. What is he, that would
 not rather not be read at all, then read in drowzie and cursorie manner? *Nihil est tam utile,*
quod intransitu proficit. There is nothing so profitable, that being lightly past over, will doe good. If
 to take bookes in hand were to learne them: and if to see, were to view them; and if to runne
 them over, were to seise vpon them, I should be too blame, to make my selfe altogether so ig-
 norant as I say. Since I cannot stay the Readers attention by the weight: *Manco male*, if I hap-
 pen to stay him by my intricate confusion: yea but he will afterward repent, that ever he am-
 used himselfe about it. You say true, but he shal have amused himselfe vpon it. And there be
 humours, to whom vnderstanding causeth disdain, who because they shall not know what
 I meane will esteeme me the better, and will conclude the mysterie and depth of my sence
 by the obscurity: Which, to speake in good earnest, I hate as death, and would shunne-it, if
 I could avoyde my selfe. *Aristotle* vaunterh in some place to affect the same. A vicious af-
 fectation. Forso much as the often breaking of my Chapters, I so much vsed in the begin-
 ning of my booke, seemed to interrupt attention, before it be conceived: Disdaining for so
 little a while to collect and there seate it selfe: I have betaken my selfe to frame them longer,
 as requiring proposition and assigned leasure. In such an occupation, he to whom you will
 not graunt one houre, you will allow him nothing. And you do nought for him, for whom
 you doe, but in doing some other thing. Sithence peradventure I am particularly tied and
 precizely vowed, to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake discrepantly. I there-
 fore hate this trouble-feast reason: And these extravagant projects, which so much molest
 mans life, and these so luttle opinions, if they have any truth; I deeme it over-deere, and finde
 it too incommodious. On the other side, I labour to set forth vanitie and make sottishnesse
 to prevaile, if it bring me any pleasure. And without so nicely controuling them, I follow
 mine owne naturall inclinations. I have elsewhere seene some houses ruined, statues over-
 throwne, both of heaven and of earth: But men be alwayes one. All that is true: and yet I can
 not so often survey the vast toomb of that Citie so great, so populous & so puissant, but I as
 often admire and reverence the same. *The care and remembrance of evils is recommended unto*
vs. Now have I from my infancie beene bredde and brought vp with these: I have had
 knowledge of the affaires of *Rome*, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I
 knew the Capitoll, and it's platforme, before I knew *Louvre*, the pallace of our Kings in
Paris; and the River *Tiber*, before *Seyne*. I have more remembred and thought vpon the
 fortunes and conditions of *Lucullus*, *Metellus* and *Scipio*, then of any of our country-men.
 They are deceased, and so is my father, as fully as they: and is as distant from me and life in
 eightene yeares as they were in sixteene hundred: Whose memory, amitie and societie, I
 notwithstanding ommit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect
 and most lively vnion. Yea of mine owne inclination, I am more officious toward the de-
 ceased. They can no longer help themselves; but (as me seemeth) they require so much the
 more my ayde: There is Gratitude, and there appeareth she in her perfect lustre. A benefit
 is lesse richly assigned, where retrogradation and reflexion is. *Arcefilans* going to visit *Cre-*
sibius that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, faire and softly thrust some mony
 vnder his boulder, which he gave him: And concealing it from him, left and gave him also
 a quittance for ever being beholding to him. Such as have at any time deserved friendship,
 or love or thanks at my handes, never lost the same, by being no longer with me. I have bet-
 ter paid and more carefully rewarded them, being absent, and when they least thought of-
 it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my friends, when there is least meanes, that
 ever it shall come to their eares, I have heretofore vndergone a hundred quarrels for the de-
 fence of *Pompey* and *Brutus* his cause. This acquaintaunce continueth to this day betweene
 vs. *Even of present things wee have no other holde, but by our fantazie.* Perceiving my
 selfe

selfe vnfit and vnprofitable for this age, I cast my selfe to that other; And am so besotted with it, that the state of the said ancient, free, iust and flourishing *Rome*, (for I neither love the birth, nor like the old-age of the same) doth interest, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streetes and houses, and those wondrous-strange ruines, that may be saide to reach downe to the Antipodes, but so often must I amuse my selfe on them. Is it by Nature or by the errour of fantasie, that the seeing of places, wee know to have bin frequented or inhabited by men, whose memorie is esteemed or mentioned in stories, doeth in some sorte moove and stirre vs vp as much or more, than the hearing of their noble deedes, or reading of their compositions? *Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis: Et id quidem in hac urbe infinitum; quacumque enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.* So great a power of admonition is in the verie place: And that in this City is most infinite; for which way soever mee walke, wee sette our foote vpon some Historie. I am much delighted with the consideration of their countenance, port and abillments. I ruminate those glorious names betweene my teeth; and make mine eares to ring with the sound of them. *Ego illos veneror, & tantis nominibus semper assurgo.* I doe reverence them, and at their names I doe rise and make curtesie. Of things but in some sort great, strange and admirable, I admire their common parts. I could wish to see them walke and suppe together, and heare their discourses. It were ingratitude to dispise, and impietie to neglect the relikes or images of so many excellent, honest good men, and therewithall so valiant, which I have seene live and die: And who by their examples, had we the wit or grace to followe them, affoord vs so many notable instructions. And *Rome* as it stands now, deserveth to be loved: Confederated so long since, and sharing titles with our Crowne of *France*: Being the onlie common and vniversall Citie: The Sovereaigne Magistrate therein commaunding, is likewise knowne abroad in divers other places. It is the chiefe Metropolitan Citie of all Christian Nations: Both French and Spaniards, and all men else are there at home. To bee a Prince of that state, a man needes but be of Christendome, where ever it be seated. There's no place here on earth, that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and graces, and with such constancie: Even hir ruine is glorious with renowne, and swolne with glorie.

Laudandis preciosior ruinis.

Ev'n made more honourable

By ruines memorable.

Low-levelled as she lieth, and even in the tombe of hir glory, she yet reserveth the livelie image and regardfull markes of Empire. *Ut palam sit vno in loco gaudentis opus esse natura.* So as it is cleere, in one place is set-forth the worke of Nature in her iollitie. Some one would blame himsele, yea and mutinie, to feele himsele tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humors are not over vaine, that be pleasant. Whatsoever they be, that constantly content a man capable of common vnderstanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pittie him. I am much beholding to fortune, inasmuch as vntill this day, she hath committed nothing outrageously against me, or imposed anie thing vpon mee, that is beyond my strength, or that I could not well beare. It is not haply her custome, to suffer such as are not importunate or over busie with hir, to live in peace.

Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,

A Dys plura feret, nil cupientium,

Nudus castra peto, multa petentibus,

Desunt multa.

The more that men shall to themselves denie,

The more the Gods will give them: threed-bare I

Follow the campe of them that nought desire.

They still want much, that still doe much require.

If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied.

Deos laceſſo. ———

More than will serve, to have

Of Gods I do not crave.

But beware the shocke: *Thousandes miscarry in the haven, and are cast away being neereſt home.*

home. I am easily comforted with what shall happen here when I am gone. Things present trouble me sufficiently, and set me thoroughly a worke.

Ovid Metam. l.
2. 140

Fortuna cetera mando.

Thereft I doe commit

To Fortune (as is fit.)

Besides, I am not tied with that strong bond, which some say, bindes men to future times, by the children bearing their names, and succeeding them in honors. And being so much to be desired, it may be I shall wish for them so much the lesse. I am by my selfe but overmuch tied vnto the world, and fastned vnto life: I am pleased to be in Fortunes holde by the circumstances properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction vpon mee by other wayes: And I never thought, that to be without children, were a defect, able to make mans life lesse compleate and lesse contented. A barren state or sterile vacation, have also their peculiar commodities. Children are in the number of things, that neede not greatly be desired; especially in these corrupted dayes, wherein it would be so hard a matter to make them good. *Bona iam nec nasci licet, ita corrupta sunt semina.* Wee can not now have good things so much as growe, the seedes are so corrupt. Yet have they just cause to moane them, that having once gotten, loose them vntimely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home so little, fore-saw I should be the overthrowe of it. Hee was deceived: I am now as I came vnto it, if not somewhat better. And that, without any Office or Church-living; which are no small helps. As for other matters, if Fortune have offered me no violent or extraordinary offence, so hath she not shewed me any great favour or extraordinary grace. Whatsoever I have belonging to it, that may properly be termed her gifts, was there before I came vnto it; yea and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no solide benefit, that I owe vnto her liberalitie: Indeepe she hath bestowed some winde-pufft favors vpon me, which may rather be termed titulare and honorable in shew, than in substance, or materiall: And which, in good truth, she hath not granted, but offered me. God he knowes, to me, who am altogether materiall; not satisfied but with realitie, which must also be massie and substantiall: And who, if I durst confesse it, would not thinke avarice, much lesse excusable then ambition: nor grieve lesse evitable, than shame: nor health lesse desirable, than learning: or riches, lesse to be wished, than nobilitie. Amongst her vaine favours, I have none doth so much please my fond selfe-pleasing conceit, as an authentike Bull, charter or patent of denizonshippe or borgeonshippe of Rome, which at my last being there, was granted me by the whole Senate of that Cittie: garnish and trimly adorned with goodly Seales, and writter in faire golden Letters: bestowed vpon me with all gracious and free liberalitie. And forsomuch as they are commonly conferred in diverse stiles, more or lesse favourable: and that before I had ever seene any, I would have bin glad to have had but a patterne or formulare of one: I will for the satisfaction of any, if hee fortune to be possessed with such a curiositie as mine, here set downe the true copie or transcript of it: and thus it is.

Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Murius, alique urbis conservatores de Illustrissimo viro Michaeli Montano equite sancti Michaelis, & à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romana civitate donando, ad Senatum retulerunt, S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita fieri censuit.

Cum veteri more & instituto cupide illi semper studioseque suscepti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate prestantes, magno Reipublice nostra usui atque ornamento fuissent, velle esse aliquando possent: Nos maiorum nostrorum exemplo atque auctoritate permoti, præclaram hanc Consuetudinem nobis imitandam ac servandam fore censuimus. Quamobrem cum Illustrissimus Michael Montanus Eques sancti Michaelis, & à cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romani nominis studiosissimus, & familiaris laude atque splendore & proprijs virutū meritis dignissimus sit, qui summo Senatus Populiq; Romani iudicio ac studio in Romanam Civitatem adsciscatur, placere Senatui S. P. Q. R. Illustrissimum Michaelē Montanum rebus omnibus ornatissimum, atq; huic inclito Populo charissimum, ipsum posteroq; in Rom. civitatem adscribi, ornariq; omnibus & præmijs & honoribus, quibus illi fruuntur, qui Cives Patriūq; Romani nati aut iure optimo facti sunt. In quo censere Senatui S. P. Q. R.

se non tantum illi ius Civitatis largiri quam debitum tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quam ab ipso accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipiendo, singulari Civitatem ipsam ornameto atque honore affecerit. Quam quidem S.C. auctoritatem idem Conservatores per Senatus P. Q. R. scribas in acta referri atque in Capitolij curia servari, privilegiumque huiusmodi fieri, solitoque urbis sigillo communiri curarunt. Anno ab urbe condita CXD CCC XXXI. post Christum natum M. D. LXXXI. III. Idus Martij.

Horatius Fuscus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.

Vincent. Martholus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.

AT the motion of *Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus*, who are Conservators of this beautifull Cittie, concerning the endenizing and making Cittizen of Rome the noble Gentleman *Michaell de Montaigne*, Knight of the Order of Saint *Michael*, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate & people of Rome thought good thereof thus to enact. Whereas by the auntient custome and good order, they have ever and with good will, beene entertained, who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have bin, or at any time might be of any great vse or ornament vnto our common-weale: We, mooved by example and authoritie of our Auncesters, decree, That this notable custome, by vs should be ensued and observed. Wherefore, sithence the right Noble *Michael de Montaigne*, Knight of Saint *Michaels* Order, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, both is most affectionate vnto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splendor of his pedigree, as also by the merites of his proper vertues, most worthy to be adopted and inserted into the Romane Cittie with a speciall judgement and good will of the Senate and people of Rome: It pleaseth the Senate & people of Rome, that the right noble *Michael de Montaigne*, adorned in all complements, and wel-beloved of this famous Communalitie, both himselfe and his successours should be ascribed and enfranchized into this Romane Cittie, and be graced with all rewardes and honours, which they enjoy, who either have bin borne or elected, either Cittizens or Noble men of Rome. Wherein the Senate and people doe decree, That they doe not so much vouchsafe him the right of their Cittie, as give him that is due vnto him; nor doe they rather give him a benefite, than receive it of him, who by accepting this gift of the Cittie, doth countenance the Cittie with a singular ornament and honour. Which Act and authoritie of the Senates Decree, the saide Conservators caused by the Clerks of the Senate and people to be registred and laide-vp in the Capitoll Court, and this Priviledge to be made and signed with the Citties vsuall Seale. In the yeare since the building of the Cittie CXD CCC XXXI. after the birth of Christ a thousand five hundred eightie and one: the Ides of March.

Horatius Fuscus, and Vincent Martholus Clerks of the sacred Senate and people of Rome.

Being neither Burgeois nor Denizon of any Cittie, I am well pleased to be so, of the noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attentively consider and survey themselves as I doe, they should as I doe, finde themselves full of inanie, fondnesse or vanitie. I can not be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. We are all possessed and overwhelmed therewith, as well the one as the other. But such as have a feeling of it, have somewhat the better bargaine: And yet I am not sure of it. This common opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on our selves, hath well provided for our affaires. It is an object full-fraught with discontent, wherein we see nothing but miserie and vanitie. To th'end we should not wholly be discomforted, Nature hath very fitly cast the action of our sight outward: *We goe forward according to the streame, but to turne our course backe to our selves, is a painefull motion*: the sea likewise is troubled, raging and disquieted, when 'tis turned and driven into it selfe. Observe (saith every one) the motions and bransles of the heavens: take a survey of all: the quarrell of this man, the pulse of that man, and anothers last testament: to conclude, behold and marke ever, high or low, right or oblique, before or behinde you. It was a paradoxall commandement, which the God of *Deiphos* laide heretofore vpon vs; Saying: *View your selves within; know your selves; and keepe you to your selves*: Your minde and your will, which elsewhere is consumed, bring

The third Booke.

it vnto it selfe againe : you scatter, you stragle, you stray, and you distract your selves : call your selves home againe; rowze and vphold your selves : you are betrayed, you are spoiled and dissipated; your selves are stolne and taken from your selves. Seest thou not how all this vniverse holdeith all his sights compelled inward, and his eyes open to contemplate it selfe? Both inward and outward it is ever vanitie for thee; but so much lesse vanitie, by how much lesse it is extended. Except thy selfe, Oh man, (said that God) every thing doth first seeke and studie it selfe, and according to it's neede hath limites to her travells, and bounds to her desires. There's not one so shallow, so empty, and so needy as thou art who embracest the whole world : Thou art the Scrutator without knowledge, the magistrate without jurisdiction : and when all is done, the vice of the play.

The tenth Chapter.

How one ought to governe his will.

IN regarde of the common sorte of men, few things touch mee, or (to speake properly) detain me : For it is reason they touch, so they possesse-vs not. I have great neede, both by studie and discourse, to encrease this priuiledge of insensibilitie, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded vnto many things, and by consequence, not passionate of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objects : My senses delicate and gentle; but my apprehension and application hard and dull : I engage my selfe with difficultie. As much as I can, I employ my selfe wholly to my selfe. And in this very subject, I would willingly bridle and vphold mine affection, lest it be too far plunged therein : Seeing it is a subject I possesse at the mercie of others, and over which fortune hath more interest then my selfe. So-as even in my health, which I so much esteeme, it were requisite not to desire, nor so carefully to seeke it, as thereby I might light vpon intolerable diseases. *We must moderate our selves, betwixt the hate of paine, and the love of pleasure.* Plato sets downe a meane course of life betweene both. But to affections that distract me from my selfe, and divert me elsewhere; surely, to such I oppose my selfe with all my force. Mine opinion is, that one should lend himselfe to others, and not give himselfe but to himselfe. Were my will easie to engage or apply it selfe, I could not continue : I am over tender both by nature and custome,

fugax rerum, securaque in otia natus.

Avoiding active businesse,
And borne to secure idlenesse.

Contested and obstinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earnest pursuite ashamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If I vexed as other men, my soule should never have strength to beare th'alaroms and emotions, that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this intestine agitation. If at any time I have beene vrged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to vndertake them with my hand, but not with my heart and spleene; to charge, and not to incorporate them into me; to have a care, but nothing at all to be over passionate of them : I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispose and direct the domesticall troubles within mine owne entrailes and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments : And am sufficiently interessed with my proper, naturall and essentiall affaires, without seeking others businesse. Such as know how much they owe to themselves, and how many offices of their owne they are bound to performe, shall finde that nature hath given them this commission fully ample and nothing idle. *Thou hast businesse enough within thy selfe, therefore stray not abroad :* Men give themselves to hire. Their faculties are not their owne, but theirs to whom they subject themselves; their inmates, and not themselves, are within them. This common humour doth not please me. We should thriftily husband our mindes libertie, and never engage it but vpon just occasions; which if we judge impartially, are very few in number. Looke on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swayde, they doe it every where. In little as well as in great matters;

matters; to that which concerneth, as easie as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life, if without tumultuary agitation. *In negotijs sunt, negotij causa.* They are busie that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake. They seeke worke but to be working. It is not so much because they will goe, as for that they cannot stand still. Much like to a rowling stone, which never staves vntill it come to a lying place. To some men, employment is a marke of sufficiency and a badge of dignitie. Their spirits seeke rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle. They may be saide, to be as serviceable ro their friends, as importunate to themselves. *No man distributes his money to others, but every one his life and time.* We are not so prodigall of any thing, as of those whereof to be covetous would be both commendable and profitable for vs. I follow a cleane contrary course, I am of an other complexion; I stay at home and looke to my selfe. What I wish-for, I commonly desire the same but mildely; and desire but little: so likewise I seldome employ and quietly embusie my selfe. What ever they intend and act, they doe it with all their will and vehemencie. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more securitie, we must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. *Pleasure it selfe is painefull in it's height.*

*incedis per ignes,
Subpositos cineri doloso.*

*Hor. car. l. 2. od.
1.7.*

You passe through fire (though vnafraide)
Vnder deceitfull ashes laide.

The towne-counsell of *Bordeaux* chose me Maior of their Cittie, being farre from *France*; He was but further from any such thought. I excused my selfe and would have avoided it. But they told me I was too blame; the more, because the kings commandement was also employd therein. It is a charge, should seeme so much the more goodly, because it hath neither fee nor rewarde, other then the honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldome hapneth. To me it was, and never had beene but twice before: Some yeares passit to the Lord of *Lansac*; and lately to the Lord of *Biron*, Marshall of *France*. In whose place I succeeded; and left mine to the Lord of *Matignon*, likewise Marshall of *France*. Glorious by so noble an assistance.

Vterque bonus pacis bellique minister.

Both, both in peace and warre,
Right serviceable are.

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance, which she of her owne added thereunto; not altogether vaine. For *Alexander* disdained the Corinthian Ambassadors, who offred him the freedome and Burgeoisie of their Cittie, but when they told him that *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were likewise in their registers, he kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arrivall, I faithfully disciphred and conscientiously displaide my selfe, such as I am indeede: without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiency; so likewise without hatred, without, ambition, without covetousnesse and without violence: that so they might be duely instructed what service they might, or hope, or expect at my hands. And forso much as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare vnto his memorie, had mooved them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainly, I should be very sorie, that any thing should worke such an opinion in my will, as their affaires and Cittie had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, whereunto they had called mee. I remembred to have seene him being an infant, and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoyled with this publike toile; forgetting the sweete aire of his owne house, whereunto the weakenesse of his age had long before tied him; neglecting the care of his health and familie, in a maner despising his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endangered, riding long and painefull journeys for them. Such a one was he: which humor proceeded from the bountie and goodnesse of his nature. Never was minde more charitable or more popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow: Neither am I without excuse. He had heard, that a man must forget himselfe for his neighbour: that in respect of the generall, the particular was not to be regarded. Most of the worldes-rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive vs out of our selves into the wide world, to the vse of publike societie. They presumed to worke a goodly effect, in distracting and withdrawing vs from our selves: supposing wee were by a naturall instinct,

too-too much tied vnto it: and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wise it is no noveltie, to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, discomforts and incompatibilities with vs. Wee must often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves. And seele our eyes, and dull our vnderstanding, thereby to repaire and amend them. *Imperiti enim indicant, & qui frequenter in hoc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent.* For vnskillfull men indge, who must often even therefore be deceived, lest they erre and be deceived. When they prescribe vs, to love three, foure yea fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present vs with the Arte of shooters, who to come neerer the marke take their aime far above the same. *To make a crooked stick straight, we bend it the contrary way.* I suppose that in the Temple of *Pallas*, as we see in al other religions, they had some apparant mysteries, of which they made shew to all the people; and others more high and secret, to be imparted onely to such as were professed. It is likely, that the true point of friendship, which everie man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Not a false amitie, which makes vs embrace glorie, knowledge, riches and such like, with a principall and imoderate affection, as members of our being; nor an effeminate and indiscreete friendship; Wherin hapneth as to the Ivie, which corrupts and ruines the Walls it claspeth: But a sound and regular amitie, equally profitable and pleasant. Who so vnderstandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee is rightly endenized in the Muses cabinet: He hath attained the tipe of humane Wisedome and the perfection of our happinesse. This man knowing exactly what he oweth to himselfe, findeth, that he ought to employ the vse of other men and of the World vnto himselfe; which to performe, he must contribute the duties and offices that concerne him vnto publike societie. *He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe. Qui sibi amicus est, scito hunc amicum omnibus esse; He that is friend to himselfe, know, he is friend to all.* The principall charge we have, is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely we live heere. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others, should thinke himselfe acquitted of his dutie; would be deemed a foole: Even so, who forsaketh to live healthie and merrily himselfe, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a badde and vnnaturall course. I will not, that in any charge one shall take in hand, hee refuse or thinke much of his attention, of his labour, of his steps, of his speech, of his sweat, and if need be, of his blood,

Hor. car. li. 4. od.
951.

——— *non ipsa pro charis amicis,*

Aut patria timidus perire.

Not fearing life to end

For Country or deare friend.

But it is onely borrowed and accidentally; The mind remaining ever quiet and in health: not without action, but without vexation or passion. Simply to moove or be dooing, cost's it so little, that even sleeping it is mooving and dooing. But it must have it's motion with discretion. For the bodie receiveth the charges imposed him, justly as they are: But the spirit extendeth them, and often to his hinderance makes them heavy; giving them what measure it pleaseth. Like things are effected by divers effortes and different contentions of will. The one may goe without the other. For, how manie men doe dayly hazard themselves in warre which they regarde not, and presse into the dangers of battelles, the losse wherof shal no whit breake their next sleep? Wheras some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have look't towards it, is for this Wars issue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed, than the soldier, that therein employeth both his blood and life. I know how to deale in publike charges, without departing from my selfe the breadth of my naile; and give my selfe to an other, without taking mee from my selfe: This sharpenesse and violence of desires hindereth more, then steade the conduct of what we vndertake, filling vs with impacience to the events, eyther contrary or flowe: and with bitterness and jealousie toward those with whom we negotiate. We never governe that thing well, wherwith we are possessed and directed.

——— *Male cunctis ministrat*

Impetus. ———

Fury and haste doe lay all waste;

Misplacing all, disgracing all,

He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerefully:

he

he faines, he yeeldes, he defers at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessitie: hee failes of his attempt, without torment or affliction; readie and pepared for a new enterprise. He marcheth alwayes with the reines in his hand. He that is besotted with this violent and tyrannicall intention, dooth necessarily declare much indiscretion and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are rash motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of little fruite. Philosophie wills vs to banish choller in the punishment of offences; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and surely set on: wher-vnto this violence seemeth to be a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearie the executioners armes. This passionate heate dulleth and consumes their force. As in too much speede, *festinatio tarda est; Hastinesse is slow*. Haste makes waste, and hinders and stayes it selfe: *Ipse se velocitas implicat; Swiftnesse entangles it selfe*. As for example, according as by ordinarie custome I perceiue, covetousnesse hath no greater let, then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the lesse effectual and fruitfull. Commonly it gathers wealth more speedily being masked with a shew of liberallitie. A very honest Gentleman and my good friend, was likely to have endangered the health of his bodie, by an over passionate attention and earnest affection to the affaires of a Prince, who was his Maister. Which Master hath thus described himselfe vnto me: That as another, hee discerneth and hath a feeling of the burthen of accidents: but such as have no remedie, hee presently resolveth to suffer with patience: For the rest, after he hath appointed necessarie provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit hee speedily effects, hee then attends the event with quietnesse. Verily, I have scene in him at one instant a great carelesnesse and liberty, both in his actions and countenance: Even in important and difficult affaires. I finde him more magnanimous and capable, in badde then in good fortune. His losses are to him more glorious, than his victories; and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chesse, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambitious desire to winne, doth presently cast both minde and limmes into disorder and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazle his sight and distemper his whole body. He who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loosing, is ever nearest vnto himselfe, and hath his wits best about him. The lesse hee is mooved or passionate in play, the more safely doeth he governe the same, and to his greater advantage. We hinder the mindes seazure and holdfast, by giving her so many things to seize vpon. Some wee should onely present vnto hir, others fasten vpon hir, and others incorporate into hir. Shee may see and feele all things, but must onely feede on hir selfe: And be instructed in that which properly concerneth hir, and which meerey belongeth to her essence and substance. *The Lawes of Nature teach vs what is iust and fit for vs*. After the wise-men have told vs, that according to Nature no man is indigent or wanteth, and that each-one is poore but in his owne opinion, they also distinguish subtilly, the desires proceeding from Nature, from such as grow from the disorders of our fantasie. Those whose end may be discerned are meerey hers; and such as flie before vs and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. *Want of goods may easilie be cured, but the poverty of the mind, is incurable.*

Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potest.

Hoc sat erat. nunc, quum hoc non est, qui credimus porro

Divitias ullas animum mi explere potesse?

If it might be enough, that is enough for man,

This were enough, since it is not, how thinke we can

Now any riches fill

My minde and greedy will?

Socrates seeing great store of riches, jewells and pretious stufte carried in pompe through his Cittie: *Oh how many things* (quoth he) *doe not I desire!* *Metrodorus* lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode: *Epicurus* with lesse: *Metrocles* in winter lay with sheep, and in summer in the Cloisters of Churches. *Sufficit ad id natura, quod poscit*. Nature is sufficient for that which it requires. *Cleanthes* lived by his handes, and boasted, that if *Cleanthes* would, he could nourish another *Cleanthes*. If that which Nature dooth exactly and originally require at our handes, for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape our life may be maintained, cannot better be knowne or expressed than by this consideration. That it is so little, and for the smallnesse thereof, it is out of

Fortunes reach, and she can take no hold of it) let vs dispenſe ſomething els vnto our ſelves, and call the cuſtome and condition of every-one of vs by the name of Nature. Let vs taxe and ſtint and feede our ſelves according to that meaſure; let vs extend both our appurtenances and reckonings therevnto. For ſo farre, me ſeemes, we have ſome excuſe: *Cuſtome is a ſecond Nature*, and no leſſe powerfull. What is wanting to my cuſtome, I hold it a defect: And I had well nigh as leefe one ſhould deprive mee of my life, as refraine or much abridge me of the ſtate wherein I have lived ſo long. I am no more vpon termes of any great alteration, nor to thruſt my ſelfe into a new and vn-ſuall courſe, no not toward augmentation: it is no longer time to become other or be transformed. And as I ſhould complaine if anie great adventure ſhould now befall mee, and grieve it came not in time that I might have enjoyed the ſame.

Hor. l. i. epiſt. 5.
12.

Quo mihi fortuna, ſi non conceditur uti?

Whereto ſhould I have much,

If I to uſe it grutch?

I ſhould likewiſe be grieved at anie inward purchaſe: It were better in a manner, never, than ſo late, to become an honeſt man: and well practiſed to live, when one hath no longer life. I who am readie to depart this World, could eaſily be induced, to reſigne the ſhare of wiſdome I have learn't, concerning the Worlds commerce, to anie other man new-come into the world. *It is even as good as Muſtard after dinner. What neede have I of that good, which I cannot enioy? Whereto ſerveth knowledge, if one have no head?* It is an injurie and diſgrace of Fortune, to offer vs thoſe preſents, which, for ſomuch as they faile vs when we ſhould moſt neede them, fill vs with a juſt ſpite. Guide me no more: I can go no longer. Of ſo many diſmembings that Sufficiencie hath, patience ſufficeth vs. Give the capacitie of an excellent treble to a Singer, that hath his lungs rotten; & of eloquence to an Hermit confined into the Deſarts of *Arabia*. *There needes no Arte to further a fall. The end findes it ſelfe in the finiſhing of every worke.* My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time paſt. And am bound to authorize the ſame, and thereto conforme my iſſue. I will ſay this by way of example; that the eclipsing or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately cauſed, hath taken me ſo lowe, that I can hardly recover my ſelfe. I followe the yeares, wherein we were wont to compt otherwiſe. So long and ancient a cuſtome doth chalenge and recall me to it againe. I am thereby enforced to be ſomewhat an heretike: Incapable of innovations, though corrective. My imagination maugre my teeth runnes ſtill tenne dayes before, or tenne behinde; and whiſpers in mine eares: *This rule toucheth thoſe, which are to come.* If health it ſelfe ſo ſweetely-pleaſing, comes to me but by fittes, it is rather to give mee cauſe of griefe, than poſſeſſion of it ſelfe. I have no where left me to retire it. Time forſakes me; without which nothing is enjoyed. How ſmall accompt ſhould I make of theſe great elective dignities I ſee in the worlde, and which are onely given to men, ready to leave the world! wherein they regarde not ſo much how duellie they ſhall diſcharge them, as how little they ſhall exerciſe them: from the beginning they looke to the end. To conclude, I am ready to finiſh this man, not to make another. *By long cuſtome, this forme is changed into ſubſtance, and Fortune into Nature.* I ſay therefore, that amongſt vs feeble creatures, each one is excuſable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended vnder this meaſure. And yet all beyond theſe limites, is nothing but conſuſion.

It is the largeſt extension we can grant our rights. The more wee amplifie our neede and poſſeſſion, the more we engage our ſelves to the croſſes of fortune and adverſities. The carriere of our deſires muſt be circumscribed, and tied to ſtrict bounds of neereſt and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their courſe ſhould be managed, not in a ſtraight line, having another end, but round, whoſe two points hold together, and end in our ſelves with a ſhort compaſſe. The actions governed without this reflection, I meane a neere and eſſentiall reflection, as thoſe of the covetous, of the ambitious and ſo many others, that runne directly point-blanke, the courſe of which carrieth them away before them, are erroneous and crazed actions. Moſt of our vacations are like playes. *Mundus univerſus exercet hiſtrioniam.* *All the world doth practiſe ſtage-playing.* We muſt play our parts duely, but as the part of a borrowed perſonage. Of a viſard and apparance, wee ſhould not make a reall eſſence, nor proper of that which is anothers. We cannot diſtinguiſh the ſkinne from the ſhirt. It is ſufficient to diſguiſe the face, without deforming the breſt. I ſee ſome transforme and tranſubſtan-

transubstantiate themselves, into as many new formes and strange beings, as they vndertake charges : and who emprelate themselves even to the heart and entrailles; and entraine their offices even sitting on their close stoole. I cannot teach them to distinguish the salutations and cappings of such as regard them, from those that respect either their office, their traine, or their mule. *Tantum se fortuna permittunt, etiam ut naturam dediscant.* They give themselves so much over to Fortune, as they forget Nature. They swell in mind and puffe vp their naturall discourse, according to the dignitie of their office. The Maior of Bourdeaux, and Michell Lord of Montaigne, have ever beene two, by an evident separation. To be an advocate or a Treasurer, one should not be ignorant of the craft incident to such callings. An honest man is not comptable for the vice and folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercise of it. It is the custome of his country; and there is profite in it. *We must live by the worlde, and such as we finde it, so make use of it.* But the judgement of an Emperour should be above his Empire; and to see and consider the same as a strange accident. He should know howe to enjoy himselfe aparte; and communicate himselfe as James and Peter; at least to himselfe. I can not so absolutely or so deeply engage my selfe. When my will gives me to any partie, it is not with so violent a bond, that my vnderstanding is thereby infected. In the present intestine troubles of our State, my interest hath not made mee forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachefull of those I have followed. They partially extoll what ever is on their side : I doe not so much as excuse the greater number of my friends-actions. A good Oratour looseth not his grace by pleading against me. The intricatenesse of our debate remooved, I haue maintained my selfe in equanimitie and pure indifferencie. *Neque extra necessitates belli, precipuum odium gero, Nor beare I capital hatred, when I am out of the necessitie of warre.* Wherein I glorie, for that commonly I see men erre in the contrary. Such as extend their choller and hatred, beyond their affaires (as most men doe) shew that it proceedes elsewhence, and from some private cause : Even as one being cured of an vicer, and his fever remaineth still, declareth it had another more hidden beginning. It is the reason they beare none vnto the cause, in generall: and for so much as it concerneth the interest of all, and of the state : But they are vexed at-it, onely for this, that it toucheth them in private. And therefore are they distempered with a particular passion, both beyond justice and publike reason. *Non tam omnia universi, quam ea, quæ ad quemque pertinent, singuli carcebant.* All did not so much finde fault withall, as every one with those that appertained to every one. I will have the advantage to be for vs, which though it be not, I enrage not. I stand firmly to the sounder parts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reason, I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate contesting : He is of the League, because he admireth the grace of the Duke of Guise : or he is a Hugonote, for so much as the King of Navarres activitie amazeth him : He findes fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is sedicious in his heart. I would not give the magistrate my voice, that he had reason, to condemne a booke, because an heretike was therein named and extolled to be one of the best Poets of this age. Dare wee not say that a theefe hath a good leg? if he have so indeede; If she be a strumpet, must she needes have a stinking breath? In wiser ages, revoked they the prowde title of *Capitolinus*, they had formerly given to *Marcus Manlius*, as the preserver of religion and publike libertie? Suppressed they the memory of his liberalitie, his deedes of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, because to the prejudice of his countries lawes, he afterward affected a Royaltie? If they once conceive a hatred against an Orator or an Advocate, the next day he becommeth barbarous and vneloquent. I have elsewhere discoursed of zeale, which hath driven good men into like errors. For my selfe, I can say : that he doth wickedly, and this vertuonsly. Likewise, in prognostikes or sinister events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne cause : and that our perswasion and judgement, serve not the truth, but the project of our desires. I should rather erre in the other extremitie; So much I feare my desire might corrupt mee. Considering, I somewhat tenderly distrust my selfe in things I most desire. I have in my dayes scene woonders, in the indiscreete and prodigious facility of people, suffering their hopes and beliefs, to be ledde and governed, as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders: above a hundred discontents, one in the neck of another: and beyond their fantasies and dreames. I wonder no more at those, whom the apish toyes of *Apollonius* and *Mahomet* have seduced and blinded. Their sence and vnderstanding is wholly smothered
in

in their passion. Their discretion hath no other choise but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause. Which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered factions and factious troubles. This other, which is growne since, by imitation surmounteth the same. Whereby I observe, that it is an inseparable qualitie of popular errors. The first being gone, opinions entershocke one another, following the winde, as waves doe. They are no members of the bodie, if they may renounce it; if they follow not the common course. But truly they wrong the just partes, when they seeke to helpe them with fraude or deceits. I have alwayes contradicted the same. This meane is but for sicke braines: The healthy have surer and honest wayes to maintaine their resolutions and excuse al contrary accidents. The Heavens never saw so weighty a discord and so harmefull a hatred, as that betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*; nor ever shall heereafter: Mee seemeth notwithstanding, I see in those noble and Heroicall mindes, an exemplar and great moderation of the one toward the other. It was a jealousy of honour and emulation of command, which transported them, not to a furious and indiscreete hatred; without malice or detraction. In their sharpest exploits, I discover some reliques of respect and cinders of well-meaning affection. And I imagine, that had it beene possible, eyther of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitour, than by working his vtter ruine. Note how contrarie the proceeding was betweene *Silla* and *Marius*. We must not runne headlong after our affections and private interests. As in my youth, I ever opposed my selfe to the motions of love, which I felt to vsurpe vpon me; and laboured to diminish it's delights, lest in the ende it might vanquish and captivate me to his mercie: So do I now in all other occasions, which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetite. I bend to the contrary of my disposition, as I see the same plunged and drunke with it's owne Wine. I shunne so farr forth to nourish hir pleasure, as I may not revoke it without a bloodie losse. Those mindes which through stupiditie see things but by halves, enjoy this happinesse, that such as be hurtfull, offend them least: It is a spirituall leprosie, that hath some shew of health; and such a health, as Philosophy doth not altogether contemne. But yet it may not lawfully be termed wisdom; as we often doe. And after this manner did in former times some body mocke *Diogenes*, who in the dead of Winter, went all naked, embracing an image of snow, to trie his patience; Who meeting him in this order, saide thus vnto him; *Arte thou now verie colde?* Nothing at all, answered *Diogenes*. What thinkest thou to doe then, that is either hard or exemplar by standing in the colde? replied the other: To measure constancie, we must necessarily know sufferance, saide *Diogenes*. But such mindes as must behold crosse events, and fortunes injuries in their height and sharpenesse, which must weigh and taste them according to their naturall bitternesse and charge; let them employ their skill and keepe themselves from embracing the causes, and divert their approaches. What did King *Corys*? He payed liberallie for that goodly and rich Vessell, which one had presented vnto him, but forso much as it was exceeding brittle, he presently brake it himselfe, that so betimes hee might remoove so easie an occasion of choller against his servaunts. I have in like sorte shunned confusion in my affaires, and sought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendship: Whence commonly ensue causes of alienation and unkindenesse. I have heerebefore loved the hazardous play of Cardes and Dice: I have long since left it, onely for this, that notwithstanding anie faire semblance I made in my losses, I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outrageous wrong, and cannot admit a badde excuse for paiement or satisfaction, avoyde the progresse of contentious altercations. I shunne melancholike complexions and froward men, as infected. And in matters, I cannot talke of without interest and emotion. I meddle not with them, except duetie constraine me therevnto. *Melius non incipient, quam desinent. They shall better not beginne, than leave off.* The surest way, is then to prepare our selves before occasions. I know that some wisemen have taken an other course; and have not feared to engage and vehemently to insinuate themselves into divers objects. Those assure themselves of their owne strength, vnder which they shrowd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mischiefs to wrestle one against another, by the vigor and vertue of patience:

Virg. Æn. l. 10.
693.

*Velut rupes vastum, qua prodis in equor,
Obvia ventorum furys, expositaque ponto,
Vim cunctam, atque minas perferi calique marisque,*

Ipse

—*Ipſa immota manens.*

Much like a rocke, which but's into the Maine,
Meeting with windes-rage, to the Sea laide plaine,
It doeth the force of skies and Seas sustaine,
Endure their threats, yet doth vnmoov'd remaine.

Let vs not imitate these examples, we shal not attaine them. They opinionate themselves resolutely to behold, and without perturbation to be spectatours of their Countries ruine, which whilome possessed and commaunded their full will. As for our vulgar mindes, therein is too much effort and roughnesse. *Cato* quit thereby the noblest life that ever was. Wee feely-ones must seeke to escape the storme further off: We ought to provide for apprehension and not for pacience, and avoyde the blowes we cannot withstand. *Zeno* seeing *Chremonides* a yong man whom he loved; approach to fitte neere him; rose vp sodainly. *Cleanthes* asking him the reason? I vnderstand (saide he) that Phisicians above all things prescribe rest, and forbidde emotion in all tumors. *Socrates* saith not; yeeld not to the allurements of beautie; maintaine it, enforce yourselves to the contrary: Shunne her (saith he) runne out of her sight and companie; as from a violent poyson, that infecteth and stingeth farre-off. And his good Disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion, rather reciting then faining, the matchlesse perfections of that great *Cyrus*, describeth him distrusting his forces to withstand the blandishments or allurings of the divine beautie of that famous *Panthea* his Captive, committing the visitation and garde of her to an other, that haddelesse libertie then himselfe. And like-wise the Holy Ghost sayeth: *ne nos inducas in temptationem*, and leade vs not into temptation. Wee pray not that our reason bee not encountred and vanquished by concupiscence: but that it be not so much as assayed therewith: That we be not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, solicitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreate our Lord, to keepe our conscience quiet, fully and perfectly free from all commerce of evill. Such as say they have reason for their revenging passion, or any other minde-troubling perturbation: say often truth, as things are, but not as they were. They speake to vs, when the causes of their error are by themselves fostred and advanced. But retire further backward, recall these causes to their beginning: there you surprise and put them to a *non-plus*. Would they have their fault be lesse, because it is more ancient; and that of an vnjust beginning, the progresse be just? He that (as I doe) shall with his countries well-fare, without fretting or pining himselfe, shall be grieved, but not swowned, to see it threatning, either his owne downefall, or a continuance no lesse ruinous. Oh feely-weake barke, whom both waves, windes and Pilote, hull and tosse to so contrary desseignes!

Matth. 6. 13

—*in tam diversa, magister,*

Ventus & unda trahunt.

Maister the wave and winde

So diverse wayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour of Princes, as after a thing without which he cannot live; nor is much disquieted at the coldnesse of their entertainment or frowning countenance, nor regardeth the inconstancie of their will. Who hatcheth not his children or huggeth not his honours, with a slavish propension; nor leaves to live commodiously having once lost them. Who doth good, namely for his owne satisfaction, nor is much vexed to see men censure of his actions against his merite. A quarter of an ounce of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I finde ease in this receite: redeeming my selfe in the beginning, as good cheape as I can: By which meanes I perceive my selfe to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force, I stay these first motions of my perturbations: And I abandon the subject which beginnes to molest me, and before it transport me. He that stops not the loose, shall hardly stay the course. He that cannot shut the dore against them, shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attaine an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion. Nor shall hee endure the fall, that could not endure the starts of it. *Etenim ipse se impellunt, ubi semel à ratione discessum est; ipſaque sibi imbecillitas manget, in altumque pro-vebitur imprudens: nec reperit locum consistendi.* For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason; and weakenesse soother it selfe, and vnwares is carried into the deepe, nor can it finde a place to tarry in. I feele betimes, the low windes, which as forerunners

of

of the storme, buzze in mine eares and sound and trie me within:

— cen flamina prima

Virg. Æn. l. 10.
97.

*Cum deprensa fremunt syluis, & caca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.*
As first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe
Whistle, and darkely speake in murmurs low,
Foretelling Mariners what windes will grow.

Xp

N. Cic. off. lib. 1.

How often have I done my selfe an apparant injustice, to avoide the danger I should fall into, by receiving the same, happily worse, from the judges, after a world of troubles, and off foule and vile practises, more enemies to my naturall disposition, then fire or torment? *Convenit à litibus quantum licet, & nescio an paulo plus etiam quam licet, abhorrentem esse; Est enim non modo liberale, paululum non nunquam de suo iure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum.* As much as we may, and it may be more then we may, we should abhorre brabling and lawings; for it is not onely an ingenious part, but sometimes profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right. If we were wise indeede, wee should rejoyce and glory, as I heard once a yong gentleman, borne of a very great house, very wittily and vnfainedly, rejoyce with all men that his mother had lost her sute; as if it had beene a cough, an ague, or any other yrksome burthen. The favours, which fortune might have given me, as aliances and acquaintances with such as have Sovereigne authoritie in those things; I have, in my conscience done much, instantly to avoide imploying them to others prejudice, and not over value my rights above their worth. To conclude, I have so much prevailed by my endeavours (in a good houre I may speake it) that I am yet a virgin for any sutes in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer me their service, and vnder pretence of lawfull titles insinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given eare vnto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrells; I have without important offence, either passive or active, lingred out a long life, and never heard worse then mine owne name: A rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations, have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of Burgundie runne into, for the quarrell of a carte-loade of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a seale, the chiefe cause of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvy, that ever this worlds-frame endured? For, Pompey and Caesar are but the new buddings and continuation of two others. And I have scene in my time, the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremonie and publike charge, about treaties and agreements, the true deciding whereof depended in the meane while absolutely and sovereignly of the will and consultations held in some Ladies pate or cabinet; and of the inclination of some feely woman. Poets have most judiciously look't into this, who but for an apple have set all Greece and Asia on fire and sword. See why that man doth hazard both his honour and life on the fortune of his rapier and dagger; let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth; he cannot without blushing; so vaine and so frivolous is the occasion. To embarke him, there needes but little advisement, but being once-in, all parts do worke; Then are greater provisions required, more difficult and important. How farre more easie is it not to enter, then to get forth? We must proccede contrarie to the brier, which produceth a long and straight stalke at the first springings; but after as tyred and out of breathe, it makes many and thicke knots, as if they were pawses, shewing to have no more that vigor and constancie. Wee should rather beginne gently and leasurely; and keepe our strength and breath for the perfection of the worke. We direct affaires in the beginning, and hold them at our mercie, but being once vnderaken, they guide and transport vs, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be saide, that this counsell hath freed me from all difficulties, and that I have not beene often troubled to controule and bridle my passions: which are not alwayes governed according to the measure of occasions: whose entrances are often sharpe and violent. So is it, that thence may be reaped good fruit and profit. Except for those, who in well doing are not satisfied with any benefit, if their reputation be in question. For in truth, such an effect is not compted of but by every one to himselfe. You are thereby better satisfied, but not more esteemed, having reformed your self, before you come into action, or the matter was in sight: yet not in this onely, but in all other duties of life, their course which aime at honour, is diverse from that, which they propound vnto themselves, that followe order and reason. I finde some, that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the listes, and growe slacke

1/ Xp n

Xp u

slacke in the course. As *Plutarke* saith, that *Such as by the vice of bashfulnesse are soft and tractable to graunt whatsoever is demaunded, are afterward as prone and facile to recant and breake their worde*: In like manner, he that enters lightly into a quarrel, is subject to leave it as lightly. The same difficultie which keeps me from embracing the same, should encite me, being once mooved and therein engaged, to continue resolute. It is an ill custome. Being once embarked, one must either goe-on or sinke! *Attempt coldly (sayed Byas) but pursue hotly*. For want of judgement, our harts faile-vs; Which is also lesse tolerable. Most agreements of our moderne quarrels, are shamefull and false: Wee onely seeke to save apparances, and therewith betray and disavow our true intentions. We save the deede: We knowe how we spake it, and in what sence the by-standers know it: yea and our friends to whome wee would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our libertie and interest of our resolutions-honour, that we disavow our thoughts and seeke for starting holes in falshood, to make our agreements. We beelie our selves, to save a lie we have given to another. We must not looke whether your action or word may admitte another interpretation, but it is your owne true and sincere construction, that you must now maintaine; whatsoever it cost you. It is to your vertue and to your conscience that men speake; parts that ought not to bee disguised. Leave we these base courses, wrangling shifts and verball meanes, to petty-fogging Lawyers. The excuses and reparations, or satisfactions, which dayly I see made; promised and given to purge indiscretion, seeme to me more foule than indiscretion it self. Better were it for one to offend his adversarie againe, than in giving him such satisfaction, to wrong himselfe so much. You have braved him mooved by choller, and now you seeke to pacifie and flatter him in your cold and better sence: Thus you abase your selfe more, than you were before exalted. I find no speech so vicious in a Gentleman, as I deeme any recantation he shall make, dishonorable; especially if it be wrested from him by authoritie: For so much as obstinacie is in him more excusable, than cowardize. Passions are to me as easie to be avoyded, as they are difficult to be moderated. *Excinduntur facilius animo, quam temperantur. They are more easlie rooted out of the minde, than brought to good temper*. Hee that can not attaine to this noble Stoicall impassibilitie, let him shrowde himselfe in the bosome of this my popular stupiditie. What they did by vertue, I inure my selfe to doe by Nature. The middle region harboureth stormes; the two extreames containe philosophers and rurall men, they concur in tranquility and good hap.

*Fœlix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.
Fortunatus & ille, Deos qui novit agrestes,
Panæque, Sylvanumque senem, Nymphasque sorores.
Happy is he that could of things the causes finde,
And subject to his feete all fearefulnesse of minde,
Inexorable fate, and noise of greedy Hell.
And happy he, with Countrie Gods acquainted well,
Pan and old Silvan knowes,
And all the sister shrowes.*

*Virg. Georg. l. 2
490.*

The beginnings of al things are weak and tender. We must therefore be cleare-sighted in beginnings: For, as in their budding we discern not the danger, so in their full growth wee perceive not the remedie. I should have encountred a thousand crosses, daily more hard to be digested in the course of ambition, than it hath bin vneasy for me to stay the natural inclination, that led me vnto them.

— iure perhorruï,
Late conspicuum tollere verticem. —
I have beene much afraid for causes right.
To raise my foretop far abroad to fight.

*Hor. car. l. 3. 64,
16. 18.*

All publike actions are subiect to uncertaine and divers interpretations: For, too many heads judge of them. Some say of this my Cittie employment (whereof I am content to speake a word; not that it deserves it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have demeaned my selfe like one that is too slowly mooved and with a languishing affection: And they are not altogether voyde of reason. I strive to keepe my mind and thoughts quiet. *Cum*
F f f
semper

The third Booke.

semper Natura, tum etiam atate iam quietus. Both ever quiet by Nature, and now because of yeeres. And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression, it is in truth without my consent. From which naturall slackenesse, one must not therefore inferre anie prooffe of disabilitie: For, *Want of care and lacke of iudgement are two things:* And lesse vnkindenesse and ingratitude toward those Cittizens, who to gratifie me, employed the vtmost of all the meanes they could possibly; both before they knew me and since. And who did much more for me, in appoynting me my charge the second time, then in choosung me the first. I love them with all my heart, and wish them all the good that may be. And truly if occasion had beene offered, I would have spared nothing to have done them service. I have stirred and laboured for them, as I doe for my selfe. They are a good people, war-like and generous; yet capable of obedience and discipline, and fit for good employment, if they be well guided. They say likewise, that I passed over this charge of mine without any deede of note or great shew. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my cessation, when as all the world was convicted of too much dooing: I have a most nimble motion, where my will doth carrie me. But this point is an ennemie vnto perseverance. Whosoever will make vse of mee, according to my self, let him employ me in affaires, that require vigor and libertie: that have a short, a straight, and therewithall a hazardous course: I may peradventure somewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, craftie, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they shall doe better to addresse themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour somewhat more earnestly, if there had beene great need. For it lyes in my power, to doe something more than I make shew-of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge, I have not omitted any motion that duty required earnestly at my hands. I have easilie forgotten those, which ambition blendeth with dutie and cloketh with her title. It is they, which most commonly fill the eyes and eares and satisfie men. Not the thing it selfe, but the apparance payeth them. If they heare no noise, they imagine we sleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humours. I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling my self, and chastise a disorder without alteration.

Have I neede of choller and inflammation; I borrow it, and therewith maske my selfe: My maners are mustie, rather wallowish then sharpe. I accuse not a Magistrate that sleepe, so they that are vnder it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part, I commend a gliding, an obscure and repofed life: *Neque submissam & abiectam, deque se efferentem.* Neither too abiect and submisse, nor vaunting it selfe too much. But my fortune will have it so. I am descended of a family, that hath lived without noise and tumult: and of long continuance particularly ambitious of integritie. Our men are so framed to agitation and ostentation: that goodnesse, moderation, equitie, constancie, and such quiet and meane qualities, are no more hard-of. Rough bodies are felt, smoothe ones are handled imperceptibly. Sicknesse is felt, health little or not at all: nor things that annoint vs, in regard of such as sting vs, It is an action for ones reputation and private commoditie, and not for the common good, to refer that to be done in the market place, which a man may do in the counsel-chamber: & at noone day, what might have beene effected the night before: and to be jealous to doe that himselfe, which his fellow can performe as well. So did some Surgeons of Greece shew the operations of their skill, vpon scaffolds, in view of all passengers, thereby to get more practise and custome. They suppose, that good orders cannot be vnderstood, but by the sound of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for pettie companions, and for such endeavours as ours. One saide to *Alexander*: your father will leave you a great commaund, easie and peacefull: the boy was envious of his father victories, and of the iustice of his government. He would not have enjoyed the worlds Empire securely and quietly. *Alcibiades* in *Plato*, loveth rather to die, yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to stay in the state of such a condition. This infirmitie is happily excusable, in so strong and full a minde. When these pettie wretched soules, are therewith enveagled; and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a cause rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a Citties gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more doe they shew their simplicitie. This pettie well-doing, hath neither body nor life. It vanisheth in the first moneth; and walkes but from one corner of a street to another. Entertaine therewith your sonne and your servant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praises and applauding of his sufficiencie, boasted with his chamber-maide,

ber-maide, exclaiming: Oh *Perrette*, what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy master! If the worst happen, entertaine your selves in your selves: As a Counsellor of my acquaintance, having degorged a rable of paragraphes, with an extreame contention and like foolishnesse; going out of the counsell-chamber, to a pissing place neere vnto it, was heard very conscientiously to vtter these words to himselfe: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed tibi soli tuo da gloriam. Not unto vs O Lord, not unto vs, but unto thy name give the glory.* He that cannot otherwise, let him pay himselfe out of his owne purse. Fame doth not so basely prostitute it selfe, nor so cheape. Rare and exemplare actions, to which it duly belongeth, could not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulgar petty actions. *Well may a piece of marble raise your titles as high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an olde Wall, or cleansed a common ditch; but men of iudgement will never doe it.* Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficultie and raritie be joyned therevnto. Yea simple estimation, according to the Stoikes, is not due to everie action proceeding from vertue. Neyther would they have him commended, who through temperance abstaineth from an old bleare-ey'd woman. Such as have knowne the admirable qualities of *Scipio* the Affrican, renounce the glorie which *Panetius* ascribeth vnto him, to have abstained from gifts, as a glory, not his alone, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures fortible to our fortune; let vs not vsurpe those of greatnesse. Our owne are more naturall. They are the more solide and firme, by how much the meaner. Since it is not for conscience, at least for ambition let vs refuse ambition. Let vs disdain this insatiate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggerly, which makes vs so suppliantly to crave it of all sortes of people. *Que est ista laus que possit in macello peti? What praise is this, which may be fetcht out of the Shambles?* By abject meanes, and at what vile rate soever. To be thus honored, is meere dishonour. *Learn me to be no more grieved of glorie, then we are capable of it.* To be proud of every profitable and innocent action, is fit for men to whom it is extraordinarie and rare. They will value it, for the price it cost them. According as a good effect is more resounding; I abate of it's goodness: the jelousie I conceive, it is produced more because it is so resounding, than because it is good. *What is set-out to them, is halfe solde.* Those actions have more grace, which carelessly and vnder silence, passe from the handes of a Workeman, and which some honest man afterward chuseth and redeemeth from darkenesse, to thrust them into the Worlds-light; Onely for their worth. *Mibi quidem laudabilia videntur omnia, quae sine venditione, & sine populo teste sunt: All things in sooth seeme to me more commendable that are performed with no ostentation; and without the people to witnesse.* Said the most glorious man of the World. I had no care but to preserve and continue, which are deafe and insensible effects. Innovation is of great lustre: But interdited in times, when we are most vrged, and have not to defend our selves but from novelties. *Abstinence from doing, is often as generous, as doing: but it is not so apparent.* My small worth is in a manner all of this kinde. To be short, the occasions in this my charge have seconded my complexion; for which I conne them hartie thanks. Is there any man that desireth to be sicke, to see his Phisition set a worke? And Should not that Phisition be well whipped, who to put his art in practize, would wish the plague to infect vs? I was never possessed with this impious and vulgar passion, to wish that the troubled and distempred state of this Cittie, might raise and honour my governement. I have most willingly lent them my hand to further, and shoulders to ayde their ease and tranquillitie. He that will not thanke me for the good order and for the sweet and vndisturbed rest, which hath accompanied my charge; can not at least deprive mee of that parte, which by the title of my good fortune, belongeth vnto me. This is my humour, that I love as much to be happy as wise: And attribute my successes as much to the meere grace of God, as to the meane or furtherance of my operation. I had sufficiently published to the Worlde my insufficiency in managing of such publike affaires: Nay, there is something in me, worse than insufficiencie: Which is, that I am not much displeased therewith: and that I endeavour not greatly to cure it, considering the course of life I have determined to my selfe. Nor have I satisfied my self in this employment. But have almost attained what I had promised vnto my selfe: Yet have I much exceeded, what I had promised those, with whome I was to negotiate: For I willingly promise somewhat lesse, then I can performe, or hope to accomplish. Of this I am assured, I have never left offence or hatred amongst them: To have left either regret or desire of mee. This know I certainly, I have not much affected it.

Psal. 115. 1

Cic. de fin. l. 2.

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 2

Virg. Æn. lib. 5
849.

Mene huic considerare monstro.

Mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos

Ignorare?

Should I this Monster trust? Should I not know

The calme Seas counterfeit dissembling show,

How quietly sometimes the floods will go?

The eleventh Chapter.

Of the Lame or Cripple.

3

TWO or three yeares are now past; since the yeere hath beene shortned tenne dayes in France. Oh how manie changes are like to ensue this reformation! It was a right remooving of Heaven and Earth together; yet nothing remooveth from it's owne place: My Neighbours finde the season of their feede and Harvest time, the opportunitie of their affaires, their lucky and vnlucky dayes, to answer just those seasons to which they had from al ages assigned them. Neither was the errorr heeretofore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned in our vse. So much vncertaintie is there in al things: So grose, so obscure and so dull is our vnderstanding. Some are of opinion, this reformation might have bin redressed after a lesse incommodious maner; subtracting according to the example of *Augustus*, for some yeares, the bissextile or leape day: Which in some sort, is but a day of hindrance and trouble: Vntill they might more exactly have satisfied the debt: Which by this late reformation is not doone: For we are yet some dayes in arrerages: And if by such a meane, we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such or such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed: so that our misreckoning should not henceforward excede foure and twenty houres. Wee have no other computation of time, but yeares: The World hath vsed them so manie ages: And yet is it a measure, we have not vntill this day perfectly established. And such, as wee daylie doubt, what forme other Nations have diversly given the same. and which was the true vse of it. And what if some say, that the Heavens in growing olde compresse themselves towards vs, and cast vs into an vncertainty of houres and dayes? And as *Plutarke* saith of moneths; that even in his dayes, Astrologic could not yet limmite the motion of the Moone? Are not we then well holp-vp, to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) vpon this, what a free and gadding instrument humane reason is. I ordinarily see, that men, in matters propofed them, doe more willingly ammuze and busie themselves in seeking out the reasons, than in searching out the truth of them. They omit presuppositions, but curiously examine consequences. They leave things, and runne to causes. Oh conceited discourfers! The knowledge of causes doth onely concerne him, who hath the conduct of things: Not vs, that have but the sufferance of them. And who according to our neede, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute vse of them. Nor is wine more pleasant vnto him that knowes the first faculties of it. Contrariwise; both the bodie and the minde, interrupt and alter the right, which they have of the Worlde's vse and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learning. The effects concerne vs, but the meanes, nothing at all. To determine and distribute, belongeth to superioritie and regency; as accepting, to subjection and apprenticeshippe. Let vs re-assume our custome: They commonly beginne thus: *How is such a thing done?* Whereas they should say: *Is such a thing done?* Our discourse is capable to frame a hundred other Worlde's, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth neyther matter nor ground. Let it but runne-on: It will as well build vpon emptinesse, as vpon fulnesse, and with inanitie as with matter.

Perf. sat. 5. 20

Dare pondus idonea sumo.

That things which vanish straight

In smoke, should yet beare weight.

I finde,

vulgar
Errors

I finde, that we should say most times : *There is no such thing*. And I would often employ this answer; but I dare not : for they cry ; It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weakenesse of spirit. And I must commonly juggle for company sake, to treat of idle subjects and frivolous discourses, which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quareulous humour, flatly to deny a proposition : And few misse (especially in things hard to be perswaded) to affirme, that they have seene it : Or to alleadge such witnesses, as their authoritie shall stay our contradiction. According to which vse, we know the foundations and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the World is in a thousand questions descanted and bandied too and fro; the *pro* and *contra* of which is meereley false. *Ita finitima sunt falsa veris, ut in precipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere.* Falsehood is so neere Neighbour to truth, that a wiseman should not put himselfe upon a slipperie downefall. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances, their port, their taste and their proceedings semblable: Wee beholde them with one same eye. I observe that we are not onely slowe in defending our selves from deceit, but that we seekē and sue to embrace it. We love to meddle and entangle our selves with vanitie, as comfortable vnto our being. I have seene the birth of divers miracles in my dayes. Although they be smothered in their first growth, we omit not to foresee the course they would have taken, had they lived their full age. The matter is to finde the end of the clue; that found, one may winde-off what he list : And there is as further distance from nothing to the least thing in the World, than betweene that and the greatest. Now the first that are embued with the beginning of strangeness, comming to publish their history, finde by the oppositions made against them, where the difficultie of perswasion lodgeth ; and goe about with some false patch, to botch vppe those places. Besides that, *Insita hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores:* Men having a natural desire to norish reports. We naturally make it a matter of conscience, to restore what hath bin lent vs, without some vsury and accession of our encrease. *A particular error, doeth first breede a publike error :* And when his turne commeth, *A publike error begetteth a particular error.* So goeth all this vast frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composing it selfe; in such sort that the furthest-abiding testimonie, is better instructed of it, then the nearest: and the last informed, better perswaded then the first. It is a naturall progresse : For, whosoever beleeveth anie thing, thinkes it a deede of charitie, to perswade it vnto another : Which, that he may the better effect, he feareth not to adde somthing of his owne invention thereunto, so farre as he seeth necessarie in his discourse, to supply the resistance and defect, he imagineth to be in anothers conception. My selfe, who make an especial matter of conscience to ly, and care not greatly to ad credit or authority to what I say, perceive nevertheless, by the discourses I have in hand, that being earnest, either by the resistance of another, or by the earnestnes of my narration. I swell and amplifie my subject by my voice, motions, vigor and force of words: as also by extension and amplification, not without some prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it vpon condition, that to the first that brings me home againe, and enquireth for the bare and simple truth at my hands: I sodainely give over my hold, and without exaggeration, emphasis or amplification, I yeeld both my selfe and it vnto him. A lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is easily transported vnto hiperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone, then to give way to their opinions. Where ever vsuall meanes faile vs, we adde commandement, force, fire and sword. It is not without some ill fortune, to come to that passe, that the multitude of believers, in a throng where fooles doe in number so farre exceede the wise, should be the best touch-stone of truth. *Quasi verò quidquam sit tam valde, quam nil sapere vulgare. Sanitatis patrocinium est, insanientium turba.* As though any thing were so common as to have no wit. The multitude of them that are mad, is a defence for them that are in their wits. It is a hard matter for a man to resolve his judgement against common opinions. The first perswasion taken from the very subject, seizeth on the simple: whence vnder th'authoritie of the number and antiquitie of testimonies, it extends it selfe on the wiser sort. As for me, in a matter, which I could not believe being reported by one: I should never credite the same, though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions, by yeares. It is not long since one of our Princes, in whom the gowt had spoiled a gentle disposition and a blithe composition; suffered himselfe so farre to be perswaded or mis-led, by the reporte made vnto him of the wondrous deedes of a Priest, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all diseases; that he vndertooke a long-tedious journey to finde him

Cic. Acad. qu.
lib. 4.

note

Cic. de divin. l. 2

out : and by the vertue of his apprehension did so perswade , and for certaine houres so lull his legs a sleepe, that for a while he brought them to doe him that service, which for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped fife or six like accidents one in the necke of another, they had doubtlesse beene able to bring this miracle into nature. Whereas afterward there was so much simplicitie and so little skill found in the architect of these workes, that he was deemed vnworthy of any punishment : As likewise should be done with most such-like things, were they thoroughly knowne in their nature. *Miramur ex intervallo fallentia: We wonder at those things that deceive vs by distance.* Our sight doth in such sorte, often represent vs a farre-off with strange images, which vanish in aproaching neerer. *Nunquam ad liquidum fama perducitur. Fame is never brought to be cleare.* It is a wonder, to see how from many vaine beginnings and frivolous causes, so famous impressions doe ordinarily arise and ensue. Even that hindereth the information of them : For, whilst a man endevoureth to finde out causes, forcible and weightie ends, and worthy so great a name, he looseth the true and essentiall. They are so little, that they escape our sight. And verely a right wise, heedy and subtile inquisitor is required in such questings; imparciall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are vntill this day hidden from me : I have seene no such monster, or more expresse wonder in this world, then my selfe. *With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure himselfe to all strangenesse :* But the more I frequent and know my selfe, the more my deformitie astonieth me : and the lesse I vnderstand my selfe. The chiefe privilege to produce and advance such accidents, is reserved vnto fortune. Travelling yesterday thorough a village, within two leagues of my house, I found the place yet warme of a miracle that was but newly failed and discovered, wherewith all the countrie thereabout had for many months beene amused and abused; and diverse bordering Provinces beganne to listen vnto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceased not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A yong man of that towne, vnderooke one night in his owne house (never dreaming of any knavery) to counterfeit the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sporte, to make himselfe merry for that present, which succeeding better then he had imagined; to make the jest extend further, and himselfe the merrier, he made a countrie-maiden acquainted with his devise, who because she was both seely and harmelesse, consented to be secret and to second him : In the end they got another, and were now three, all of one age and like sufficiencie : and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hideous voices to crie and roare aloud, and in, and about churches hiding themselves vnder the chiefe Alter, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to be set vp : From speeches tending to the worlds subversion, and threatning of the day of judgement (which are the subjects, by whose authoritie and abusive reverence, imposture and illusion, is more easily lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, so foolish and ridiculous, that there is scarce any thing more grosse and absurd vsed among Children, in their childish sports. Suppose I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmelesse devise or juggling trick ; Who knoweth how farre it would have extended, and to what it would have growne ? The poore scellie three Divels are now in prison, and may happily e're long pay deere for their common sottishnesse; and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other, will be avenged of them for his. It is manifestly scene in this, which now is discovered; as also in divers other things of like qualitie, exceeding our knowledge; I am of opinion that we vphold our judgement, as well to reject, as to receive. Many abuses are engendered in the World; or to speake more boldly, all the abuses of the World are engendered vpon this, that we are taught to feare to make profession of our ignorance; and are bound to accept and allow, all that wee can not refuse. We speake of all things by precepts and resolution. The Stile of Rome did beare, that even the same, that a witnes deposed, because he had seene it with his owne eyes; and that which a Iudge ordained of his most assured knowlege, was conceived in this form of speach, *It seemeth so vnto me.* I am drawne to hate likely things, when men goe about to set them downe as infallible. I love these wordes or phrases, which mollifie and moderate the temeritie of our propositions : *It may be: Peradventure: In some sort: Some: It is saide: I thinke: and such like.* And had I beene to instruct children, I would so often have put this manner of answering in their mouth; enquiring, and not resolving : *What meanes-it? I vnderstand it not: It may well be: Is it true?* that they should rather have kept the forme of learners, vntill three score yeeres of age, than present themselves Doctors at ten; as many doe. *Who-soever*

soever will be cured of ignorance, must confesse the same: Iris is the daughter of *Thanmantis*. Admiration is the ground of al Philosophie: Inquisition the progresse: Ignorance the end. Yea but there is some kinde of ignorance strong and generous, that for honor and courage is nothing beholding to knowledge: An ignorance, which to conceive rightly, there is required no lesse learning, than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law-casse, which *Corras* a Counsellor of *Tholouse* caused to be printed, of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that me thought, he proved his imposture, whom he condemned as guiltie, so wondrous-strange and so far-exceeding both our knowledge and his owne, who was judge, that I found much boldnes in the sentence, which had condemned him to be hanged. Let vs receive some forme of sentence that may say: *The Court understands nothing of it*; more freely and ingenuously, then did the *Areopagites*; who finding themselves vrged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeares after. The witches about my countrie, are in hazard of their life, vpon the opinion of every new authour, that may come to give their dreames a body. To apply such examples as the holy word of God offreth vs of such things (assured and irrefragable examples) and joine them to our moderne events; since we neither see the causes nor meanes of them, some other better wit then ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that onely most-mightie testimonie, to tell vs: This here, and that there; and not this other are of them. God must be believed; and good reason he should be so. Yet is there not one amongst vs, that wil be amazed at his owne narration (and he ought necessarily to be astonished at it, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about others matters; or against himselfe. I am plaine and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely; avoiding ancient reproches. *Maiores fidem homines adhibent ijs quæ non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenij libentius obscura creduntur.* Men give more credite to things they understand not: Things obscure are more willingly believed through a strange desire of mans wit. I see that men will be angry: and am forbid to doubt of it vpon paine of execrable injuries. A new maner of perswading. *Mercie for Gods sake.* My beliefe is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyrannize over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficultie and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemne the opposite affirmation: if not so imperiously. He that with braverie and by comaundement will establish his discourse, declareth his reason to be weake: For a verball and scholasticall altercation, that they have as much apparance as their contradictors. *Videantur sanè, non affirmantur modò.* In deede let them seeme, so they be not avouched. But in the effectuall consequence they draw from it, these have great ods. To kill men; there is required a bright-shining and cleare light. And our life is over-reall and essentiall, to warrant these supernaturall and fantastick accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element: they are homicides, and of the worst kinde. In which neverthelesse, it is said, that one must not alwayes relie vppon the meere confession of those people: For, they have sometimes beene seene to accuse themselves, to have made away men which were both sound and living. In these other extravagant accusations, I should easily say, that it sufficeth, what commendations soever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane: but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernaturall effect, hee ought then onely be believed, when a supernaturall approbation hath authorized him. That priviledge it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies, ought not to be vilified, or slightly communicated. Mine eares are full of a thousand such tales. Three saw him such a day in the East; three saw him the next day in the West; at such an houre; in such a place; and thus and thus attired; verely in such a case I could not believe my selfe. How much more naturall and more likely doe I finde it, that two men should lie, then one in twelve houres, passe with the windes, from East to West? How much more naturall, that our vnderstanding may by the volubilitie of our loose-capring minde be transported from his place? then that one of vs should by a strange spirit, in flesh and bone, be carried vpon a broome through the tunnell of a chimnie? Let vs, who are perpetually tossed too and fro with domesticall and our owne illusions, not seeke for forraigne and vnknowne illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable, not to believe a wonder, so farreforth at least as one may divert and exclude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint *Augustines* opinion, that a man were

Cic.in Catil.

better bend towards doubt, than encline towards certaintie, in matters of difficult triall and dangerous beliefe. Some yeares are now past, that I travelled through the country of a soveraigne Prince: who in favour of mee, and to abate my incredulitie, did mee the grace, in his owne presence, and in a particular place, to make mee see tenne or twelve prisoners of that kinde, and amongst others an olde beldam witch; a true and perfect forceresse, both by her vglines and deformitie; and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I sawe both proofes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other insensible marks about this miserable olde woman; I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could; yet am I not easily carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my conscience, I should rather have appointed them Eleborum, than Hemlocke. *Captisque res magis mentibus, quam consceleratis similis visa. The matter seemed liker to mindes captivate than guiltie.* Lawe hath her owne corrections for such diseases. Touching the oppositions and arguments, that honest men have made vnto me, both there, and often else-where, I have found none that tie me; and that admit not alwayes a more likely solution, than their conclusions. True it is, that proofes and reasons grounded vpon the fact and experience, I vntie not: for indeede they have no end; but often cut them, as *Alexander* did his knotte. When all is done, it is an over-valuing of ones conjectures, by them to cause a man to be burned alive. It is reported by diverse examples (and *Præstantius* saith of his father) that being in a slumber much more deeply, then in a full-sound sleepe, he dreamed and verily thought himselfe to be a Mare, and served certaine souldiers for a sumpter-horse, and was indeede what he imagined to be. If forcerers dreame thus materially: If dreames may sometimes be thus incorporated into effects: I cannot possibly believe, that our wil should therefore be bound to the lawes and justice: which I say, as one who am neither a Iudge, nor a Counsellor vnto Kings, and furthest from any such worthinesse: but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes and sayings, borne and vowed to the obedience of publique reason. He that should register my humours, to the prejudice of the simplest lawe, or opinion, or custome of his village, should greatly wrong himselfe, and injurie me as much. For in what I say, I gape for no other certaintie, but that such was then my thought. A tumultuous and wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all; and of nothing by way of advise. *Nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire, quod nesciam.* Nor am I ashamed, as they are, to confesse I know not that which I doe not knowe.

I would not be so hardy to speake, if of duty I ought to be believed: and so I answered a great man, who blamed the sharpenesse and contention of my exhortations. When I see you bent and prepared on one side; with all the endeavour I can, I will propose the contrarie vnto you; to resolve and enlighten your judgement, not to subdue or binde the same: God hath your hearts in his handes, and he will furnish you with choise. I am not so malapert, as to desire, that my opinions alone, should give motion to a matter of such importance. My fortune hath not raised them to so powerfull and deepe conclusions. Truly, I have not onely a great number of complexions, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a sonne of mine owne, I would dissuade him, and willingly make him to distaste them. What! If the truest are not ever the most commodious for man; he being of so strange and vntamed a composition: Whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common Proverbe in *Italie*, that *He knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus, that hath not layne with a limping Woman.* Either fortune, or some particular accident, have long since brought this by-saying in the peoples mouth: and it is as well spoken of men as of women: For the Queene of the Amazons answered the Scithian, that wooed hir to loves-embracements. *αἰσα χολδὲς ὀφθαλμοῦ*, *The crooked man doeth it best.* In that feminine common-wealth of theirs, to avoyde the domination of men, they were wont in their infancie to maimethem, both in their armes and legges and other limmes, that might any way advantage their strength over them, and made onely that vse of them, that we in our World make of Women. I would have saide, that the loose or disjointed motion of a limping or crooke-backt Woman, might adde some new kinde of pleasure vnto that businesse or sweet sinne, and some vn-affraid sensuall sweetness, to such as make triall of it: but I have lately learnt, that even ancient Philosophie hath decided the matter: Who saith, that the legs and thighs of the crooked-backt or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiving the nourishment, due vnto them, it followeth that the Genitall partes, that are above them,

them, are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect hindring other the exercise, such as are therewith possessed, do lesse waste they strength and consume their vertue, and so much the stronger and fuller, they come to *Venus* sportes. Which is also the reason why the *Græcians* described their Women-Weavers, to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxurious, than other Women: Because of their sitting-trade, without any violent exercise of the body. What cannot we dispute of according to that rate? I might like-wise say of these, that the same stirring, which their labour, so sitting doth give them, doth rouse and sollicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their Coaches, doth our Ladies. Doe not these examples fit that whereof I spake in the beginning? That our reasons doe often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction so infinite, that they judge and exercise themselves in inanie, and to a not being? Besides the flexibilitie of our invention, to frame reasons vnto all manner of dreames; our imagination is likewise found easie, to receive impressions from falsehood, by very frivolous apparances. For, by the onely authoritie of the ancient and publike vse of this word or phrase, I have heretofore perswaded my-selfe, to have received more pleasure of a Woman, in that she was not straight, and have accompted hir crookednesse in the number of hir graces. *Torquato Tasso*, in the comparison he makes betweene *Italy* and *France*, reporteth to have noted, that we commonly have more slender and spiniellegges, than the *Italian Gentlemen*; and imputeth the cause vnto our continuall riding and sitting on horse-backe. Which is the very same, from which *Suetonius* draweth another cleane contrary conclusion: For, he saith, that *Germanicus* had by the frequent vse of this exercise, brought his to be very bigge. There is nothing so supple and wandering, as our understanding. It is like to *Theramenez* shooe, fit for all feet. It is double and diuers, and so are matters diuers and double. Give me a Dragma of silver, said a *Cinike Philosopher* to *Antigonas*: It is not the present of a King, answered he; Give mee then a talent: It is no gift for a *Cinike*, quoth he:

Sen plures calor ille vias, & caca relaxat

Spiramenta, novus veniat qua succus in herbas:

Seu durat magis, & venas astringit hiantes,

Ne tennes pluvia, rapideve potentia solis

Acrior, aut Borea penetrabile frigus adurat.

Whether the heate layes open holes vnscene,

Whereby the sappe may passe to hearbs fresh-greene:

Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines,

Left sharp powre of hot sunne, or thinning raines,

Of piercing North-cold blaste,

Should scorch, consume and waste.

Omni medaglia ha il suo reverso; Each outside hath his inside, saith the *Italian*. Lo why *Clitarchus* was wont to say, that *Carneades* had surmounted the labours of *Hercules*; because he had exacted consent from men; that is to say opinion and temeritie to judge. This fantastic of *Carneades*, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded anciently, from the impudencie of those, who make profession to know; and from their excessive selfe-overweening. *Æsop* was set to sale, together with two other slaves; a *Chapman* enquired of the first, what he could do: he to endear himselfe, answerd, mountaines and wonders, and what not? For he knew and could doe all things. The second answered even so for himselfe, and more too: But when he came to *Æsop*, and demaunded of him what he could doe: Nothing (saide he) for these two have forestaled all, and know and can doe all things, and have left nothing for mee. So hath it happened in the schoole of philosophie. The rashnes of those who ascribed the capacitie of all things to mans witte, through spight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane witte was not capable of any thing. Some holde the same extremitie in ignorance, that others hold in knowledge. To the end none may deny, that man is not immoderate in all and every where: and hath no other sentence or arrest, than that of necessitie, and impuissance to proceede further.

Virg. Georg. li. i.
89.

The twelfth Chapter.

Of Physiognomy. 7

His sufferings by plunder
 & pillage. And how
 he escaped summary by
 his confident & shining
 deportment towards them
 that had designed his ruine.

Socrates

Almost all the opinions we have, are taken by authoritie, and vpon credite: There is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse, then by our selves, in so weake an age. This image of *Socrates* his discourse; which his friends have left vs, we only approve it, by the reverence of publike approbation. It is not of our owne knowledge: they are not according to our vse. Might such a man be borne now adayes, there are but few would now esteeme him. Wee discerne not graces inlie or aright; We onely perceiue them by a false light set out and pufft vp with arte: Such as passe vnder their naturall puritie and simplicitie, doe easily escape so weake and dimme a sight as ours is. They have a secret, vnperceiued and delicate beautie: he had neede of a cleere, farre-seeing and true-discerning sight, that should rightly discover this secret light. Is not genuitie (according to vs) cosin-germaine vnto sottishnesse, and a qualitie of reproach? *Socrates* maketh his soule to mooue, with a natural and common motion. Thus saith a plaine Country-man, and thus a seely Woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth, than Coach-makers, Ioyners, Coblers and Masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawne from the most vulgar and knowne actions of men: every one vnderstands him. Vnder so base a forme, wee should never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions: Wee that esteeme all those but meane and vile, that learning doth not raise: and who have no perceiuing of riches, except set out in shew and pompe. Our World is framed but vnto ostentation. Men are puffed vp with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as Balloones. This man proposeth no vaine fantasies vnto himself. His end was, to store vs with things and furnish vs with precepts, which really more substantially and joyntly serue our life:

*Lucan. bel. civ.
 lib. 2. 380.*

————— *seruare modum, finemque tenere,*

Naturamque sequi.

To keepe a meane, to hold the end,
 And natures conduct to attend.

So was he ever all one alike: And raised himselfe to the highest pitch of vigor, not by fits, but by complexion. Or to say better; he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties, or sharpenesse, to their originall and naturall state, and thereunto subdued vigor. For, in *Cato*, it is manifestly seene, to be an out-right proceeding, farre-above and beyond the common: By the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, he is ever perceived to be mounted vpon his great horses. Whereas this man keepes on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace, treateth of the most profitable discourses, and adresth himselfe both vnto death and to the most thornie and crabbed crosses, that may happen vnto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortun'd, that the worthiest man to be known, & for a patterne to be presented to the world, he is the man of whom we have most certaine knowledge. He hath beene declared and enlightned by the most cleere-seeing men, that ever were. The testimonies we have of him, are in faithfulness and sufficiencie most admirable. It is a great matter, that ever he was able to give such order vnto the pure imaginations of a childe, that without altring or wresting them, he hath thence produced the fairest effects of our minde. He neither represents it rich nor high-raised; but sound and pure: and ever with a blithe and yndefiled health. By these vulgar springs and naturall wardes; by these ordinary and common fantasies, sans mooving or without vrging himselfe, hee erected not onely the most regular, but the highest and most vigorous opinions, actions and customes, that ever were. Hee it is, that brought humane wisdom from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene lost, to restore it vnto man: where her most just and laborious worke is. See or heare him pleade before his judges; marke with what reasons hee rouzeth his courage to the hazards of warre, what arguments fortifie his patience, against detraction, calumniation, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevisish head: therein is nothing

thing borrowed from arte, or from learning. The simplest may there know their meanes and might: it is impossible to goe further backe or lower. He hath done humane nature a great kindenesse, to shew what and how much she can doe of her selfe. We are every one richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow, and instructed to shift; and rather to make vse of others goods and meanes, then of our owne. There is nothing whereon man can stay or fix himselfe in time of his neede. Of voluptuousnesse, of riches, of pleasure, of power, he ever embraceth more, then he can graspe or hold. His greedinesse is incapable of moderation. The very same I finde to be in the curiositie of learning and knowledge: he cuts out more worke then he can well make an end of: and much more then he neede. Extending the profit of learning, as farre as his matter. *Ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus.* We are sicke of a surfet, as of all things, so of learning also. And Tacitus hath reason to commend Agricolaes mother, to have bridled in her sonne an over-burning and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being neerely looked vnto, that containeth as other humane goods, much peculiar vanitie and naturall weakenesse: and is very chargeable. The acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous, then of all other viandes and beverage. For, whatsoever else we have bought, we carry home in some vessell or other, where we have law to examine it's worth: how much, and at what time we are to take it. But Sciences, we cannot sodainely put them into any other vessell, then our mindes: we swallow them in buying them, and goe from the market either already infected or amended. There are some, which insteade of nourishing, doe but hinder and surcharge vs; and other some, which vnder colour of curing, empoison vs. I have taken pleasure in some place, to see men, who for devotions sake have made a vow of ignorance, as of chastitie, povertie and penitence. It is also a kind of guelting of our inordinate appetites, to muzzle this greedinesse, which provoketh vs to the studie of bookes, and deprive the mind of that voluptuous delight, which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle vs. And it is richly to accomplish the vow of povertie, to joine that of the minde vnto it. *We neede not much learning for to live at ease.* And Socrates teacheth vs, that we have both it, and the way to finde and make vse of it, within vs. All our sufficiencie, that is beyond the naturall, is wellnigh vaine and superfluous. It is much, if it charge and trouble vs no more, then it steads vs. *Paucis opus est literis ad mentem bonam.* We have neede of little learning to have a good minde. They are febricitant excesses of our spirit: a turbulent and vnquiet instrument. Rowze vp your selfe, and you shall finde forcible arguments against death to be in your selfe; most true and very proper to serve and steade you in time of necessitie. Tis they, which induce a peasant swaine, yea and whole nations to die as constantly as any Philosopher. Should I have dide lesse merrily before I read the *Thusculanes*? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my best wits, I perceive, that I have somewhat enriched my tongue; my courage but little. It is even as nature framed the same at first. And against any conflict, it shields it selfe, but with a naturall and common march. Bookes have not so much served me for instruction, as exercitation. What if learning, assaying to arme vs with new wardes and fences, against naturall inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight, in our fantasie, then her reasons, quidities and subtilties, therewith to cover vs? They are subtilties indeed; by which she often awaketh vs very vainely. Observe how many slight and idle arguments the wisest and closest authours frame and scatter about one good sound: which if you consider neerely, are but vaine and incorporall. They are but verball wyles, which beguile vs. But forsomuch as it may be profitable, I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that condition are scattred here and there, in diverse places of this volume; either borrowed or imitated. Yet should a man somewhat heede, he call not that force, which is but quaintnes; or terme that which is but quipping-sharpe, solide; or name that good, which is but faire: *que magis gustata quam potata delectant*, which more delight vs being but tasted, then swild and swallowed downe. All that which pleaseth, feedeth not; *ubi non ingenij sed animi negotium agitur.* Where it is no matter of wit, but of the courage. To see the strugling endeavours which Seneca giveth himselfe, to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweate with panting; to see him bathe so long vpon this pearch, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe: I should have made question of his reputation, had he not most vndantedly maintained the same in his death. His so violent and frequent agitation, sheweth that himselfe was fervent and impetuous. *Magnus animus remissius loquitur, & securius: Non est alius ingenio, alius animo color.*

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lor. *A great courage speaks softly but securely. Wit hath not one colour, and courage another.* He must be convicted at his owne charges. And sheweth in some sorte, that hee was pressed by his adversary. *Plutarkes* maner, by how much more disdainful and farre-extending it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it: I should easily believe, that his soule had her motions more assured and more regular. The one more sharpe, pricketh and sodainely starts vs: toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doeth constantly informe, establish and comfort vs: toucheth more the vnderstanding. That ravisheth our judgement; this doth gaine it. *I have likewise seene other compositions and more revered, which in purtraying the combate, they endure against the provocations of the flesh, represent them so violent, so powerfull and so invincible, that our selves, who are cast in the common mould of other men, have as much to admire the vnknowne strangenesse and vnfelt vigor of their temptation, as their constant resistance. To what purpose doe we so arme and Steele our selves with these labouring-efforts of learning? Let vs diligently survey the surface of the earth, and there consider so many seely-poor people as wee see toying, swelling and drooping about there businesse, which never heard of Aristotle, nor of Plato, nor ever knew what examples or precepts are. From those doth nature dayly draw and afford vs effects of constancie and patternes of patience, more pure and forcible, then are those, we so curiously studie-for in schooles. How many do I ordinarily see, that misacknowledge povertie; how many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alarm or affliction? A fellow that dungeth my gardine, hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe. The very names whereby they call diseases, doe somewhat mylden and diminish the sharpnes of them. With them a *Phthisique* or consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough: A *dysenterie* or bloody flux, but a distemper of the stomake: A pleurisie, but a cold or murre: and as they gently name them, so they easily endure them. Grievous are they indeede, when they hinder their ordinary labour or breake their usuall rest: They ~~hedge~~ but to die. *Simplex illa & aperta virtus in obscuram & solertem Scientiam versa est.* That plaine and cleare ^{not} vertue is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge. I was writing this about a time that a boistrous storme of our tumultuous broiles and bloody troubles, did for many months space, with all its might and horror, hang full over my head. On the one side, I had the enemies at my gates; on the other, the *Picoreurs* or free-booters, farre worse foes. *Non armis sed vitijs certatur.* Wee contend not with armour, but with vices. And at one time felt and endured all maner of harme-bringing militarie injuries: see p. 622*

*Hostis adest dextera levâque à parte timendus,
Vicinâque malo terret virumque latus.*

A fearefull foe on left hand and on right,
Doth with his neighbour harmes both sides afright.

Oh monstrous Warre: Others worke without; this inwardly and against hir selfe: And with her owne venome gnaweth and consumes her selfe. It is of so ruinous and maligne a Nature; that together with all things els, she ruineth her selfe: and with spitefull rage, doeth rent, deface and massacre it selfe. Wee doe more often see it, by and through hir selfe, to waste, to desolate and dissolve hir selfe; then by or through want of any necessarie thing, or by enemies force. All manner of discipline doth shunne and flie it. She commeth to cure sedition, and hir selfe is thoroughly therewith infected: She goeth about to chastize disobedience, and sheweth the example of it: and being employed for the defence of Lawes, entreteth into actuall rebellion against hir owne ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our phisike bringeth infection:

*Nôtre mal s'empoysonne
Du secours qu'on luy donne.*

Our evill is empoysond more
By plaister they would lay to th'fore.

———— *exuperat magis agrescitq. medendo.*

It rises higher, quicker,
And growes by curing sicker,
*Omnia fanda nefanda malo permista furore,
Iustificam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.*

Lawfull vnlawfull deedes with furie blended,
Have turn'd from vs the Gods iust minde offended.

In these popular diseases, one may in the beginning distinguish the sound from the sick: but if they chance to continue any time, as ours hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heeles feeble themselves the worse: no parte is exempted from corruption. For, *there is no aire a man drawes so greedily, or sucks so gluttonously; and that more spreads it selfe, or penetrates more deeply, then doth licentiousnesse.* Our Armies have no other bond to tie them, or other ciment to fasten them, then what commeth from strangers: *It is now a hard matter to frame a bodie of a compleate, constant, well-ordred and coherent Armie of French men: Oh what shame is it? We have no other discipline, then what borrowed or auxiliar Souldiers shew vs. As for vs, we are led-on by our owne discretion and not by the commaunders; each man followeth his owne humour: and hath more to doe within, then without. It is the commaundement, should follow, court and yeeld vnto: he onely ought to obey: all the rest is free and loose. I am pleased to see, what remifnesse and pusillanimitie is in ambition, and by what steps of abjection and servitude, it must arrive vnto it's end. But I am displeased to see some debonaire and well-meaning mindes, yea such as are capable of justice, dayly corrupted, about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion. Long sufferance begets custome; custome, consent and imitation. Wee had too-too many infected and ill-borne mindes, without corrupting the good, the sound and the generous. So that, if we continue any time, it will prove a difficult matter to finde out a man vnto whose skill and sufficiencie, the health or recovery of this state may be committed in trust, if fortune shall happily be pleased to restore it vs againe.*

*The confusion
in y^e civil war
of France*

*Hunc saltem ever so iuvenem succurrere secto,
Ne prohibete.*

Forbid not yet this youth at least,
To aide this age more then opprest.

What is become of that antient precept; *That Souldiers ought more to feare their Generall than their enemy?* And of that wonderfull examplelesse example: That the Romane armie having vpon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beset an apple-orchard; so obedient was shee to her Captaines, that the next morning, it rose and marched away without entring the same or touching one apple, although they were full-ripe and very delicious: So that when the owner came, he found the full number of his apples? I should be glad, that our Youths, in steade of the time they employ about lesse profitable peregrinations, and lesse honourable apprenticeshipes, would bestow one moytie, in seeing and observing the warres that happen on the sea, vnder some good Captaine or excellent Commaunder of *Malta*; the other moytie in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies. For, it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This ensueth, that here our Souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, there they proove more circumspect and fearefully wary. For, small offences and petty larcenies, which in times of peace, are in the common people punished with whipping or bastonadoes, in times of warre are capitall crimes. For an egge taken by a Turke without paying, hee is by their lawe to have the full number of fiftie stripes with a cudgell. For every other thing, how sleight soever, not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call Empaling; or presently beheaded. I have beene amazed, reading the storie of *Selim*, the cruellest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time hee subdued the Country of *Egypt*, the beauteous-goodly gardines round about the Cittie of *Damasco*, all open and in a conquered Country; his maine armielying encamped round about, those gardines were left vntouched and vnspoyled by the handes of his Souldiers, onely because they were commaunded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watch-word of pillage. But is there any maladie in a Common-weale, that deserveth to be combated by so mortall a drugge? No saide *Favonius*, not so much as the vsurpation of the tyrannicall possession of a Common-wealth. *Plato* likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his Country, no not to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation, which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole estate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the Cittizens. Establishing the office of an honest man, in these cases, to leave all there: But onely to pray God, to lend his extraordinary assisting hand vnto it. And seemeth to be of-

fended with *Dyon* his great friend, to have therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had beene a *Plato* in the world. And if such a man ought absolutely be banished our commerce, and refused our societie: (hee who for the sinceritie of his conscience, deserved by meane of divine favour, athwart the publique darkenesse, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein he lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into christian light) I doe not thinke, that it befitte vs, to be instructed by a Pagan. Oh what impietie is it, to expect from God no succour simply his, and without our co-operation. I often doubt, whether amongst so many men, that meddle with such a matter, any hath beene found of so weake an vnderstanding, that hath earnestly beene perswaded, he proceeded toward reformation, by the vtmost of deformations; that he drew toward his salvation, by the most expresse causes, that wee have of vndoubted damnation: that overthrowing policie, disgracing magistrates, abusing lawes, vnder whose tuition God hath placed him; filling brotherly mindes and loving hearts, with malice, hatred and murther; calling the Diuels and furies to his helpe; he may bring assistance to the most sacred mildnesse and iustice of divine Law. Ambition, avarice, crueltie and revenge, have not sufficient proper and naturall impetuositie; let vs allure and stirre them vppe by the glorious title of iustice and deuotion. *There can no worse estate of things bee imagined, than where wickednesse commeth to be lawfull:* And with the Magistrates leave, to take the cloake of vertue: *Nihil in speciem fallacius, quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen pretenditur sceleribus.* *There is nothing more deceitfull to shew, than corrupt religion, when the power of Heaven is made a pretence and cloake for wickednesse.* The extreame kinde of iniustice (according to *Plato*) is, that that which is vnjust, should be held for just. The common people suffered therein greatly then; not only present losses,

—*undiq; totis*

Usq; adeo turbatur agris.—

Such reuell and tumultuous rout

In all the country round about.

But also succeeding dompages. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were scarce borne. They were robbed and pilled, and by consequence so was I, even of hope: spoiling and depriving them of al they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

Qua nequeunt secum, ferre aut abducere, perdunt,

Et cremat infantes turba scelestâ casus:

Muris nulla fides, squallent populatibus agri.

They wretch-lesse spoyle and spill what draw or drive they may not;

Guiltie rogues to set fire on guilt-lesse houses stay not.

In wals no trust, the field

By spoyle growes waste and wilde.

Besides these mischiefes, I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences, that moderation bringeth in such defeases. I was shaven on all handes: To the Ghibelin I was a Gueff, to the Gueffa Ghibelin. Some one of my Poets expresseth as much, but I wot not where it is. The scituation of my house, and the acquaintance of such as dwelt round about me, presented me with one visage; my life and actions with another. No formall accusations were made of it; for there was nothing to take hold of. I never opposed my selfe against the lawes; and who had called me in question, should have lost by the bargain. They were mute suspicions, that ranne vnder hand, which never want apparance in so confused a hurly-burly, no more than lacke of envious or foolish wittes. I commonly affoord ayde vnto injurious presumptions, that fortune scattereth against me; by a fashion I ever had, to avoide justifying, excusing or interpreting my selfe; deeming it to be a putting of my conscience to compromise, to pleade for hir. *Perspicuitas enim, argumentatione elevatur:* For the clearing of a cause, is lessened by the arguing. And as if everie man saw into mee as cleare as I doe my selfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance my selfe to the accusation and rather endear it; by an erroneous and scoffing confession: except I flatly hold my peace, as of a thing vnworthe any answer. But such as take it for an over-proud confidence, do not much lesse disesteeme and hate me for it, than such as take it for weakenesse of an indefensible cause. Namely the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreame fault. Rude to all iustice, that is knowne or felt: not demisse, humble or suppliant. I have often stumbled against that pillar.

er. So it is, that by the harmes which befell mee, an ambitious man would have hanged himselfe; and so would a covetous churle. I have no care at all to acquire or get.

Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam.
Quod superest aui, si quid superesse volent dy.

Let me have that I have, or lesse, so I may live
Vnto my selfe the rest, if any rest God give.

But losses that come vnto me by others-injurie, be it larcenie or violence, pinch mee, in a manner as one sicke and tortured with avarice. *An offence causeth vndoubtedly more grieve and sharpnesse, than a losse.* A thousand severall kinds of mischiefes fell vpon mee, one in the necke of another. I should more stowly have endured them, had they come all at once. I bethought my selfe, amongst my friendes, to whome I might commit a needie, a defective and vnfortunate olde-age. But after I had surveid them all, and cast mine eyes every where, I found my selfe bare and far to seeke. For one to sowse himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, hee should heedily forecast that it may be in the armes of a solide, stedfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the best and safest way, was to trust both my selfe and my necessitie, vnto my selfe. And if it should happen to be but meanly and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually commend my selfe vnto mine owne favour, more closely fasten and more nearely looke vnto, my selfe. In all things men relie vpon strange props, to spare their owne: onely certaine, and onely powerfull, knowe they but how to arme themselves with them. Every man runneth out, and vnto what is to come, because no man is yet come vnto himselfe. And I resolved, that they were profitable inconveniences: forso much as when reason will not serve, we must first warne yntoward Schollers with the rodde; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked peece of wood to be straight. It is long since I call, to keepe my selfe vnto my selfe, and live sequestred from aliene and strange things; notwithstanding I daily stare out and cast mine eyes aside. Inclination, a great mans favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me. God he knowes whether there be penurie of them now adayes, and what sense they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listen to the subornings, framed to drawe mee to some towne of merchandise or citty of traffike; and so coldely defend my selfe, that it seemes I should rather endure to be overcome, than not. Now to a spirit so indocile, blowes are required: and this vessell, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to vnhoope, to escape and fall in peeeces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knockt with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an exercitation to prepare my selfe for worse, if worse might happen: if I, who both by the benefite of fortune and condition of my maners, hoped to be of the last, should by this tempest be one of the first surprised. Instructing my selfe betimes, to force my life and frame it for a new state. True perfect libertie, is, for one to be able to do and work all things vpon himselfe. *Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate. Hee is of most power, that keepes himselfe in his owne power.* In ordinary and peacefull times, a man prepares himselfe for common and moderate accidents: but in this confusion, wherein wee have beene these thirtie yeeres, every French man, be it in generall or in particular, doth hourly see himselfe vpon the point of his fortunes overthrowe and downefall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored and his minde fraughted, with more strong and vigorous provisions: Let vs thanke Fortune, that hath not made vs live in an effeminate, idle and languishing age: Some, whom other meanes could never bring vnto it, shall make themselves famous by their misfortunes. As I reade not much in Histories, these confusions of other states, without regret, that I could not better them present: So doth my curiositie make me somewhat please my selfe, with mine eyes to see this notable spectacle of our publike death; her symptomes and formes. And since I could not hinder the same, I am content to be appointed as an assistant vnto it, and thereby instruct my selfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadowes, and vnderstand by fabulous representations vpon Theatres, the shew of the tragicke revolutions of humane fortune. It is not without compassion of that wee heare, but we please our selves to rowze vp our displeasure, by the rarenesse of these pittifull events. *Nothing tickles, that pincheth not.* And good Historians avoide calme narrations, as a dead water or mort-mere; to retriue seditions & finde out warres, whereto they know we call them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow, at how base a rate of my lifes-rest and tranquillitie, I have passit more than halfe in the ruine of my Country. In accidents that touch mee not in

Hor. lib. 1. epist.
18. 107.

Sen. epist. 9

my freehold, I purchase patience very cheape; and to complaine to my selfe, I respect not so much what is taken from me, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort, in sometimes eschewing one, and sometimes another of the evils, that one in the necke of another surprise vs, and elsewhere strike vs round about. As in matters of publike interrests, according as my affection is more vniuersally scattred, she is thereby more enfeebled. Since it is halfe true: *Tantum ex publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet.* We feele so much of common harmes as appertains to our private estate. And that the health whence we fell was such, that her selfe solaceth the regret, we should have for her. It was health; marie but in comparision of the contagion, which hath followed the same. Wee are not false very high. The corruption and the brigandage, which now is in office and dignitie, seemes to me the least tolerable. We are lesse injuriouly robbed in the midst of a wood, then in a place of securitie. It was an yniuersall coherencie of members spoiled avie one another; and most of them, with old-rankled vlcers, which neither admitted nor demaunded recoverie. Truly this shaking-fit did therefore more animate then deterre me, onely by the aide of my conscience, which not onely quietly, but fiercely carried it selfe; and I found no cause to complaine, of my selfe. Likewise, as God never sends men either evils or goods absolutely pure, my health held out well for that time; yea against her ordinary: And as without it I can do nothing, so with it, there are few things I cannot doe. She gave me meanes to summon and rouse vp all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hurt, which happily would have gone further: And proved in my patience, that yet I had some hold against fortune; and that to thrust me out of my saddle, there was required a stronger counterbuffe. This I speake not, to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe vnto her: For Gods sake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults? I doe indeede. As those whom sorrow possesseth and overwhelmeth, doe notwithstanding at one time or other suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now & then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe, to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and yrksome imaginations; but yet, I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these vnpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme my selfe to expell or wrestle against them, assaile and beate me. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief; that on the necke of the former came rushing vpon me. Both within and round about my house, I was overtaken, in respect of all other, with a most contagious pestilence. For, as soundest bodies are subject to grievous diseases, because they onely can force them: so the aire about me being very healthy, where in no mans memory, infection (although very neere) could ever take footing: comming now to be poisoned, brought forth strange effects.

Missa senum & iuvenum densantur funera, nullum

Sava caput Proserpina fugit.

Of old and yong thicke funeralls are shared;

By cruell Proserpine no head is spared.

I was faine to endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was yrksome vnto me. Whatever was therein, lay all at randon, no man looked thereunto; and was free for any that had a minde vnto it. I who have so long beene a good housekeeper, and vsed to hospitalitie, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreat for my familie. A dismaide and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horreur where it sought to retire for shelter; being now to shift and change her dwelling, so soone as any of the company beganne to feele his finger ake, all the rest were dismaide. Every sicknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leasure to consider them. And the mischief is, that according to the rules of arte, what danger soever approacheth, a man must continue fortie dayes in anxietie or feare of that evell; in which time your owne imagination doth perplex you as she list and infect your health. All which had much lesse toucht mee, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their grievances, and for six months space, in miserable maner, to be a woefull guide to so great-confused a Caravane. For I ever carry my preservatives about me, which are resolution and suffrance. Apprehension doth not greatly presse me; which is particularly feared in this sicknesse. And if being alone, I should have taken it, it had beene a stronger and further flight: It is a death in mine opinion, not of the worst: It is commonly short and speeding, voide of lingring giddinesse, without paine, comforted by the publike condition; without

ceremonie,

*Pestilence in
about his
house*

Hor. car. l. i. od.

28. 19.

ceremonie, without mourning, and without thronging. But for the people about vs, the hundreth parts of soules cannot be saved.

videas desertaque regna

Pastorum, & longè salus latèque vacantes.

Kingdomes of Shepheards desolate forlorne,

Parkes farre and neere lie waste, a state all torne.

In that place, my best revenue is manuell: what a hundred men laboured for me, lay fallow for a long time. What examples of resolution saw we not then in all this peoples simplicitie? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the countries chiefe commoditie) hung still and rotted vpon the vines vntouch't: all indifferently preparing themselves and expecting death, either that night or the next morrow: with countenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromitted to this necessitie, and that it was an vniverfall and inevitable condemnation. It is ever such. But what slender hold hath the resolution of dying? The difference and distance of some few houres: the onely consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diuerse vnto vs. Behold these: because they die in one same month, children, yong, old, they are no more astonied, they are no longer wept-for. I saw some that feared to stay behinde, as if they had beene in some horrid solitude: And commonly I knew no other care amongst them, but for graves: it much grieved them, to see the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercie of wilde beasts; which presently beganne to flocke thither. Oh how humane fantasies differ and are easily disioyned! The Neorites, a nation whilome subdued by *Alexander the Great*, cast out their dead mens bodies into the thickest of their woods, there to be deuoured: the grave onely esteemed happy amongst them. Some in good health digged already their graves, other some yet living did goe into them. And a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his owne hands and feete pulled earth vpon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a lying downe in the shade to sleepe at ease? An enterprife in some sort as highly noble, as that of some *Romane Souldiers*, who after the battell of *Canna*, were found with their heads in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled vp with their hands, wherein they were smothered. To conclude, a whole nation was presently by vse brought to a march, that in vndantednesse yeelds not to any consulted and fore-meditated resolution. The greatest number of learnings instructions, to encourage vs have more shew then force, and more ornament then fruite. Wee have forsaken nature, and yet wee will teach her her lesson: Shee, that lead vs so happily, and directed vs so safely: And in the meane while, the traces of her instructions and that litle, which by the benefite of ignorance, remaineth of her image, imprinted in the life of this rusticall troupe of vnpolished men; learning is compelled to goe dayly a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples a patterne of constancie, of innocencie and of tranquillitie. It is a goodly matter to see how these men full of so great knowledge, must imitate this foolish simplicitie; yea in the first and chiefe actions of vertue. And that our wisdom should learne of beasts, the most profitable documents, belonging to the chiefe and most necessary parts of our life. How we should live and die, husband our goods, love and bring vp our children, and entertaine justice. A singular testimonie of mans infirmitie: and that this reason we so manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diuersitie and noveltie, leaveth vnto vs no maner of apparant trake of nature. Wherewith men have done, as perfumers doe with oile: they have adulterated her, with so many argumentations, and sofisticated her with so diuerse farre-fetcht discourses, that she is become variable and peculiar to every man, and hath lost her proper, constant and vniverfall visage: whereof we must seeke for a testimonie of beasts, not subject to favor or corruption, nor to diuersitie of opinions. For it is most true, that themselves march not alwayes exactly in natures path, but if they chance to stray, it is so litle, that you may ever perceiue the tracke. Even as horses led by hand doe sometimes bound and start out of the way, but no further then their halters length, and neverthelesse follow ever his steps that leadeth them: And as a Hawke takes his flight but vnder the limites of hir cranes or twyne. *Exilia, tormenta, bella, morbos, naufragia meditare, ut nullo sis malo tyro.* Banishments, torments, warres, sicknesses, shipwracks, all these forecast and premeditate, that thou maist seeme no novice, no freshwater Souldier to any misadventure. What availeth this curiositie vnto vs, to preoccupate all humane natures inconueniences, and with so much labour and toying against them, to prepare our selves which per-

adventure shall nothing concerne vs? (*Parempassis tristitiam facit, pati posse. It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischiefe, as if they had suffered it.* Not onely the blow, but the winde and cracke strikes vs) Or as the most febricitant, for surely it is a kind offever, now to cause your selfe to be whipped, because fortune may one day chance to make you endure it: and at Mid-Sommer to put-on your furr'd Gowne, because you shall neede it at Christmas? Cast your selves into the experience of all the mischiefes, that may befall you, namely of the extreamest: there try your selfe (say they) there assure your selfe. Contrarie-wise, the easiest and most naturall, were even to discharge his thought of them. They will not come soone enough, their true being doth not last vs long enough, our spirite must extend and lengthen them; and before hand incorporate them into himselfe, and therewith entertaine himselfe, as if they lay not sufficiently heavy on our senses. They will weigh heavy enough, when they shall be there (saith one of the Maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest Sect) meane while favour thy selfe: Beleeve what thou lovest best: What availes it thee to collect and prevent thy ill fortune: and for feare of the future, loose the present; and now to be miserable, because in time thou maiest be so? They are his owne wordes. Learning doth vs willingly one good office, exactly to instruct vs in the demenitions of evilles.

Cris acuens mortalia corda.

Mens cogitations whetting,

With sharpe cares inly fretting.

It were pittie, any part of their greatnesse should escape our feeling and vnderstanding. It is certaine, that preparation vnto death, hath caused more torment vnto most, than the verie sufferance. It was whilome truely saide, of and by a most judicious Authour: *Minus afficit sensus fatigatio, quam cogitatio. Wearineesse lesse troubleth our senses, then pensivenesse doth.* The apprehension of present death, doeth sometimes of it selfe animate vs, with a ready resolution, no longer to avoyde a thing altogether inevitable. Many Gladiators have in former ages beene seene, having at first fought very cowardly, most couragiously to embrace death; offering their throate to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death, hath neede of a slowe constancie, and by consequence hard to bee found. If you know not how to die, take no care for it; Nature her selfe will fully and sufficiently teach you in the nicke, she will exactly discharge that worke for you; trouble not your selfe with it.

Incertam frustra mortales funeris horam.

Quaritis, & qua sit mors adiuturam via:

Pana minor certam subito perferre ruinam,

Quod timeas, gravius sustinuisse divo.

Of death th'uncertaine houre you men in vaine

Enquire, and what way death shall you distraine:

A certaine sodaine ruine is lesse paine,

More grievous long what you feare to sustaine.

We trouble death with the care of life, and life with the care of death. The one anoyeth, the other affrights vs. It is not against death, we prepare our selves; it is a thing to momentarie. A quarter of an houre of passion without consequence and without annoyance, deserves not particular precepts. To say truth, we prepare our selves against the preparations of death. *Philosophy teacheth vs, ever to have death before our eyes, to fore-see and consider it before it come:* Then giveth vs rules and precautions so to provide, that such foresight and thought hurt vs not. So doe Physicions, who cast vs into diseases, that they may employ their drugges and skill about them. If we have not knowne how to live, it is injustice to teach vs how to dye, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowne how to live constantly and quietly, we shall know how to die resolutely and reposedly. They may bragge as much as they please. *Tota Philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est. The whole life of a Philosopher is the meditation of his death.* But me thinks, it is indeede the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremitie; yet not her object. Hir selfe must be vnto hir selfe, hir ayme, hir drift and her designe. Hir direct studie is, to order, to direct and to suffer hir selfe. In the number of many other offices, which the generall and principall Chapter, to know how to live containeth, is this speciall Article, *To know how to dy.* And of the easiest, did not our owne feare weigh it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked truth,

truth, the lessons of simplicitie, yeeld not much to those, which Doctrine preacheth to the contrarie vnto vs. Men are different in feeling, and diuerse in force : they must be directed to their good, according to themselves and by diuers waies :

Quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.

Where I am whirld by winde and wether,

I guest-like straight am carried thether.

Hor. l. i. epist. 2.
15.

I never saw meane paissant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care, with what assurance or countenance, hee should passe this last houre. Nature teacheth him never to mize on death, but when he dieth. And then hath he a better grace in it, than *Aristotle*; whom death perplexeth doubly, both by her seife and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it *Cæsars* opinion, that *The least premeditated death, was the happiest and the easiest.* *Plus dolet, quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet, quàm necesse est.* He grieues more than he neede, That grieues before he neede. The sharpenesse of this imagination, proceedes from our curiositie. Thus we ever hinder our selues; desiring to fore-runne and sway naturall prescriptions: It is but for Doctors, being in health, to fare the worse by it, and to frowne and startle at the image of death. The vulgare sort, have neither neede of remedie nor comfort, but when the shooke or stroke commeth. And justly considers no more of it, than hee feeleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgares stupiditie and want of apprehension, affoorde them this patience in present evils, and this deepe carelesnes of sinistred future accidents? That their mind being more grosse, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitable? In Gods name, if it be so, let vs henceforth keepe a schoole of brutalitie. It is the vtmost fruit that Sciences promise vnto vs, to which she so gently bringeth her disciples. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of naturall simplicitie. *Socrates* shalbe one. For, as neare as I remember, he speaketh in this sence vnto the Iudges, that determine of his life : *I feare me my Maisters* (saith he) *that if I intreate you not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers; which is, That I professe to have more understanding than others; as having some knowledge more secret & hidde of things both above and beneath vs. I know I have neither frequented nor knowne death, nor have I seene any body, that hath either felt or tried her qualities, to instruct me in them. Those who feare her, presuppose to know her : As for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other worlde. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet is it to be beleewed, that if it be a transmigration from one place to an other, there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthie famous persons, that are deceased; and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupted Iudges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendement and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life, as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. The things I know to be wicked, as to wrong or offend ones neighbour; and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully shunne them: Such as I knowe not whether they be good or bad, I can not feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive; the Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper best. And therefore, for my regarde, you shall dispose of it, as it best shall please you. But according to my fashion, which is to counsell good and profitable things, this I say, that for your owne conscience you shall doe best to free and discharge me : except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And iudging according to my former actions, both publike and private, according to my intentions, and to the profite, that so many of our Citizens, both yong and olde, drawe daily from my conversation, and the fruit, all you reape by me, you cannot more iustly or duely discharge your selues toward my desertes, than by appointing (my povertie considered) that I may live, and at the common charge be kept, in the *Brytaneo* : which for much lesse reasons, I have often seene you freely graunt to others. Impute it not to obstinacie or disdain in me, nor take it in ill parte, that I, according to custome proceede not by way of intreatie, and moove you to commiseration. I have both friends and kinsfolkes, being not (as *Homer* saith) begotten of a blocke or stone, no more than other men : capable to present themselves, humbly suing with teares and mourning : and I have three desolate wailing children, to moove you to pittie. But I should make our *Cittie* ashamed, of the age I am in, and in that reputation of wisdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeelde vnto so base and abiect countenances. What would the world say of other Athenians? I have ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchase or redeeme their lives, by any dishonest or unlawfull act. And in my Countries warres, both at *Amphipolis*, at *Potidea*, at *Delia*, and others, in which I have beene, I have shewen by effectes, how farre I was from warranting my safetie by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your dutie, and*

preiudice your calling, and perswade you to foule vnlawfull things; for not my prayers, but the pure and solide reasons of iustice should perswade you. You have sworne to the Gods, so to maintaine your selves. Not to beleeeve there were any, might seeme I would suspect, recriminate or retort the fault vpon you. And my selfe should witnesse against my selfe, not to beleeeve in them as I ought: distrustling their conduct, and not meerey remitting my affaires into their handes. I wholly trust and rely on them; and certainly holde, that in this, they will dispose as it shal be meetest for you, and fittest for me. Honest men, that neither live, nor are dead, have no cause at all to feare the Gods. Is not this a childish pleading, of an inimaginable courage; and in what necessitie employed? Verely it was reason, hee should preferre it before that, which the great Orator *Lyfias* had set downe in writing for him; excellently fashioned in a iudiciarie stile; but vnworthie of so noble a criminall. Should a man have heard an humbly-suing voyce out of *Socrates* his mouth? Would that powde vertue have failed in the best of her shew? And would his rich and powerfull nature, have committed her defence vnto arte, and in her highest Essay, renounced vnto trueth and sinceritie, true ornaments of his speach, to adorne and decke himselfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-learn't Oration? Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, and so sacred an image of humane forme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere; and wrong the immortall memorie of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to the worlds example. Had it not bene a publike losse, if he had finished the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truly, so carelesse and effeminate a consideration of his death, deserved, posteritie should so much more consider the same for him: which it did. And nothing is so iust in justice, as that, which fortune ordained for his commendation. For the Athenians did afterward so detest and abhorre those, which had furthered and caused his death, that of all they were loathed and shunned as curfed and excommunicated men: whatsoever they had but touched was held to be polluted: No man would so much as wash with them in bathes or hot-houses: no man affoord them a salutation, much lesse accost or have to doe with them: so that being in the end no longer able to endure this publike hatred and generall contempt, they all hanged themselves. If any man thinks, that amongst so manie examples, I might have chosen for the service of my purpose, in *Socrates* his sayings, I have chosen or handled this but ill: and deemeth this discourse, to be raised above common opinions: I have done it wittingly: for I judge otherwise. And hold it to be a discourse, in rancke and sincerity, much shorter and lower, then vulgare opinions. It representeth in an vn-artificiall boldnesse, and infantine securitie, the pure impression and first ignorance of of nature. Because it is credible, that we naturally feare paine, but not death, by reason of her. It is a part of our being, no lesse essentiall than life. To what end would Nature have else engendred the hate and horror of it, seeing it holdes therein, and with it a ranke of most great profit, to foster the succession, and norish the vicissitude of her works? And that in this vniversal Common-weale, it steadeth and serveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay or ruine.

Eucr. l. 2. 73.

Sic rerum summa novatur.

So doth the summe of all,

By courses rise and fall.

Mille animas vna necata dedit.

We thousand soules shall pay,

For one soule made away.

The decay of one life, is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beasts, the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their empairing; to shooke or hurt themselves: and that wee should not shackle or beate them, accidents subject to their sence and experience: But that we should kill them, they cannot feare it, nor have they the faculty to imagine or conclude their death. Yet is it reported, that they are not onely scene to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most Horses neigh in dying, and Swannes sing when it seifeth them.) But moreover, they seeke it when they neede it; as by divers examples may be prooved in the Elephants. Besides, the manner of arguing, which *Socrates* vseth here, is it not equally admirable, both in simplicitie and in vehemencie? Verely It is much easier, to speake as Aristotle, and live as Cæsar, than speake and live as *Socrates*. Therein consists the extreame degree of difficultie and perfection;

etion; arte cannot attaine vnto it. Our faculties are not now so adressed. We neither assay, nor know them; we invest our selves with others, and suffer our owne to be idle. As by some might be said of me: that here I have but gathered a nosegay of strange floures, and have put nothing of mine vnto it, but the thred to binde them. Certes, I have given vnto publike opinion, that these borrowed ornaments accompany me; but I meane not they should cover or hide me: it is contrary to mine intention, who would make shew of nothing that is not mine owne, yea and mine owne by nature. And had I believed my selfe, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I dayly charge my selfe the more beyond my proposition and fitt forme, vpon the fantasie of time, and through idlenesse. If it mis-seeme me, as I thinke it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. *Some aledge Plato, and some mention Homer, that neuer saw them,* or as they say in English, *many a man speaks of Robin Hood, that neuer shot in his bow.* And I have taken diuerse passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiencie; having a thousand volumes of bookes about me, where now I write, if I please, I may presently borrow from a number of such botcherly-patchcotes (men that I plod not much vpon) wherewith to enamell this treatie of *Physognomie*. I neede but the liminarie epistle of a Germane to store me with allegations: and we goe questing that way for a fading-greddie glorie, to cosin and delude the foolish world. These raplodies of common places, wherewith so many stuffe their studie, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects; and serve but to shew and not to direct vs: A ridiculous-fond fruite of learning; that *Socrates* doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagitate against *Euthydemus*. I have seene bookes made of things neither studied nor ever vnderstood: the author committing to diuerse of his learned and wise friends the search of this and that matter, that so he might compile them into a booke; contenting himselfe for his owne part, to have cast the plotte and projected the desseigne of it, and by his industrie to have bound vp the sagot of ynknowne provisions: at least as the inke and paper his owne. This may be saide to be a buying or borrowing, and not a making or compiling of a booke. It is to teach men, not that one can make a booke, but to put them out of doubt, that he cannot make it. A President of the law, in a place where I was, vanted himselfe, to have hudled vp together two hundred and odd strange places in a presidentiall law-case of his: In publishing of which, he defaced the glory, which others gave him for it. A weake, childish and absurde boasting in my opinion, for such a subject and for such a man. I doe cleane contrarie; and amongst so many borrowings, am indeede glad to filch some one; disguising and altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say, that it is for lacke of vnderstanding it's naturall vse, I give it some particular adressing of mine owne hand, to the end it may be so much lesse meerey strange. Whereas these put their larcenies to publike view and garish shew. So have they more credite in the lawes, then I. We other naturalists suppose, that there is a great and incomparable preference, betweene the honour of invention, and that of allegation. Would I have spoken according to learning, I had spoken sooner: I had written at such times as I was neerer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memorie; and should more have trusted the vigor of that age, then the imperfection of this, had I beene willing to professe writing of bookes. And what, if this gracious favour, which fortune hath not long since offered mee by the intermission of this worke, could have befallne me in such a season, in lieu of this, where it is equally desireable to possesse, and readie to loose?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this facultie) have, in my conceit, lost much, because they refused to publish themselves at fortie yeares of age, to stay vntill they were three score. *Maturitie hath hir defects, as well as greenenesse, and worse.* And as incommodious or vnfit is old age vnto this kinde of worke, as to any other. Whosoever put's his decrepitude vnder the presse, committeth folly, if therby he hopes to wring out humors, that shall not taste of dottage, of fopperie, or of drouinesse. Our spirit becommeth costive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speake sumptuously and plentiously; and of learning meagerly and pittiously: This accessorially and accidentally; That expressely and principally. And purposely I treat of nothing; but of nothing; not of any one science, but of vnscience. I have chosen the time, where the life I have to set forth, is all before mee, the rest holdes more of death. And of my death onely should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the World advise. *Socrates* hath beene a perfect patterne in al great qualities. I am vexed, that ever he met with so ynhanfome and crabbed a body,

a body, as they say he had, and so disonant from the beautie of his minde. Himselfe so amorous and so besotted on beautie. Nature did him wrong. There is nothing more truly semblable, as the conformitie or relation betweene the body and the mind: *Ipsi animi, magni referunt, quali in corpore locati sunt: multa enim e corpore existunt, qua acuant mentem: multa, que obtrudant.* It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed: for many things arise of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it. This man speakes of an vnnatural ill-favourdnesse, and membrall deformitie: but we call ill-favourdnesse a kinde of vnseemlinesse, at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face; and by the colour worketh a dislike in vs; A freckle, a blemish, a rude countenance, a sower looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well ordered, comely and compleate limmes. The foulness of face, which invested a beauteous minde in my deare friend *La Botie*, was of this predicament. This superficial ill-favourdnesse, which is notwithstanding the most imperious, is of lesse prejudice vnto the state of the minde: and hath small certaintie in mens opinion. The other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformitie, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. *Not every shoe of smooth-shining leather, but everie well-shapen and handsome made shoe, sheweth the inward and right shape of the foot.* As *Socrates* said of his, that it justly accused so much in his mind, had he not corrected the same by institution. But in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted vse, he did but jest: and so excellent a mind, did never frame it selfe. I cannot often enough repeate, how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantageous a qualitie is she. He named it, *a short tyranny*: And *Plato* the priviledge of Nature. We have none that exceeds it in credit. She possesseth the chiefe ranke in the commerce of societie of men: She presents it selfe forward: she seduceth and preoccupates our judgement, with great authoritie and wonderfull impression. *Phryne* had lost her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening hir garments, by the sodaine flashing of hir beautie, she had not corrupted her judges. And I finde, that *Cyrus*, *Alexander* and *Cesar* those three Masters of the World, have not forgotten or neglected the same in atchieving their great affaires. So hath not the first *Scipio*. One same word in Greeke importeth faire and good. And even the Holy Ghost calleth often those good, which he meaneth faire. I should willingly maintaine the ranke of the goods, as implied the song, which *Plato* saith to have beene triviall, taken from some auncient Poet; *Health, beautie and riches.* *Aristotle* saith, that the right of commaunding, doth of duty belong to such as are faire; and if haply any be found, whose beautie approacherh to that of the Gods images, that veneration is equally due vnto them. To one that asked him, why the fairest were both longer time and oftner frequented? *This question* (quoth he) *ought not to be moved but by a blinde-man.* Most and the greatest Philosophers, paide for their schooling and attained vnto Wisedome, by the intermission of their beautie, and favour of their comelines. Not onely in men that serve me, but in beastes also, I consider the same within two inches of goodnesse. Yet me thinks, that the same feature and manner of the face, and those lineaments, by which some argue certaine inward complexions, and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge vnder the Chapter of beauty and ill-favourdnesse; no more than all good favours, or clearenesse of ayre, doe not alwayes promise health; nor all fogges and stinks, infection, in times of the plague. Such as accuse Ladies to contradict their beautie; by their manners, guesse not alwayes at the truth. For, *In an ill favourd and ill composed face, may sometimes harbour some ayre of probitie, and trust.* As on the contrary, I have somtimes read betweene two faire eyes, the threats of a maligne & dangerous ill-boding nature. There are some favourable Physiognomies; For in a throng of victorious enemies, you shall presently amidst a multitude of vnknowne faces; make choise of one man more than of others, to yeeld your selfe vnto, and trust your life; and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A mans looke or ayre of his face, is but a weake warrant; notwithstanding it is of some consideration. And were I to whippe them, I would more rudely scourge such as maliciously belie and betray the promises, which Nature had charactred in their front. And more severely would I punish malicious craft in a debonaire apparance & in a milde-promising countenance. It seemeth there be some luckie and well boding faces, and other some unluckie and ill-prefaging: And I thinke, there is some Arte to distinguish gently-milde faces, from nyas and simple; the severe from the rude; the malicious from the froward; the disdainfull from the melancholike and such other neighbouring qualities. There are some beauties,

beauties, not onely fierce-looking, but also sharpe-working, some others pleasing-sweete, and yet wallowishly tastelesse. To prognosticate future succesles of them, be matters I leave vndecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard this auncient precept, verie rawly and simply: That *We cannot erre in following Nature*: and that the soveraigne document is, for a man to conforme himselfe to hir. I have not (as *Socrates*) by the power and vertue of reason, corrected my naturall complections, nor by Arte hindered mine inclination. Look how I came into the World, so I goe-on: I strive with nothing. My twoo Mistris partes, live of their owne kindenesse in peace & good agreement: but my nuses milke, hath (thanks be to God) beene indifferently wholesome and temperate. Shall I say thus much by the way? That I see a certaine image of bookish or scholasticall *preud'homme*, only which is in a manner in vse amongst vs, held and reputed in greater esteeme than it deserveth, and which is but a servant vnto precepts, brought vnder by hope, and constrained by feare? I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that may bee perceived to have wherewith to vphold her selfe without other aide: sprung vp in vs of hir owne proper rootes, by and from the seede of vniverfall reason, imprinted in every man that is not vnnatural. The same reason, that reformeth *Socrates* from his vicious habite, yeelds him obedient both to Gods and men, that rule and commaund his Cittie: couragious in his death; not because his soule is immortall, but because hee is mortall. A ruinous instruction to all common-weales and much more harmefull, than ingenious and subtile, is that which perswadeth men, that onely a religious beleefe, and without manners, sufficeth to content and satisfie diuine iustice. Custome makes vs see an enormous distinction, betweene devotion and conscience. I have a favourable apparance, both in forme and interpretation.

*Quid dixi habere me? Imò habui Chreme:
Hec tantum attriti corporis ossa vides.*

I have; what did I say?
I had what's now away.
Alas, you only now behold,
Bones of a bodie worne and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to that of *Socrates*. It hath often betided me, that by the simple credite of my presence and aspect, some that had no knowledge of me, have greatly trusted vnto it, were it about their owne affaires or mine. And even in forraigne countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These two experiments, are happily worthy to be particularly related. A *quidam* gallant, determined vpon a time to surprise both my house and my selfe. His plot was, to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to vrge entrance. I knew him by name, and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat alide vnto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes in all afrighted, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable; that within halfe a league of my house he was sodainely set-vpon by an enemy of his, whom I knew well and had heard of their quarrell: that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurs; that being surpris'd vnarmed, and having fewer in his company then the other, he was glad to runne away, and for safety had made haste to come to my house, as to his sanctuary: That he was much perplexed for his men, all which he supposed to be either taken or slaine. I endeavoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came gallopping foure or five of his Souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, halting to be let-in: Shortly after came others, and others, all proper men, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirtie or thereabouts, all seeming distracted for feare, as if the enemy that pursude them had beene at their heeles. This mysterie beganne to summon my suspicion. I was not ignorant of the age wherein I lived, nor how much my house might be envied: and had sundry examples of others of my acquaintance, that had beene spoiled, beset and surpris'd thus and thus. So it is, that perceiving with my selfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to vse them kindly, if I continued not, and being vnable to rid my selfe of them and cleare my house without danger and spoiling all; as I ever doe, I tooke the plainest and naturall well-meaning way, and commaunded they should be let-in and bid welcome. And to say truth, I am by nature little suspicious or mistrustfull, I am easily drawne to admit excuses and encline to milde interpretations. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe, and believe

*Ter. Heav. act. 1.
sc. 1.*

believe these perverse and tletcherous inclinations { except I be compelled by some autenticall testimonie; no more then monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man, that willingly commit my selfe vnto fortune, and carelesly cast my selfe into her armes : Whereof hetherto I have more just cause to commend my selfe, then to complaine. And have found her more circumspect and friendly-carefull of my affaires, then I am my selfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may iustly be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne; truly the other two are richly hers. We are too blame, and in my conceite we erre, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with our selves. And pretend more in our owne conduct, then of right appertaines vnto vs. Therefore doe our desseignes so often miscarry, and our intents so seldome sorte to wished effect. The heavens are angry and I may say envious of the extension and large priviledge, we ascribe vnto the right of humane wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs: and abridge them so much the more vnto vs, by how much more wee endeavour to amplifie them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight : their Captaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horse set-vp, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarily withdraw himselfe, so soone as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe maister of his enterprise, and nothing was wanting but the execution. Hee hath since reported very often, (for he was no whit scrupulous or afraide to tell this storie) that my vndanted lookes, my vndismaide countenance, and my liberty of speech, made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or trecherous desseignes. What shall I say more? He bids me farewell, calleth for his horse, gets vp, and offreth to be gone, his people having continually their eies fixed vpon him, to observe his lookes and see what signe he should make vnto them : much amazed to see him be gone and wondering to see him omit and forsake such an advantage. An other time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of armes, that lately had beene published through our camps in *France*, as one suspecting no harme, I vndertooke a journie from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish countrie; I had not rid far, but I was discovered, and behold three or foure troupes of horsemen, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrapp me : One of which overtooke mee the third day; where I was round beset and charged by fiftene or twenty Gentlemen, who had all vizardes and cases, followed aloofe-off by a band of Argoletiers. I was charged, I yeilded, I was taken and immediately drawne into the bosome of a thick Wood, that was not farre off; there puld from my Horse, stripped with all speede, my trunks and cloke-bags rifled, my boxe taken; my Horses, my equipage and such things as I had, disperfed and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thornie bushes, contesting and striving about my ranfome, which they racked so high, that it appeared well I was not much knowne of them. They had long contestation among themselves for my life. And to say truth : there were many circumstances, threatned me of the danger I was in.

Virg. Æn. l. 6.

Tunc animis opus, Aenea, tunc pectore firmo.

Of courage then indeede,

Then of stout brest is neede.

I ever stoode vpon the title and priviledge of the truce and proclamations made in the Kings name; but that availed not : I was content to quit them whatever they had taken from me, which was not to be despised, without promising other ranfome. After wee had debated the matter too and fro, the space of two or three houres, and that no excuses could serve, they set me vpon a lame jade, which they knew could never escape them, and committed the particular keeping of my person to fiftene or twenty harque-busiers, and disperfed my people to others of their crew, commaunding we should all divers wayes be carried prisoners; and my selfe being gone two or three-score paces from them,

Catul. el. 4. 65

Iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata.

Pollux and *Castors* aide,

When I had humblie praide.

behold a sodain & vnexpected alteration took them. I saw their Captaine comming towards me, with a cheerful countenance & much milder speeches then before : carefully trudging vp and downe through al the troupes, to find out my goods againe, which as he found all scattred he forced every man to restore them vnto me; and even my boxe came to my handes againe.

To

To conclude, the most precious jewell they presented me, was my libertie; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so vnlook't-for a change and so sodaine an alteration was, without any apparant impulsion, and of so wonderful repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunitie and such an enterprise, fore-meditated, consulted and effected without controlement, and which through custome and the impietie of times was now become lawfull, (for at the first brunt I planely confessed, and genuinely told them what side I was-of, where my way lay, and whither I was riding) I verely know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chieft amongst them vnmasked himselfe, told me his name and repeated diuerse times vnto me, that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldnesse and constancie of speech, and be beholding to them for it, in-
somuch as they made me vnworthy of such a misfortune; and demanded assurance of me for the like curtesie. It may be, that the inscrutable goodnesse of God would vse this vaine instrument for my preservation: For, the next morrow it also shielded mee from worse mischiefes or emboscadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me. The last is yet living, able to reporte the whole successe himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuitie of mine inward intent might not plainly have beene desciphered in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long, without quarrells or offences: with this indiscreete libertie, to speake freely (be it right or wrong) what ever cometh to my minde, and rashly to judge of things. This fashion may in some sorte, (and that with reason) seeme vncivill and ill accommodated in our customarie manners: but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any, would so judge it, or that was ever distastd at my libertie if he received the same from my mouth. *Words reported againe have, as another sound, so another sense.* And to say true, I hate no body; And am so remisse to offend or slow to wrong any, that for the service of reason it selfe, I cannot doe it. And if occasions have at any time vrged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be amerced then to appeare. *Ut magis peccari nolim, quam satis animi, ad vindicanda peccata habeam.* So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences. Some reporte, that Aristotle being vpbraided by some of his friends, that hee had beene over mercifull toward a wicked man: I have indeede (quoth he) beene mercifull toward the man, but not toward his wickednesse. Ordinary judgements are exasperated vnto punishment by the horror of the crime. And that enemyldens me. The horror of the first murder, makes me feare a second. And the vgliness of one crueltie, induceth me to detest all maner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see no higher then a steeple, may that concerne, which was reported of Charillus King of Sparta: He cannot be good, since he is not bad to the wicked. Or thus; for Plutarke presents it two wayes, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrarie; Hee must needs be good, since he is so to the wicked. Even as in lawfull actions, it grieues me to take any paines about them, when it is with such as are therewith displeased: So, to say truth, in vnlawfull, I make no great conscience, to employ my selfe or take paines about them, being with such as consent vnto them.

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V

The Lawes are infinite & intricate.

The thirteenth Chapter. *The ordering of our
lives of life and
much of his own life*

Of Experience.

8

There is no desire more naturall, then that of knowledge. We attempt all meanes that may bring vs vnto it. When reason failes vs, we employ experience.

*Per varios usus artem experientia fecit:
Exemplo monstrante viam.*

Manil. lib. I. aff
61.

By diuerse proofes experience arte hath bred,
Whilst one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more, weake and vile. But truth is of so great consequence, that wee ought not disdain any induction, that may bring vs vnto it. Reason hath so many
H h h
shapes,

shapes, that wee knowe not which to take holde of: Experience hath as many. The consequence we seeke to draw from the conference of events, is vnſure, becauſe they are ever diſſemblable. No qualitie is ſo vniuerſall in this ſurface of things, as varietie and diuerſitie. The Greekes, the Latines, and we uſe for the moſt expreſſe examples of ſimilitude, that of eggs. Some have neuertheleſſe bene found, eſpecially one in *Delphos*, that knew markes of difference betweene egges, and never tooke one for another. And having diuerſe Hennes, could rightly iudge which had laid the egge. Diſſimilitude doth of it ſelfe inſinuate into our workes, no arte can come neere vnto ſimilitude. Neither *Perozet* nor any other card-maker can ſo induſtriouſly ſmooth or whiten the backſide of his cardes, but ſome cunning gamſter will diſtinguiſh them, onely by ſeeing ſome other player handle or ſhuffle them. Reſemblance doth not ſo much make one, as difference maketh another. Nature hath bound herſelfe to make nothing that ſhould not be diſſemblable. Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly pleaſe me, that ſuppoſed by the multitude of lawes, to curbe the authoritie of judges, in cutting out their morſells. He perceived not, that there is as much libertie and extenſion in the interpretation of lawes, as in their faſhion. And thoſe but mocke themſelves, who thinke to diminifh our debates and ſtay them, by calling vs to the expreſſe word of the ſacred Bible. Becauſe our ſpirit findes not the field leſſe ſpacious, to controule and checke the ſenſe of others, then to repreſent his owne: And as if there were as litle corage and ſharpenelle to gloſe as to invent. We ſee how farre he was deceived. For wee have in *France* more lawes then all the world beſides; yea more then were needefull to governe all the worlds imagined by *Epicurus*: *Ve olim ſlagitijs, ſic nunc legibus laboramus.* As in times paſt we were ſicke of offences, ſo now are we of lawes. And we have given our judges ſo large a ſcope to moote, to opinionate, to ſuppoſe and decide, that there was never ſo powerfull and ſo licentious a libertie. What have our lawmakers gained with chuſing a hundred thouſand kindes of particular caſes, and adde as many lawes vnto them? That number hath no proportion, with the infinite diuerſitie of humane accidents. The multiplying of our inventions ſhall never come to the variation of examples. Adde a hundred times as many vnto them, yet ſhall it not followe, that of events to come, there be any one found, that in all this infinite number of ſeleſted and enregiſtred events, ſhall meete with one, to which hee may ſo exactly joyne and match it, but ſome circumſtance and diuerſitie will remaine, that may require a diuerſe conſideration of judgement. There is but little relation betweene our actions, that are in perpetuall mutation, and the fixed and vnmoooveable lawes. The moſt to be deſired, are the rareſt, the ſimpleſt and moſt generall. And yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, then ſo infinite a number as we have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then thoſe we give our ſelves. Wineſſe the image of the golden age that Poets faine; and the ſtate wherein we ſee diuerſe nations to live, which have no other. Some there are, who to decide any controverſie, that may riſe amongſt them, will chuſe for judge the firſt man that by chance ſhall travell alongſt their mountaines: Others, that vpon a market day will name ſome one amongſt themſelves, who in the place without more wrangling ſhall determine all their queſtions. What danger would enſue, if the wiſeſt ſhould ſo decide ours, according to occurrences and at firſt ſight; without being tide to examples and conſequences? *Let every foote have his owne ſhooe.* *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine* ſending certaine Collonies into the *Indies*, provided wiſely, that no lawyers or ſtudents of the lawes ſhould be carried thither, for feare leſt controverſies, ſutes or proceſſes ſhould people that new-found world. As a Science that of her owne nature engendreth altercation & diſiſion, judging with *Plato*, that *Lawyers* and *Philiſtions* are an ill proviſion for any countrie. Wherefore is it, that our common language ſo eaſie to be vnderſtood in all other matters, becommeth ſo obſcure, ſo harſh and ſo hard to be vnderſtood in law-caſes, bills, contracts, indentures, citations, wills and teſtaments? And that he who ſo plainly expreſſeth himſelfe, what ever hee ſpeake or write of any other ſubject, in law matters findes no maner or way to declare himſelfe or his meaning, that admits not ſome doubt or contradiction? Vnleſſe it be, that the Princes of this arte applying themſelves with a particular attention, to invent and chuſe ſtrange, choiſe and ſolemne words, and frame artificiall cunning clauſes, have ſo plodded and poized every ſilable; canvaſed and ſifted ſo exquisitely every ſeame and quiditie, that they are now ſo entangled and ſo confounded in the infinite of figures and ſo ſeverall ſmall partitions, that they can no more come within the compaſſe of any order; or preſcription or certaine vnderſtanding.

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Lawes in
France xp

derstanding. *Confusum est quidquid usque in pulverem sectum est.* Whatsoever is sliced into very powder is confused.

Whosoever hath seene Children, labouring to reduce a masse of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they presse and worke the same, and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the libertie of that generous mettall, which scorneth their arte, and scatteringly disperseth it selfe, beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their subtleties or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts: and by extending & diversifying difficulties; they lengthen and amplifie, they scatter and disperse them. In sowing and retailing of questions, they make the World to fructifie and abound in vncertaintie, in quarrels, in sutes and in controversies. As the ground the more it is crumbled, broken and deeply remooved or grubbed vp, becommeth so much more fertile. *Difficultatem facit doctrina. Learning breeds difficultie.* Wee found many doubts in *Ulpian*, wee finde more in *Bartolus* and *Baldus*. The trace of this innumerable diversitie of opinions should never have beene vsed to adorne posteritie, and have it put in her head, but rather have beene vterlie razed out. I know not what to say to it; but this is seene by experience, that so many interpretations, dissipate and confound all trueth. *Aristotle* hath written to be vnderstoode: Which if he could not, much lesse shall another not so learned as he was; and a third, than he who treateth his owne imagination. We open the matter, and spill it in distempering it. Of one subject we make a thousand: And in multiplying and subdividing we fall againe into the infinitie of *Epicurus* his Atomes. It was never seene, that two men judged alike of one same thing. And it is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable: not onely in divers men, but in any one same man, at severall houres. I commonly find something to doubt-of, where the commentary happily never deigned to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble sometimes as much in an even smooth path; as some horses that I know, who ofner trip in a faire plaine way, than in a rough and stonie. Who would not say, that glosses increase doubts and ignorance; since no booke is to be seene; whether divine or profane; commonly read of almen, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisheth not the difficultie? The hundred commentarie sends him to his succeder, more thornie and more crabbed, than the first found him. When agreede wee amongst our selves, to say, this booke is perfect, there's now nothing to be saide against it? This is best seene in our French pedling Law. Authoritie of Law is given to infinite Doctours, to infinite arrests, and to as manie interpretations. Find we for all that any ende of neede of interpreters? Is there anie advancement or progresse towards tranquillitie seene therein? Have we now lesse neede of Advocates and Iudges, then when this huge masse of Law was yet in hir first infancie? Cleane contrary, we obscure and bury vnderstanding. We discover it no more, but at the mercie of so many Courts, Barres, or Plea-benches. Men mis-acknowledge the naturall infirmitie of their minde. She doth but quest and firret, and vncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in hir owne workes; as doe our silke-wormes, and therein stifleth hir selfe. *Mus in pice. A Mouse in pitch.* Hee supposeth to note a farre-off I wot not what apparance of cleerenesse and imaginarie truth; but whilest he runneth vnto it, so many lets and difficulties crosse his way, so manie impeachments and new questings start vp, that they stray loose & besot him. Not much otherwise than it fortuned to *Aesops* Dogges, who farre-off discovering some shew of a dead bodie to flote vpon the Sea, and being vnable to approach the same, vnder-tooke to drinke vp all the Water; that so they might die vp the passage; and were all flusled. To which answereth that, which one *Crates* saide of *Heracitus* his compositions, that they needed a Reader, who should be a cunning swimmer, lest the depth and weight of his learning should drowne and swallow him vp. It is nothing but a particular weakenesse, that makes vs contented with that which others or wee our selves have found in this pursuite of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not be pleased therewith. There is place for a follower, yea and for our selves, and *More wayes to the Wood than one.* There is no ende in our inquisitions. Our end is in the other World. It is a signe his wits grow short, when hee is pleased; or a signe of wearinesse. No generous spirite staves and relies vpon himselfe. Hee ever pretendeth and goeth beyond his strength. He hath some vagaries beyond his effects. If he advance not himselfe, presse, settle, shooke, turne, winde and front himselfe, he is but halfe alive. His pursuites are termelesse and formelesse. His nourishment is admiration, questing and ambiguitie: Which *Apollo* declared sufficiently, alwayes speaking ambiguously,

obscurely and obliquely vnto vs; not feeding, but busying and ammusung vs. It is an irregular vncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternelesse and without end. His inventions enflame, follow and enterproduce one another.

*Ainsy voit-on en vn ruisseau coulant,
Sans fin l'une eau, apres l'autre roulant,
Et tout de rang, d'un eternel conduit,
L'une suit l'autre, & l'une l'autre suit.
Par cette-cy, celle-là est poussée,
Et cette-cy, par l'autre est devancée:
Toujours l'eau va dans l'eau, & toujours est ce
Mesme ruisseau, & toujours eau diverse.*

As in a running river we behold
How one Wave after th'other still is rold,
And all along as it doeth endlesse rise,
Th'one th'other followes, th'one from th'other flies.
By this Wave, that is driv'n, and this againe,
By th'other is set forward all amaine.
Water in Water still, one river still,
Yet diverse Waters still that river fill.

There's more adoe to interpret interpretations, than to interpret things: and more bookes vpon bookes, then vpon any other subject. We doe but enter-glose our selves. All swarmeth with commentaries: Of Authors, their is great penurie. Is not the chiefeft and most famous knowledge of our ages, to knowe how to vnderstand the wise? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one vpon an other. The first serveth as a stocke to the second; the second to the third. Thus we ascend from steppe to steppe. Whence it followeth, that the highest-mounted hath often more honour, than merite. For, he is got-vppe but one inch above the shoulders of the last save one. How often and peradventure foolishly, have I enlarged my Booke to speake of himselfe? Foolishly if it were but for this reason: That I should have remembred, that what I speake of others, they doe the like of me. That those so frequent glances on their workes, witnesse their hart shivereth with their love they beare them; and that the disdainfull churlishnesse wherewith they beate them, are but mignardizes and affectations of a motherly favour. Following *Aristotle*, in whom, both esteeming and dis-esteeming himselfe, arise often of an equall ayre of arrogancie. For mine excuse; That in this I ought to have more libertie than others, forsomuch as of purpose, I write both of my selfe and of my writings, as of my other actions: that my theame doth turne into it selfe: I wot not whether every man will take it. I have seene in *Germanie*, that *Luther* hath left as many divisions and altercations, concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea and more, than himselfe meoveth about the Holy Scriptures. Our contestation is verball. I demaund what Nature, voluptuousnesse, circle and substitution is? The question is of wordes, and with wordes it is answered. A stone is a bodie: but he that should insist and vrge; And what is a body? A substance: And what a substance? And so goe-on: Should at last bring the respondent to his *Calepine* or wittes end. One word is changed for another word, and often more vnkowne. I know better what *Homo* is, then I know what *Animall* is, either mortall or reasonable. To answeere one doubt, they give me three: It is *Hidraes* head. *Socrates* demaunded of *Memnon* what vertue was; There is answered *Memnon*, the vertue of a Man, of a Woman, of a Magistrate, of a private Man, of a Childe, and of an olde Man: What vertue meane you? Yea mary, this is very well, quoth *Socrates*; we were in search of one vertue, and thou bringest mee a whole swarme. We propose one question, and we have a whole huddle of them made vnto vs againe. As no event or forme doth wholly resemble an other, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Oh ingenious mixture of Nature. *If our faces were not like, we could not discern a man from a beast: If they were not unlike, we could not distinguish one man from another man.* All things hold by some similitude: Every example limpeth. And the relation, which is drawne from experience, is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisons are neverthelesse joyned together by some end. So serve the Lawes, and so are they sorted and fitted to all our sutes or affaires, by some wire-drawne, forced and colaterall interpretation. Since the morall Lawes, which

which respect the particular dutie of every man in himselfe, are so hard to be taught and observed, as we see they are: It is no wonder, if those which governe so many particulars, are more hard. Consider the forme of this Lawe, by which we are ruled: It is a lively testimony of humane imbecillitie; so much contradiction and so many errors are therein contained. That which we thinke favour or rigour in Law (wherein is so much of either, that I wot not, yet whether we shal so often find in difference in them, are crazed infected parts & vnjust members of the verie body and essence of Lawe. Certaine poore Country-men came even now to tell me in great haste, that but now in a Forrest of mine, they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for Gods sake hath begged a little water and some helpe to raise himselfe at their handes. But that they durst not come neere him and ran all away, for feare some officers belonging to the Law should meete and catch them; and as they doe with such as they find neere vnto a murdered body, so they should be compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their vtter vndoings, having neither friends nor mony to defend their innocencie. What should I have said vnto them? It is most certaine, that this Office of humanitie had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guilt-lesse men have wee seene punished? I say without the Iudges fault; and how many more that were never discovered? This hath hapned in my time. Certaine men are condemned to death for a murther committed; the sentence, if not pronounced, at least concluded and determined. This done, the Iudges are advertised by the Officers of a sub-alternall Court, not far-off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold, that have directly confessed the foresaide murther, and thereof bring most evident marks and tokens. The question and consultation is now in the former Court, whether for all this, they might interrupt, or should deferre the execution of the sentence pronounced against the first. They consider the noveltie of the example and consequence thereof, and how to reconcile the judgement. They conclude, that the condemnation hath passed according vnto Lawe, and therefore the Iudges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable Wretches are consecrated to the prescriptions of the Law. Philip, or some other, provided for such an inconvenience, in this manner. He had by an irrevokable sentence condemned one to pay an other a round summe of money for a fine. A while after, the truth being discovered, it was found, hee had wrongfully condemned him. On one side was the right of the cause, on the other the right of iudicarie formes. Hee in some sort satisfied both parties, suffering the sentence to stand in full power: and with his owne purse recompenced the interest of the condemned. But hee was to deale with a reparable accident, my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnations have I seene more criminal, than the crime it selfe? All this puts me in minde of those auncient opinions; That *He who will doe right in prose, must needs doe wrong by retails, and iniustly in small things, that will come to doe iustice in great matters*: That humane justice is framed according to the modell of physike, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest: And of that the Stoickes hold, that Nature her selfe in most of her workes, proceedeth against justice: And of that which the Cyrenaiques hold, that there is nothing just of it selfe: That customes and lawes frame justice. And the Theodorians, who in a wise man allow as just, all manner of theft, sacriledge and paillardise, so he thinke it profitable for him. There is no remedy: I am in that case, as *Alciades* was, and if I can otherwise chuse, will never put my selfe vnto a man that shall determine of my head; or consent that my honour or life, shall depend on the industrie or care of mine atturtrie, more then on mine innocencie. I could willingly adventure my selfe, and stand to that Law, that should as well recompence me for a good deed, as punish me for a mis-deede: and where I might have as just cause to hope, as reason to feare. *Indemnitie is no sufficient coyne for him, who doeth better than not to trespassse*. Our Law presents vs but one of hir hands, and that is her left hand. *Whosoever goes to Lam, dooth in the end but loose by it*. In *China*, the policie, arts and government of which kingdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours, exceede our examples in divers partes of excellencie; and whose Histories teach me, how much more ample and diverse the World is, than either we or our forefathers, could ever enter into. The Officers appointed by the Prince to visite the state of his Provinces, as they punish such as abuse their charge, so with great liberalitie they reward such as have vprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done any thing more then ordinarie, and besides the necessitie of their duty: There, all pre-

note

sent themselves, not onely to warrant themselves, but also to get something: Not simply to be paid, but liberally to be rewarded. No judge hath yet, God be thanked, spoken to me as a judge, in any cause whatsoever either mine or another mans; criminall or civil. No prison did ever receive me, no not so much as for recreation or to walk in. The very imagination of one, maketh the sight of their outside seeme yrkesome and leathesome to me. I am so besotted vnto libertie, that should any man forbidde me the accessse vnto any one corner of the Indiaes, I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long as I shall finde land or open ayre elsewhere, I shall never lurke in any place, where I must hide my self. Oh God, how hardly could I endure the miserable condition of so many men, confined and immured in some corners of this kingdome, barred from entring the chiefeest Citties, from accessse into Courts, from conversing with men, and interdisting the vse of common wayes, onely because they have offended our lawes. If those vnder which I live, should but threaten my fingers end, I would presently goe finde out some others, wheresoever it were. All my small wisdom, in these civill and tumultuous warres, wherein we now live, doeth wholly employ it selfe, that they may not interrupt my libertie, to goe and come where ever I list. Lawes are now maintained in credite, not because they are essentially just, but because they are lawes. It is the mysticall foundation of their authoritie; they have none other; which avails them much: They are often made by fooles. More often by men, who in hatred of equalitie, have want of equitie; But ever by men, who are vaine and irresolute Authours. There is nothing so grossely and largely offending, nor so ordinarily wronging as the Lawes. Whosoever obeyeth them because they are just, obeyes them not justly the way as he ought. Our French Lawes doe in some sort, by their irregularity and deformitie, lend an helping hand vnto the disorder and corruption, that is seene in their dispensation and execution. Their behest is so confused, and their commaund so inconstant, that it in some sort excuseth, both the disobedience and the vice of the interpretation, of the administration and of the observation. Whatsoever then the fruit is wee may have of Experience, the same which wee drawe from forraine examples, will hardly steade our institution much; if we reape so small profit, from that wee have of our selves, which is most familiar vnto vs: and truly sufficient to instruct vs of what wee want. I studie my selfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall Metaphisike, it is my naturall Philosophie.

lawes

Propert. 7. 3. el.
4. 26.

*Qua Deu hanc mundi temperet arte domum,
Qua venit exorians, qua deficit, unde coactis
Cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit:
Unde salo superant venti, quid flamine captes
Eurus, & in nubes unde perennis aqua.
Sit ventura dies mundi qua subruat arces,*

This worlds great house by what arte God doeth guide.
From whence the monethly Moone doth rising ride,
How wane, how with clos'd hornes returne to pride.
How windes on seas beare sway, what th' Easterne winde
Would have, how still in cloudes we water finde;
If this worldes Towres to rase a day be signde.

Querite quos agitat mundi labor:

All this doe you enquire

Whom this worldes trauailes tyre.

In this vniversalitie I suffer my selfe ignorantly and negligently to be managed by the generall law of the world. I shall sufficiently know it, when I shall feele it. My learning cannot make her change her course: she will not diversifie her selfe for me; it were folly to hope it: And greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe about it; since it is necessarily semblable, publike and common. The governours-capacitie and goodnesse, should throughly discharge vs of the governments care. Philosophicall inquisitions and contemplations serve but as a nourishment vnto our curiositie. With great reason doe Philosophers adresse vs vnto natures rules: But they have nought to do with so sublime a knowledge: They falsified them, and present her to vs with a painted face, too high in colour and overmuch sophisticated; whence arise so many different pourtraits of so vniforme a subject. As she hath given vs feete to goe withall, so hath she endowed vs with wisdom to direct our life. A wisdom

dome

dome not so ingenious, sturdie and pompous, as that of their invention, but yet easie, quiet and salutarie. And that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effecteth very well what the other saith: that is to say naturally. For a man to commit himselfe most simply vnto nature, is to doe it most wisely. *Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriositie to rest a well composed head vpon!* I had rather vnderstand my selfe well in my selfe, then in Cicero. Out of the experience I have of my selfe, I finde sufficient ground to make my selfe wise, were I but a good proficient scholler. Whosoever shall commit to memorie the excesse or inconvenience of his rage or anger past, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformitie of that passion, better then in Aristotle, and conceive a more just hatred against it. Whosoever calleth to minde the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatned him, and the light occasions that have remooved him from one to another state, doth thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations, and knowledge of his condition. *Cesars* life hath no more examples for vs, then our owne; Both imperiall and popular; it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let vs but give care vnto it, we recorde all that to vs, that we principally stand in neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times hee hath beene deceived, and misaccompted his owne judgement: is hee not a simple gull, if hee doe not for ever afterward distrust the same? When by others reason, I finde my selfe convicted of a false opinion, I learne not so much, what new thing he hath told me; and this particular ignorance; which were but a small purchase; as in generall I learne mine owne imbecilitie and weakenesse, and the treason of my vnderstanding: whence I draw the reformation of all the masse. The like I doe in all my other errors: by which rule I apprehend and feele great profite for, and vnto my life. I regarde not the *species* or *individuum*, as a stone whereon I have stumbled. I learne every where to feare my going, and endeavour to order the same. To learne that another hath either spoken a foolish jest, or committed a sottish act, is a thing of nothing. A man must learne, that he is but a foole: A much more ample and important instruction. The false steps my memory hath so often put vpon me, at what time she stood most vpon her selfe, have not idly beene lost: she may sweare and warrant me long enough; I shake mine eares at her: the first opposition made in witnesse of her, makes me suspect. And I durst not trust her in a matter of consequence; nor warrant her, touching others affaires. And were it not, that what I doe for want of memorie, others more often doe the same for lacke of faith, I would ever in a matter of fact rather take the truth from anothers mouth, then from mine owne. Would every man prie into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him, as I have done of that whereunto I was allotted; hee should see them comming; and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuositie: They doe not alwayes surprise and take hold of vs at the first brunt, there are certaine forethreatnings and degrees as forerunners.

Virgil

Fluctus uti primò cœpit cūm albescere ponto,

Paulatim sese tollit mare, & altius undas

Erigit, inde imo consurgit ad æthera fundo.

As when at sea, floods first in whitenesse rise,

Sea surgeth softly, and then higher plies

In waves, then from the ground mounts vp to skies.

Iudgement holds in me a presidentiall seate, at least hee carefully endeavours to hold it: He suffers my appetites to keep their course: both hatred and love, yea & that I beare vnto my selfe; without feeling alteration or corruption. If he can not reforme other parts according to himselfe, at least he will not be deformed by them: he keepes his court apart. That warning-lesson given to all men, *To knowe themselves*, must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wisdom, knowledge and light, caused the same to be fixed on the frontispice of his temple: as containing whatsoever he was to counsell vs. *Plato* saith also, that wisdom is nothing but the execution of that ordinance: And *Socrates* doth distinctly verifie the same in *Xenophon*. Difficulties and obscuritie are not perceived in every science, but by such as have entrance into them: For, some degree of intelligence is required, to be able to marke that one is ignorant: and wee must knocke at a gate, to knowe whether it be shutte. Whence ensueth this Platonicall subtiltie, that neither those which knowe have no further to enquire, for so much as they knowe already: nor they that knowe not, because to enquire, it is

necessary they know what they enquire after. Even so in this, for a man to know himselfe: that every man is seene so resolute and satisfied, and thinks himselfe sufficiently instructed or skillfull, doth plainly signifie that no man vnderstands any thing, as *Socrates* teacheth *Embydemus*. My selfe, who professe nothing else, finde therein so bottomlesse a depth, and infinite a varietie, that my apprenticeship hath no other fruit, than to make me perceive how much more there remaineth for me to learne. To mine owne weaknesse so often acknowledged, I owe this inclination which I beare vnto modestie; to the obedience of beliefs prescribed vnto me; to a constant coldnesse and moderation of opinions; and hatred of this importunate and quarellous arrogancie, wholly beleeving and trusting it selfe, a capitall ennemie to discipline and veritie. Doe but heare them sway and talke. The first fopperies they propose, are in the stile, that Religions and Lawes are composed in. *Nihil est turpius quam cognitioni & preceptioni, assertionem approbationemq; praecurrere.* Nothing is more absurd, than that avouching and allowance should runne before knowledge and precept. *Aristarchus* saide, that in antient times, there were scarce seven wise men found in the world; and in his time, hardly seven ignorant. Have not we more reason to say, it in our dayes, than he had? *Affirmation & selfe-conceit, are manifest signes of foolishnesse.* Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvase and beene made a starke coxcombe, shall notwithstanding be seene to stand vpon his *Ergoes*, and as presumptuously-resolute as before. You would say, he hath since form new minde and vigor of vnderstanding infused into him. And that it betides him, as to that ancient childe of the Earth, who by his falling to the ground and touching his Mother, still gathered new strength and fresh courage.

*Cic. Acad. qua.
lib. 1. f.*

Anteus.

— *cui cum tetigere parentem,
Iam defecta vigent renovato robore membra.*
Whose failing limmes with strength renew'd regrow,
When they once touch his mother Earth below,

Doth not this indocile, blocke-headed asse, thinke to reassume a new spirite, by vnder-taking a new disputation? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which (in mine opinion) is the surest part of the Worlde's schoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves, by so vaine an example as mine, or theirs, let them acknowledge it by *Socrates*, the Maister of Maisters. For the Philosopher *Antisthenes*, was wont to say to his Disciples: Come on my Maisters, let you and me goe to heare *Socrates*. There shall I be a fellow Disciple with you. And vpholding this Doctrine, of the Stoickes Sect, that only *veritas* sufficed to make a life absolutely-happys; and having no need of any thing, but of *Socrates* his force & resolution, he added moreover: This long attention, I employ in considering myself enableth me also to judge indifferently of others: And there are few things whereof I speake more happily and excusably. It often fortuneth me to see and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends, than themselves do. I have astonied some by the pertinencie of mine owne description, and have warned him of himselfe. Because I have from mine infancy enured my selfe to view mine owne life in others lives; I have thereby acquired a studious complexion therein. And when I thinke on it, I suffer few things to escape about me, that may in any sort fit the same; whether countenaunces, humour or discourses. I studiously consider all I am to eschew and all I ought to follow. So by my friends productions I discover their inward inclinations. Not to marshall or range this infinite varietie of so diverse and so distracted actions to certaine Genders or Chapters, and distinctly to distribute my parcels and divisions into formes and knowne regions.

*Virg. Georg. lib.
1. 103.*

*Sed neque quam multa species, & nomina qua sint,
Est numerus.*

But nor how many kindes, nor what their names:
There is a number of them (and their frames.)

The wiser sort speake and declare their fanfies more specially and distinctly: But I, who have no further insight then I get from common vse, without rule or methode, generally present mine owne, but gropingly. As in this: I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disioynted: it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such base and common mindes as ours. Wisdome is a solide and compleate frame; every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place and beareth his marke. *Sola sapientia in se tota conuersa est.* Onely wisdome is wholly turned into it selfe. I leave it to Artists,

gifts, and I wot not whether in a matter so confused, so severall and so casuall, they shall come to an end, to range into sides, this infinite diversitie of visages; and settle our inconstancie and place it in order. I doe not onely finde it difficult to combine our actions one vnto another; but take euery one aparte, it is hard, by any principall qualitie to desseigne the same properly: so double, so ambiguous and partie-coloured are they to diuerse lusters. Which in *Perseus* the *Macedonian* King was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fastning it selfe to no kinde of condition; went wandring through euery kinde of life: and representing so new-fangled and gadding maners, that he was neither knowne of himselfe nor of others, what kinde of man hee was: me thinkes may well-nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have seene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applide. No state of mediocritie being ever transported from one extreame to another, by indiuinable occasions: no maner of course without crosses, and strange contrarieties: no facultie simple: so that the likeliest a man may one day conclude of him, shall be, that he affected and laboured to make himselfe knowne, by being not to be knowne. *A man had neede of long-tough eares, to heare himselfe freely iudged.* And because there be few that can endure to heare it without tingling: those which adventure to vndertake it with vs, shew vs a singular effect of true friendship. For, *that is a truly-perfect love, which, to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend.* I deeme it absurde, to censure him, in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. *Plato* requireth three parts in him that will examine anothers minde: *Learning, goodwill, and boldnesse.* I was once demanded, what I would have thought my selfe fit-for, had any beene disposed to make vse of me, when my yeares would have fitted service:

Dum melior vires sanguis dabat, amula necdum

Temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus,

While better blood gave strength, nor envious old yeares

Orelaide with wrinckled temples grew to hoarie haire.

Virg. Æn. lib. 3

415

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse my selfe that I can doe nothing which may enthrall me to others. But had my fortune made me a servant, I would have told my maister all truths; and, had he so willd-it, controled his maners: Not in grose, by scolasticall lessons, which I cannot doe, besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them: but faire and softly and with every opportunitie observing them; and simply and naturally judging them distinctly by the eye. Making him directly to perceive, how and in what degree he is in the common opinion; opposing my selfe against his flatterers and sycophants. There is none of vs, but would be worse then Kings, if as they are, he were continually corrupted with that rascally kinde of people. But what? if *Alexander* that mightie King and great Philosopher, could not beware of them? I should have had sufficient fidelitie, iudgement and libertie for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it should loose both effect and grace; And is a part, which cannot indifferently belong to all. For, *truth it selfe, hath not the priuiledge to be employed at all times, and in every kinde:* Be her vse never so noble, it hath his circumscriptions and limites. It often commeth to passe, the world standing as it doth, that truth is whispred into Princes eares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfully and therewithall vnjustly. And no man shall make me believe, but that an hallowed admonition may be viciously applied, and abusively employed: and that the interest of the substance should not some times yeeld to the interest of the forme. For such a purpose and mysterie I would have an vnrepining man and one contented with his owne fortune,

Quod sit, esse velit, nihilque malit:

Willing to be as him you see,

Or rather nothing else to bee:

Mart. lib. 10

epigr. 47. 12

and borne of meane degree: Forso much as on the one side, hee should not have cause to feare, lively and neerely to touch his maisters heart, thereby not to loose the course of his preferment: And on the other side, being of a low condition, he should have more easie communication with all sorts of people. Which I would have in one man alone; for, to empart the priuiledge of such libertie and familiaritie vnto many, would beget an hurtful irreuerence. Yea, and of that man, I would above all things require trustie and assured silence. *A King is not to be credited, when for his glorie, he boasteth of his constancie, in attending his enemies encounter: if for his good amendment and profit, hee cannot endure the libertie of his friends words,*
which

which have no other working power, then to pinch his learning : the rest of their effect remaining in his owne hands. Now, there is not any condition of men, that hath more neede of true, sincerely-free and open-hearted advertisements, then Princes. They vndergoe a publike life, and must applaude the opinion of so many spectators, that if they be once enured, to have that concealed from them, which diverteth them from their course, they at vnawares and insensibly finde themselves deeply engaged in the hatred and detestation of their subjects; many times for occasions, which had they beene forewarned, and in time gently reformed, they might no doubt have eschewed, to no interest or prejudice of their private delights. *Favorites doe commonly respect themselves more then their maisters.* And surely it toucheth their free-hold, forso much as in good truth, the greatest part of true friendships-offices, are towards their soveraigne in a crabbed and dangerous Essay. So that, there is not onely required much affection and libertie, but also an vndanted courage. To conclude, all this galie-masie which I huddle vp here, is but a register of my lives-Essayes : which in regard of the internall health are sufficiently exemplar to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitable experience, then my selfe; who present the same pure, sincere and in no sorte corrupted or altered, either by arte or selfe-will'd opinion. Experience in her owne precinct, may justly be compared to Phisicke, vnto which, reason giveth place. *Tiberius* was wont to say, that *whosoever had lived twenty yeares, should be able to answer himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtfull for him, and knowe howe to live and order his body without Phisicke.* Which he peradventure had learned of *Socrates*; who industriously advising his disciples (as a studie of chiefe consequence) to studie their health, told them moreover, that it was very hard, if a man of vnderstanding, heedfully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better then any Phisition discerne and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth Phisicke make open profession alwayes to have experience for the touch-stone of her operation. And *Plato* had reason to say, that *to be a good Phisition, it were requisite, that he who should undertake that profession, had past through all such diseases as he will adventure to cure, and knowne or felt all the accidents and circumstances he is to indge of.* It is reason, themselves should first have the pox, if they wil know how to cure them in others. I should surely trust such a one better then any else. Others but guide vs, as one who sitting in his chaire paints seas, rockes, shelves and havens vpon a boarde, and makes the modell of a tale ship to faile in all safetie : But put him to it in earnest, he knows not what to doe, nor where to beginne. They make even such a description of our infirmities as doth a towne-crier, who crieth a lost horse or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his eares, with other markes and tokens, but bring either vnto him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that phisicke would one day affoorde me some good and perceptible help, how earnestly would I exclaime.

Tandem efficaci do manus scientie.

I yeeld, I yeeld at length,

To knowledge of chiefe strength.

The Artes that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health, promise much vnto vs; but therewithall there is none performeth lesse what they promise. And in our dayes, such as make profession of these Artes amongst vs, doe lesse then all others shew their effects. The most may be said of them, is, that they sell medicinable drugs; but that they are Phisitions, no man can truly say-it. I have lived long enough, to yeeld an account of the v-sage that hath brought me to this day. If any be disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an assay. Loe here some articles, digested, as memorie shall store me with them. I have no fashion, but hath varried according to accidents : I onely register those I have most beene acquainted with; and hetherto possesse me most. My forme of life is ever alike, both in sickenesse and in health : one same bed, the same houres, the same meates, the same drinke doe serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or lesse, according to my strength or appetite. My health is to keepe my accustomed estate free from care and trouble. I see that sickenesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I believe Phisitions, they on the other side will turne me from it : So that both by fortune and by arte I am cleane out of my right bias. I believe nothing more certainly then this; that I cannot be offended by the vse of things, which I have so long accustomed. *It is in the hands of custome to give our life what forme it pleaseth :* in that it can do all in all. It is the drinke

drinke of *Circes*, diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere-bordering vpon vs imagine the feare of the fereine or night-calme to be but a jest, which so apparently doth blast and hurt vs? and whereof our Mariners our watermen, and our countriemen make but a laughing-stocke? You make a Germane sicke, if you lay him vpon a matteras, as you distemper an Italian vpon a fetherbed, and a Frenchman to lay him in a bed without curtaines, or lodge him in a chamber without a fire. A Spaniard can not well brooke to feede after our fashion, nor we endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at *Augusta* to raile against the incommoditie of our chimnies, vsing the same reasons or arguments, that we ordinarily imploy in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the same close-smothered heate, and the smell of that oft-heated matter, whereof they are composed, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomed vnto them; not so with me. But on the other side, that heate being equally disperfed, constant and vniversal, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that winde which the tonnells of our chimnies bring vs, may many wayes be compared vnto ours. Why doe we not imitate the Romanes architecture?

It is reported that in auncient times they made no fire in their houses, but without and at the foote of them: Whence by tonnells, which were conuaide through their thickest walls, and contrived neere and about all such places as they would have warmed; so that the heate was conuaide into every part of the house. Which I have seene manifestly described in some place of *Seneca*, though I can not well remember where. This Germane, hearing mee commend the beauties and commodities of his Citty (which truly deserveth great commendation) beganne to pittie mee, because I was shortly to goe from it. And the first inconvenience hee vrge mee withall, was the heavinesse in the head, which Chimnies in other places would cause mee. Hee had heard some other bodie complaine of it, and therefore alleadged the same against mee, beeing wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heate comming from fire dooth weaken and dull mee: Yet saide *Evenerus*, that fire was the best sauce of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. We feare our Wines when they are lowe; whereas in *Portugall*, the fume of it is counted delicious, and is the drinke of Princes. To conclude, each severall Nation hath divers customes, fashions and vsages; which, to some others, are not onlie vnknowne and strange, but savage, barbarous and wondrous. What shall we doe vnto that people, that will admit no witnesse, except printed; that will not believe men, if not printed in Bookes, nor credite truth, vnlesse it be of competent age? Wee dignifie our fopperies, when we put them to the presse. It is another maner of weight for him, to say, I have seene it, then if you say, I have heard it reported. But I, who mis-believe no more the mouth, than the hand of men; and know that *men write as indiscreetly, as they speake vnadvisedly*; and esteeme of this present age, as of another past; alleadge as willingly a friend of mine, as *Anlus Gellius* or *Macrobius*, and what my selfe have seene, as that they have written. And as they account vertue to be nothing greater by being longer, so decerne I truth to be nothing wiser by being more aged. I often say it is meere folly that makes vs runne after strange and scholastical examples. The fertilitie of them is now equall vnto that of *Homer* and *Platoes* times. But is it not, that we rather seeke the honour of allegations, than the truth of discourses? As if it were more to borrow our proofes from out the shoppe of *Vascosane* or *Plantin*, than from that, we dayly see in our village. Or verely, that we have not the witte to blanch, to sift-out or make that to prevaile, which passeth before vs, and forcibly iudge of it, to draw the same into example. For, if we say, that authority failes vs, to adde credite vnto our testimonie, we speake from the purpose. For so much as in my conceit, could we but find out their true light, Natures greatest myracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely vpon the subject of humane actions, may be drawne and formed from most ordinarie, most common and most knowne things. Now concerning my subject, omitting the examples I know by bookes; And that which *Aristotle* speaketh of *Andron of Argos*, that hee would travell all over the scorching sands of *Lybia*, without drinking: A Gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heate of Summer, he had travelled from *Madrid* to *Lisbone*, without ever drinking. His age respected, he is in very good and healthie plight, and hath nothing extraordinarie in the course or custome of his life, saying (as himselfe hath told me,) that hee can verie well

well continue two or three moneths, yea a whole yeere, without any manner of beverage. He sometimes finds himselfe thirsty, but let's it passe; and holds, that it is an appetite, which will easily and of it selfe languish away: and if he drinke at any time, it is more for a caprice or humor, than for any need or pleasure. Loe here one of another key. It is not long since, that I found one of the wisest men of *France*, (among those of so meane fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great Hall, which for that purpose was hung about with tapistrie, and round about him a disordered rable of his servaunts, groomes and lackeys; prating, playing and hoyting: who told me (as *Seneca* in a manner saith of himselfe) that hee learn'd and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintimare: as if beaten with that confused noyse, he did so much the better recall and close himselfe into himselfe, for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercuss his thoughts inward. Whilst he was a scholar in *Padua*, his study was ever placed so neere the jangling of bells, the rattling of coaches and rumbling tumults of the market place, that for the service of his studie, he was faine, not onely to frame and enure himselfe to contemne, but to make good vse of that turbulent noise. *Socrates* answered *Alcibiades*, who wondered how he could endure the continuall tittle-tattle and vncessant scoulding of his Wife: even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinary creaking of the squeaking wheelles of welles. My selfe am cleane contrarie, for I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose, or to bee transported. If my minde be busie alone, the least stirring, yea the buzzing of a flie doth trouble and distemper the same. *Seneca* in his youth, having earnestly vnderaken to follow the example of *Sextius*, to feede on nothing that were taken dead: could with pleasure (as himselfe averreth) live so a whole yeere. And left it, onely because hee would not be suspected to borrowe this rule from some new religions, that instituted the same. He therewithall followed some precepts of *Attalus*, not to lie vpon any kinde of carpets or bedding that would yeeld vnder one; and vntill he grew very aged, he never vsed but such as were very hard and vn-yeelding to the body. What the custome of his dayes makes him accoumt rudenesse, ours makes vs esteeme wantonnesse. Behold the difference betweene my varlets life and mine: The Indians have nothing further from my forme and strength. Well I wot, that I have heretofore taken boyes from begging and that went roaguing vp and downe, to serve me; hoping to doe some good vpon them, who have within a little while after left me, my fare and my livery; onely that they might without controule or checke follow their former idle loytring life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskles in a common sincke, for his dinner; whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neither with entreatie to reclaime, nor by threatning to withdrawe, from the sweetenesse he found in want, and delight he felt in roaguing lazinesse. Even vagabonding roagues, as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousnesse, and (as some say) their dignities, preheminences and politike orders. They are effects of custome and vse: and *what is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh*. Both which have power to enure and fashion vs, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediatly seeme easie vnto vs) but also to change and variation: Which is the noblest and most profitable of their apprentisages. The best of my corporall complexions, is, that I am flexible and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinarie, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can easilie leave them and embrace the contrarie. A yong man should trouble his rules, to stirre vp his vigor; and take heede he suffer not the same to grow faint, sluggish or realtie: For, there is no course of life so weake and sottish, as that which is mannaged by Order, Methode and Discipline.

Juven. Sat. 6.
477.

*Ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
Sumitur ex libro, si prurit frictus ocelli
Anonibus, inspecta genesi collyria querit.*
Lift he to ride in coach but to *Mile-end*,
By th' Almanacke he doeth the houre attend:
If his eye-corner itch, the remedie,
He fet's from calculation of nativitie.

Advised for
your good
fellowship

If he beleewe me, he shall often give himselfe vnto all manner of excesse: otherwise the least disorder will vtterly overthrowe him; and so make him vnfit and unwelcome in all conversations.

versations. *The most contrary qualitie in an honest man, is nice-delicateneſſe, and to be tied to one certaine particular faſhion.* It is particular, if it be not ſupple and pliable. *It is a kind of reproch, through impuiſſance not to doe or not to dare, what one ſeeth his other companions doe or dare.* Let ſuch men keepe their kitchen. It is vndecent in all other men, but vitious and intollerable in one profeſſing Armes: who (as *Philopœmen* ſaide) ſhould faſhion himſelfe to all manner of inequalitye and diverſitie of life. Although I have (as much as might be) beene enured to libertie and faſhioned to indifferencie; yet in growing aged, I have through careleſſneſſe relied more vpon certaine forms (my age is now exempted from institution, & hath not anie thing elſe to looke vnto, but to maintaine it ſelfe) which cuſtome hath already, without thinking on it, in certaine things ſo well imprinted her character in me, that I deeme it a kind of exceſſe to leave them. And without long praëtiſe, I can neither ſleepe by day; nor eate betweene meales; nor breake my faſt; nor goe to bed without ſome entermiſſion (as of three houres after ſupper) nor get ~~drinke~~, but before I fall aſleepe, and that never ſtanding; nor beare mine owne ſweate; nor quench my thirſt, either with cleere water or wine alone; nor continue long bare-headed; nor have mine haire cut after dinner. And I could as hardly ſpare my gloves as my ſhirt: or forbear waſhing of my handes, both in the morning and riſing from the table; or lie in a bed without a teſterne and curtaines about it, as of moſt neceſſarie things: I could dine without a table-cloth, but hardly without a cleane napkin, as Germans commonly doe. I ſoule and ſully them more than either they or the Italians: and I ſeldome uſe either ſpoone or forke. I am ſorie we follow not a cuſtome, which according to the example of Kings I have ſcene begunne by ſome; that vpon every courſe or change of diſh, as we have ſhift of cleane trenchers, ſo we might have change of cleane napkins. We reade that that laborious ſouldier *Marinus*, growing olde, grew more nicely-delicate in his drinking, and would taſte no drinke, except in a peculiar cuppe of his. As for me, I obſerve a kinde of like methode in glaſſes, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a common-glaſſe: no more than of one ordinary hand: I miſlike all manner of mettall in regarde of a bright transparent matter: let mine eyes alſo have a taſte of what I drinke according to their capacitie. I am beholding to cuſtome for many ſuch niceneſſes and ſingularities. Nature hath alſo on the other ſide beſtowed this vpon me, that I can not wel brooke two ſul meales in one day, without furcharging my ſtomacke; nor the meere abſtinence of one, without filling my ſelfe with winde, drying my mouth and dulling my appetite: And to find great offence by a long ſerene or night-calme. For ſome yeeres ſince, in the out-roudes or night-ſervices that happen in times of warres, which many times continue all night, five or ſixe houres after my ſtomacke beginnes to qualme, my head feeleth a violent aking, ſo that I can hardly hold-out till morning without vomiting. When others goe to breakefaſt, I goe to ſleepe: and within a while after I ſhall be as freſh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the ſerene never fell, but in the ſhutting in of night, but having in theſe latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarly the converſation of a Gentleman, poſſeſſed with this opinion, that it is more ſharpe and dangerous about the declination of the Sunne, an houre or two before it ſet, which he carefully eſcheweth, and deſpiſeth that which falles at night: hee hath gone about to perſwade and imprint into me, not onely his diſcourſe but alſo his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquiſition, woundeth our imagination and changeth vs? Such as altogether yeelde to theſe bendings, drawe the whole ruine vpon themſelves. And I bewaile diuerſe Gentlemen, who being yoong and in perfect health, have by the ignorant fooliſhnes of their Phyſitions brought themſelves into conſumptions and other lingering diſeaſes; and as it were into Phyſikes fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through diſcuſtome, in an action of ſo great uſe and conſequence, looſe the commerce and converſation of common life? Oh, yrkeſome learning! Oh Science full of moleſtation; that waſteth vs the ſweeteſt houres of the day. Let vs extend our poſſeſſion vnto the vtmoſt meanes. A man ſhall at laſt, in opinionating himſelfe, harden and enure himſelfe for it, and ſo correct his complexion: as did *Cæſar* the falling ſickeſſe, with contemning and corrupting the ſame. A man ſhould apply himſelfe to the beſt rules, but not ſubject himſelfe vnto them: except to ſuch (if any there be) that duetie and thraldome vnto them, be profitable. Both Kings and Philoſophers obey nature, and go to the ſtoole, and ſo doe Ladies: Publike lives are due vnto ceremonie: mine which is obſcure and private, enjoyeth all naturall diſpenſations. To be a Souldier and a *Gascoyne*, are qualities ſomewhat

The Author
ayed

His cuſtoms
ſee

what subject to indiscretion. And I am both. Therefore will I say thus much of this action; that it is requisite we should remit the same vnto certaine prescribed night-houres; and by custome (as I have done) force and subject our selves vnto it: But not (as I have done) growing in yeeres, strictly tie him selfe, to the care of a particular convenient place, and of a commodious *Aiæ* or easie close-stoole for that purpose: & make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Neverthelesse in homeliest matters and fowlest offices, is it not in some sorte excusable, to require more care and cleanelinesse? *Naturâ homo mundum & elegans animal est. By nature man is a cleanly and neate creature.*

Sen. epist. 92.

Of all naturall actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted, when I am at it. I have seene divers great men and souldiers, much troubled and vexed with their bellies vntune and disorder, when at vntimely houres it calleth vpon them: whilst mine and my selfe never misse to call one vpon another at our appointment: which is, as soone as I get out of my bed, except some vrgent busines or violent sickenesse trouble mee. Therefore (as I saide) I judge no place where sicke men may better seate themselves in securitie, then quietly and whilst to holde themselves in that course of life, wherein they have beene brought vp and habituated. Any change or variation soever, astonieth and distempereth. Will any beleve, that Chestnuttēs can hurt a *Perigordin* or a *Luquois*, or that milke or whit-meates are hurtfull vnto a mountaine-dwelling people? whome if one seeke to divert from their naturall diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new, but a contrarie forme of life: A change, which a healthy man can hardly endure. Appoynt a *Bretton* of three score yeeres of age to drinke water; put a Sea-man or Mariner into a Stove; forbid a lackey of Baske to walke: you bring them out of their element, you deprive them of all motion, and in the end, of aire, of light and life.

—an vivere tanti est?

Doe we reckon it so deare,
Onely living to be here?

Cogimur à suctis animum suspendere rebus.

Atque ut vivamus, vivere desinimus:

From things erst vs'd we must suspend our minde,
We leave to live that we may live by kinde.

*Hos superesse reor quibus & spirabilis aër,
Et lux qua regimur, redditur ipsa gravis.*

Doe I thinke they live longer, whom doth grieve
Both aire they breathe, and light whereby they live.

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their patients vnto death, by little vndermining and cutting off the vse of life. Both in health and in sickenesse, I have willingly seconded and given my selfe over to those appetites that pressed me. I allow great authoritie to my desires and propensions: I love not to cure one evill by another mischiefe. I hate those remedies, that importune more then sickenesse. To be subject to the cholike, and to be tide to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischiefes for one. The disease pincheth vs on the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to misdoe, let vs rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable, that is not painefull: Facilitie is by them suspected. Mine appetite hath in diverse things very happily accommodated and ranged it selfe to the health of my stomake. Being yong, acrimonie and tartnesse in sawces did greatly delight me, but my stomake being since glutted therewith, my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sicke; it is the first thing that with an invincible distaste, brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoever I receive vnwillingly or distastefully hurts me, whereas nothing doth it whereon I feede with hunger and relish. I never received harme by any action that was very pleasing vnto me. And yet I have made al medicinall conclusions, largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong,

Quem circumcursans huc atque huc saepe Cupido

Fulgebat crocina splendidus in tunica,

About whom *Cupid* ruuning here and there,

Shinde in the saffron coate which he did weare.

I have as licentiously & inconsiderately as any other furthered al such desires as possessed me;

Et

Cor. Gal. el. 1.
155.

255.

Catul. el. 4. 131.

Hor. car. l. 3.
od. 26. 2.

Et militavi non sine gloria.

A Souldier of loves hoast,

I was not without boast.

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatches or by stealth.

Sex me vix memini sustinuisse vices.

I scarce remember past

Six courses I could last.

It is surely a wonder accompanied with unhappinesse, to confesse how yong and weake I was brought vnder it's subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choise or yeares of discretion: I was so yong, as I remember nothing before. And fittely may my fortune be compared to that of *Quartilla*, who remembered not her mayden-head.

Inde tragus celerisque pili, mirandaque matris

Barba mee.

Thence goatishnesse, haire over-soone, a bearde

To make my mother wonder, and afear'de.

Phisitions commonly enfold and joyne their rules vnto profit, according to the violence of sharp desires or earnest longings, that incidently folow the sicke. No longing-desire can be imagined so strange and vicious, but nature will apply herselfe vnto it. And then how easie is it to content ones fantasie? In mine opinon, this part importeth all in all; at least more and beyond all other. The most grievous and ordinary evils are those, which fancie chargeth vs withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me: *Deffenda me Dios de my. God defend me from my selfe.* Being sicke I am sory I have not some desire may give mee the contentment to satiate and cloy the same: Scarfly would a medicine divert me from it. So doe I when I am in health: I hardly see any thing left to be hoped or wished-for. I is pittie a man should be so weakned and enlanguished, that he hath nothing left him but wishing. The arte of Phisicke is not so resolute, that whatsoever we doe, we shall be voide of all authoritie to doe-it. She changeth and she varieth according to climates; according to the Moones; according to *Fernelius*; and according to *Scala*. If your Phisition thinke it not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or eate such and such meates: Care not you for that; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversitie of phisicall arguments and medicinall opinions, embraceth all maner of formes. I saw a miserable sicke man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to burst, yea and to die with thirst; whom not long since an other Phisition mocked, vterly condemning the others counsell, as hurtfull for him. Had not he bestowed his labour well? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his sickenesse vsed extreame abstinence to withstand his evill; his fellowes affirme that contrary, his long fasting had witherd and dried him vp, and so concocted the gravell in his kidneis. I have found, that in my hurts and other sickeneses, earnest talking distempers and hurts me as much as any disorder I commit. My voyce costs me deare, and wearie me; for I have it lowd, shrill and forced: So that, when I have had occasion to entertaine the cares of great men, about weightie affaires, I have often troubled them with care how to moderate my voyce. This storie deserveth to be remembred and to divert me. A certaine man, in one of the Greeke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe; the maister of the ceremonies sent him word, he should speake lower: let him (quoth he) send me the tune or key in which he would have me speake. The other replide, that hee should take his tune from his cares to whom he spake. It was well saide, so he vnderstood himselfe. Speake according as you have to do with your audiorie. For if one say, let it suffice that he heareth you; or, governe your selfe by him: I do not think he had reason to say so. The tune or motion of the voyce, hath some expression or signification of my meaning: It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better represent my selfe. There is a voyce to instruct, one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voice come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and rate my lackey, with a sharpe and piercing tune; were it fit he should come to me and say, Maister speake softly, I vnderstand and heare you very well? *Est quadam vox ad auditum accommodata, non magnitudine sed proprietate.* There is a kinde of voyce well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the propriety. The word is halfe his that speaketh, and halfe his that harkeneth vnto it. The hea-

rer ought to prepare himselfe to the motion or bound it taketh. As betweene those that play at tennis, he who keepe the hazard, doth prepare, stand, stirre and march, according as he perceives him who stands at the house, to looke, stand, remoove and strike the ball, and according to the stroke. Experience hath also taught me this, that we loose our selves with impatience. *Evills have their life, their limites, their diseases and their health.* The constitution of diseases is framed by the patterne of the constitution of living creatures. They have their fortune limited even at their birth, and their dayes allotted them. He that shall imperiously goe about, or by compulsion (contrary to their courses) to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them; and instead of appeasing, doth harrell and wring them. I am of *Crantors* opinion, that a man must neither obstinately nor frantikely oppose himselfe against evils; nor through demissenesse of courage faintly yeeld vnto them, but according to their condition and ours, naturally incline to them. A man must give sickenneses their passage: And I finde that they stay least with me, because I allow them their swinge, and let them doe what they list. And contrary to common-received rules, I have without ayde or arte ridde my selfe of some, that are deemed the most obstinately lingring, and vnremoovably-obstinate. *Let Nature worke:* Let hir have hir will: Shee knoweth what shee hath to doe, and vnderstands hir selfe better then we doe. But such a one died of it, will you say? So shall you doubtlesse; if not of that, yet of some other disease. And how many have wee seene die, when they have had a whole Colledge of Physitions round about their bed, and looking in their excrements? *Example is a bright looking-glasse, uniuersall and for all shapcs to looke-into.* If it be a luscious or taste-pleasing potion, take it hardly; it is ever so much present ease. So it be delicious and sweetely tastig, I will never stand much vpon the name or colour of it. *Pleasure is one of the chiefeest kinds of profite.* I have suffered rheumes, gowtie defluxions, relaxations, pantings of the heart, megreimes and other such-like accidents, to grow old in me, and die their naturall death; all which have left me, when I halfe enured and framed my selfe to foster them. They are better conjured by curtesie, then by bragging or threats, *We must gently obey and endure the laws of our condition.* We are subject to grow aged, to become weake and to fall sicke, in spite of all phisicke. It is the first lesson the Mexicans give their children; When they come out of their mothers wombes, they thus salute them: *My childe, thou art come into the world to suffer, Therefore suffer and hold thy peace.* It is iniustice for one to grieve, that any thing hath befallen to any one, which may happen to all men. *Indignare si quid in te inique proprie constitutum est. Then take it ill, if any thing be decreede vniustly against thee alone.* Looke on an aged man, who sueth vnto God to maintaine him in perfect, full and vigorous health, that is to say, he will be pleased to make him yong againe:

Ouid. Trist. l. 3.
el. 8. 11.

Stulte quid hac frustra votis puerilibus optas?

Foole, why dost thou in vaine desire,

With childish prayers thus t'aspire?

Is it not folly? his condition will not beare it. The gowt, the stone, the gravell and indigestion are symptomes or affects of long-continued yeares; as heates, raines and windes, are incident to long voyages. *Plato* can not believe, that *Asculapius* troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life, in a weake, wasted and corrupted body: being vnprofitable for his country, incōvenient for his vocation, & vnfit to get sound and sturdy Children: and deemes not that care convenient vnto diuine justice and heavenly Wisedome, which is to direct all things vnto profite. My good sir, the matter is at an end: You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withal, and somewhat vnder-propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

Corn. Gal. el. 1.
173.

Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam

Diversis contra nititur obicibus,

Donec certa dies omni compage soluta,

Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.

So he that would an instant ruine stay,

With diuers props strives it to vnderlay,

Till all the frame dissolv'd, a certaine day,

The props with th'edifice doth overway.

A man must learne to endure that patiently, which he cannot avoyde conveniently. Our life is composed, as is the harmonie of the World, of contrary things; so of diuers tunes, some pleasant,

fant, some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low and some high: What would that Musition say, that should love but some one of them? He ought to know how to vse them severally and how to entermingle them. So should we both of goods and evils, which are consubstantiall to our life. Our being cannot subsist without this commixture, whereto one side is no lesse necessarie than the other. To go about to kicke against naturall necessity, were to represent the folly of *Ctesiphon*, who vndertooke to strike or wince with his mule. I consult but little about the alterations which I feele: For these kinde of men are advantagious, when they hold you at their mercy. They glutt your eares with their Prognostications, and surprising me heretofore, when by my sicknesse I was brought very lowe and weake, they have injuriously handled me with their Doctrines, positions, prescriptions, magistrall fopperies and prosopopeyall gravitie; sometimes threatening me with great paine and smart, and othertimes menacing me with neere and vnavoydable death: All which did indeede move, stirre and touch me neere, but could not dismay, or remoove mee from my place or resolution: If my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled; it was at least hindred: It is ever in agitation and combating. Now I entreate my inagination as gently as I can, and were it in my power I would cleane discharge it of all paine and contestation. A man must further, help, flatter and (if he can) cozen and deceive it. My spirit is fit for that office. There is no want of apparances every where. Did he perswade, as he preacheth, he should successfully ayde me. Shall I give you an example? He tels me, it is for my good, that I am troubled with the gravell: That the compositions of my age, must naturally suffer some leake or flaw: It is time they beginne to relent and gaine-say themselves: It is a common necessitie: And it had beene no new wonder for me. That way I pay the reward due vnto age, and I could have no better reckoning of it. That such company ought to comfort me, being fallen into the most ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I every where see some afflicted with the same kinde of evill; whose societie is honourable vnto me, forsomuch as it commonly possesseth the better sort of men: and whose essence hath a certaine nobilitie and dignitie connexed vnto it: That of men tormented therewith, fewe are better cheape quit of it: and yet, it costs them the paine of a troublesome dyet, tedious regiment and daily loathsome taking of medicinall drugges and phisicall potions: Whereas I meerly owe it to my good fortune. For, some ordinarie broths made of Eringos or Sea-Holme, and Burstwort, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe, at the request of some Ladies, who more kindly then my disease is vnkind, offred me the moitie of theirs, have equally seemed vnto mee as easy to take, as vnprofitable in operation. They must pay a thousand vows vnto *Æsculapius*, and as many crownes to their Physition, for an easie profluvion or abundant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefite of Nature. Let me be in anie company, the decencie of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled; and I can hold my water full tenne houres, and if neede be, as long as any man that is in perfect health. The feare of this evill (saith hee) did heeretofore affright thee, when yet it was vnknowne to thee. The cries and despaire of those, who through their impatience exasperate the same; bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evill that comes and falles into those limmes, by, and with which thou hast most offended: Thou art a man of conscience:

Quæ venit indignè pana, dolenda venit.

Ovid. epist. 1.8.

The paine that comes without desart,

Comes to vs with more grieve and smart.

Consider but how milde this punishment is, in respect of others, and how favourable. Consider his slownesse in comming: he onely incommodeth that state and encombreth that season of thy life, which (all things considered) is now become barren and lost, having as it were by way of composition given place vnto the sensuall licentiousnesse and wanton pleasures of thy youth. The feare and pittie, men have of this evill, may serve thee as a cause of glory. A qualitie, whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly found, thy friends doe notwithstanding discover some sparks in thy complexion. It is some pleasure for a man to heare others say of him: *Loe there a patterne of true fortitude; loe there a mirror of matchlesse patience.* Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomite blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions, to trill downe brackish and great teares, to make thicke, muddie, blacke, bloody and fearefull vrine, or to have it stopt by some sharpe or rugged stone, which

The third Booke.

pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde : entertaining in the meane while the by-standers with an ordinarie and vndanted countenance, by pawfes jaesting and by entremissions dallying with thy servants : keeping a parte in a continued discourse ; with wordes now and then excusing thy grieffe, and abating thy painefull sufferance. Dost thou remember those men of former ages, who to keep their vertue in breath and exercise, did with such greedinesse seeke after evils? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee vnto that glorious Schoole, into which thou hadst never come of thine owne accord and free will. If thou tel me, it is a dangerous and mortall evill : what others are not so? For, it is a kinde of phisicall coufenage, to except any, and so they goe not directly vnto death : what matter is it, whether they goe by accident vnto it; and easily slide on either hand, toward the way that leadeth vs thereunto? But thou diest not because thou arte sicke ; thou diest because thou arte living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sicknesse. Sicknesse have to some prolonged their death ; who have lived the longer , inasmuch as they imagined they were still dying. Seeing it is of woundes, as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholesome. The chollike is often no lesse long-lived than you. Many are seene, in whom it hath continued even from their infancy vnto their extreamest age, who had they not forsaken hir company, she was like to have assisted them further. You oftner kill her, than she doth you. And if she did present thee with the image of neere-iminent death, were it not a kinde office for a man of that age, to reduce it vnto the cogitations of his end? And which is woorse, thou hast no longer cause to be cured : Thus and howsoever, common necessitie calles for thee against the first day. Consider but how artificially and how mildely she brings thee in distaste with life, and out of liking with the world; not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection, as infinite other diseases doe, wherewith thou seest olde men possessed, which continually holde them fettered and ensnared, and without release of weakenesse or intermission of paines; but by advertisements and instructions, reprised by intervalles : entermixing certaine pawfes of rest, as if it were, to give thee meanes, at thy ease, to meditate and repeate her lesson. To give thee leasure and abilitie to judge soundly, and like a man of corage to take a resolution, shee presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evill, and in one same day, sometimes a most pleasing, sometimes a most intolerable life. *If thou embrace not death, at least thou shakest her by the hand once a moneth.* Whereby thou hast more cause to hope, that she will one day surprise thee without threatning. And that being so often brought into the haven; supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at vnawares, both thy selfe and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no reason to complaine against those diseases, which so equally divide time with health. I am beholding to Fortune, that she so often assailes mee with one same kinde of weapon : shee by long vse doth fashion and enure mee vnto it, harden and habituate me thereunto : I nowe knowe within a litle which way and how I shall be quit. For want of naturall memorie I frame some of paper. And when some new symptome or accident commeth to my evill, I set it downe in writing : whence it proceedeth, that having now (in a manner) passed over and through all sortes of examples, if any astonishment threaten mee; running and turning over these my loose memorialles (as *Sybillaes* leaves) I misse no more to find to comfort me with some favourable prognostication, in my former-past experience. Custome dooth also serve mee, to hope the better heereafter. For, the conduct of this distribution, having so long beene constituted, it is to be supposed that Nature will not change this course, and no other worse accident shall follow, then that I feele. Moreover, the condition of this disease is not ill-seeming to my ready and sodaine complexion. When it but faintly assailes mee, it makes me afraide, because it is like to continue long : But naturally it hath certaine vigorous and violent excesses. It doth violently shake me for one or two dayes. My reynes have continued a whole age without alteration, an other is now wel-nigh come, that they have changed state. *Evilles as well as goods have their periodes* : this accident is happily come to his last. Age weakeneth the heate of my stomacke : his digestion being thereby lesse perfect, hee sendeth this crude matter to my reines. Why may not, at a certaine revolution, the heat of my reines be likewise infeebled : so that they may no longer petrifie my fleagme; and Nature addresse her selfe to find some other course of purgation? Yeares have evidently made me dry vp certaine rheumes : And why not these excrements, that minister matter to the stone or gravell? But is there any thing so pleasant, in respect of this sodaine change, when

when by an extreame paine, I come by the voyding of my stone, to recover, as from a lightning, the faire Sunne-shine of health; so free and full, as it happeneth in our sodaine and most violent cholliks? Is there any thing in this paine suffered, that may be counterpoised, to the sweete pleasure of so ready an amendment? By how much more health seemeth fairer vnto me after sickenes, so neere and so contiguous, that I may know them in presence one of another, in their richest ornaments; wherein they attyre themselves avy, as it were to confront and counterchecke one another: Even as the Stoickes say, that *Vices were profitablie brought in, to give esteeme and make head vnto vertue*. So may we with better reason and bold conjecture, affirme, that Nature hath lent vs griefe and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indolencie. When *Socrates* (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching, which their weight and rubbing had caused in his legges; he rejoyced, to consider the neere affinitie that was betweene paine and pleasure: how they are combined together by a necessarie bond; so that at turnes they enter-engender and succcede one an other: And cryed out to good *Æsop*, that he should from that consideration have taken a proper body vnto a quant fable. The worst I see in other deseases, is, that they are not so grievous in their effect, as in their issue. A man is a whole yeare to recover himselfe; ever full of weakenesse, alwayes full of feare.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that hee is never at an end. Before you can leave-off your cover-chef and then your night-cappe; before you can take the ayre againe, or have leave to drinke Wine, or lye with your Wife, or eate melons, it is much, if you fall not into some relapse or new miserie. The gravell hath this privilege, that it is cleane carried away. Whereas other maladies, leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the bodie susceptible or vnder-taking of some new infirmitie; and they lend one an other their hands. Such are to be excused, as are contented with the possession they have over vs, without extending the same, and without introducing their sequell: But courteous, kind and gracious are those, whose passage brings vs some profitable consequence. Since I have had the stone-cholike, I finde my selfe discharged of other accidents: more (as me thinks) then I was before, and never had ague since. I argue, that the extreame and frequent vomites I endure, purge mee; and on the other side, the distasts and strange abstinences I tolerate, digest my offending humours: and Nature voydeth in these stones and gravell, whatsoever is superfluous and hurtfull in her. Let no man tell me, that it is a medicine too deere sold. For, what availe so many loathsome pills, stinking pocions, cauterizings, incisions, sweatings, setons, dyets and so divers fashions of curing, which, because we are not able to vndergoe their violence and brooke their importunity, doe often bring vs vnto our graves? And therefore, when I am surprized, I take it as physicke: and when I am free, I take it as a constant and full deliverance. Lo here an other particular favour of my disease, which is, that he in a manner, keepes his play a-part, and let's me keepe mine owne; or else I want but courage to doe it: In his greatest emotion, I have held out tenne houres on Horse-backe with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regiment: Play, dally, dyne, runne, be gamefome, doe this, and if you can, doe the other thing, your disorder and debauching will rather availe than hurt it. Say thus much to one that hath the pox, or to one that hath the gowt, or to one that is belly-broken or cod-burst. Other infirmitie have more vniverfall bonds, torment farre-otherwise our actions, pervert all our order, and engage all the state of mans life vnto their consideration: Whereas this doth only twitch and pinch the skinne, it neither medleth with your vnderstanding, nor with your will, tongue, feete nor hands, but leaves them all in your disposition; it rather rouzeth & awaketh you, then deterre and drowzie you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a feaver, suppressed by an Epilepsie, confounded by a migraine, and in conclusion, astonished and dismayde by all the deseases that touch or wound the whole masse of this body, and it's noblest parts: This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame: she bewrayeth, she forsaketh and she displaceth hir selfe. None but fools will be perswaded, that this hard, gretty and massie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneis, may be dissolved by drinks. And therefore after it is stirred, there is no way, but to give it passage; For if you doe not, he will take it himselfe. This other peculiar commodity I observe, that it is an infirmitie, wherein we have but little to divine. We are dispensed from the trouble, whereinto other maladies cast vs, by the vncertaintie of their causes, conditions and progresses.

gresses. A trouble infinitely painful. We have no neede of doctorall consultations, or collegiall interpretations. Our senses tell vs where it is, and what it is. By, and with such arguments, forcible or weake (as *Cicero* doth the infirmitie of his eld-age) I endeavour to lull asleepe, and studie to amuse my imagination, and to supple or annoynt her fores. If they growe worse to morrow; to morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapes. That this is true: loe afterward againe, happily the lightest motion wrings pure blood out of my reines. And what of that? I omitt not to stirre as before, and with a youthfull and insolent heate ride after my hounds. And finde that I have great reason of so important an accident, which costs me but a deafe heavinesse and dombe alteration in that parte. It is some great stone that wasteth and consumeth the substance of my kidneis and my life, which I voyde by little and little: not without some naturall pleasure, as an excrement now superfluous and troublesome. And feele I something to shake? Expect not that I amuse my selfe to feele my pulse or looke into my vrine, thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall come time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the same with the paine of feare. *Who feareth to suffer, suffereth already, because he feareth.*

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of those, who wil and do meddle with expounding the drifts and shifts of nature, with her internall progresses; and so many false prognostications of their arte should make vs vnderstand, her meanes are infinitely vnknowne. There is great vncertaintie, varietie and obscuritie, in that she promisseth and menaceth vs. Except old-age, which is an vndoubted signe of deaths approaching: of all other accidents, I see few signes of future things, whereon we may ground our divination. I onely judge my selfe by true-feeling-sense and not by discourse: To what end? since I will adde nothing thereunto except attention and patience. Will you know what I gaine by it? Behold those who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many, diverse perswasions and counseiles; how oft imagination presseth them without the bodie. I have diverse times being in safetie and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them vnto Physicians, as but then comming vpon me. I endured the arrest or doome of their horrible conclusions, and remained so much the more bounden vnto God for his grace, and better instructed of the vanitie of this arte. *Nothing ought so much be recommended vnto youth, as activitie and vigilancie.* Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am slow in all things, be it to rise, to go to bed, or to my meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morning is to me an early houre: And where I may command, I neither dine before eleven, nor sup till after six. I have heretofore imputed the cause of agues or maladies, whereinto I have falne, to the lumpish heavinesse or drowzie dulnesse, which my long sleeping had caused me. And ever repented me to fall asleepe againe in the morning. *Plato* condemnes more the excesse of sleeping, then the surfet of drinking. I love to lie hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me; after the king-ly maner: some what well and warme covered. I never have my bed warmed; but since I came to be an old man, if neede require, I have clothes given me to warme my feete and stomake. Great *Scipio* was taxed to be a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for no other cause, but that men were offended, hee onely should be the man, in whom no faulte might justly be found. If there be any curiositie in my behaviour or maner of life, it is rather about my going to bed, then any thing else; but if neede be, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selfe vnto necessitie, as well and as quietly, as any other whosoever. Sleeping hath possessed a great parte of my life: and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres together. I do with profit withdraw my selfe from this sluggish propension, and evidently finde my selfe better by it. Indeede I somewhat feele the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I see few that live with lesse (when neede is) and that more constantly exercise themselves, nor whom toying and labour offend lesse. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce me to sweate: my limbs will sooner be wearied, then heated. I can stand a whole day long, and am seldome wearie with walking. Since my first age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke vpon paved streetes. Going afoote, I shall durtie my selfe vp to the waste: and little men, going alongst our streetes, are subject (for want of presentiaall apparance) to be justled or elbowed. I love to take my rest, be it sitting or lying along, with my legs as high or higher then my seate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the militarie; A profession or exercise, both noble in execution (for, *the strongest, most generous and proudest*

dest of all vertues, is true valour) and noble in it's cause. No vilitie, is either more just or vniverfall then the protection of the repose, or defence of the greatnesse of ones country. The company and dayly conversation of so many noble, yong and active men, cannot but be well-pleasing to you: the dayly and ordinary sight of so diverse tragicall spectacles: the libertie and vncontroled freedome of that artelesse and vnaffected conversation, masculine and ceremonilese maner of life: the hourelly varietie of a thousand ever-changing and differing actions: the couragious and minde-flurring harmonie of warlike musike, which at once entertaineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your eares and your minde: the imminent and matchlesse honour of that exercise; yea the very sharpenesse and difficultie of it, which *Plato* esteemeth so little, that in his imaginary Commonwealth, he imparteth the same both to women and to children. As a voluntary Souldier, or adventurous knight you enter the lists, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selfe judge of their successes or importance: and you see when your life may therein be excusably employed,

pulchrūque mori succurrit in armis.
And nobly it doth come to minde,
To die in armes may honor finde.

Virg. Æn. lib. 2
317.

Basely to feare common dangers, that concerne so numberlesse a multitude, and not to dare, what so many sortes of men dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base, craven and milke-sop-hearts. Company and good fellowship doth harten and encourage children. If some chance to exceede and outgoe you in knowledge, in experience, in grace, in strength, in fortune, you have third and colaterall causes to blame and take hold-of; but to yeeld to them in constancie of minde, and resolution of courage, you have none but your selfe to find fault with. Death is much more abiect, languishing, grisly and painefull in a downe-bed, then in a field-combate; and agues, catarres or apoplexies, as painefull and mortall, as an *harquebusado*: He that should be made vndantedly to beare the accidents of common life, should not neede to bumbast his courage, to become a man at armes. *Vivere, mi Lucilli, militare est.* Friend mine, to live is to goe on warre-fare. I can not remember that ever I was scabbed: yet is itching one of natures sweetest gratifications, and as readie at hand. But repentance doth over-impotunately attend on it. I exercise the same in mine eares (and by fits) which within doe often itch. I was borne with all my senses sound, almost in perfection. My stomake is commodiously good; and so is my head: both which, together with my winde, maintaine themselves athwart my agues. I have outlived that age, to which some nations have not without some reason prescribed for a just end vnto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the same. I have notwithstanding some remyses or intermissions yet: though vnconstant and short, so sound and neate, that there is little difference betweene them and the health and indolencie of my youth. I speake not of youthly vigor and chearefull blithenesse; there is no reason they should follow me beyond their limites:

Sen. epist. 96. f.

Non hæc amplius est liminis, aut aqua

Cœlestis, patiens latus.

Mor. car. lib. 3.
od. 10. 19.

These sides cannot still sustaine,

Lying without dores, showing raine.

My visage and eyes doe presently discover me. Thence beginne all my changes, and somewhat sharper then they are in effect. I often moove my friends to pittie, ere I feele the cause of it. My looking glasse doth not amaze me: for even in my youth it hath diverse times be-falne me, so to put-on a duskie looke, a wanne colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill pre-sage, without any great accident; so that Physicians perceiving no inward cause to answer this outward alteration, ascribed the same to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which inwardly gnawed and consumed me. They were deceived, were my body directed by me, as is my minde, we should march a little more at our ease. I had it then, not onely exempted from all trouble, but also full of satisfaction and blithenesse, as it is most commonly, partly by it's owne complexion, and partly by it's owne desseigne:

Nec vitiant artus agra contagia mentis.

Nor doth sicke mindes infection,

Pollute strong joynts complexion.

Ovid. Trist. l. 3.
el. 8. 25.

I am of opinion, that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his fallings: he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at least in quiet and reposed estate.

estate. I had a quartan ague which held me foure or five moneths, and had altogether dis-
visaged and altered my countenance, yet my minde held ever out, not onely peaceably but
pleasantly. So I feele no paine or smartes, weakenesse and languishing doe not greatly per-
plex me. I see divers corporall defailances, the only naming of which breede a kind of hor-
ror, and which I would feare lesse then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind, which
I see in vse. I resolve to runne no more: it sufficeth me to goe on faire and softly; nor do I
complaine of the naturall decadence or empairing that possesseth me,

Juv. Sat. 13
162.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?

Who wonders a swolne throate to see,

In those about the Alpes that bee?

No more, then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and sound, as that of an oake.
I have no cause to finde fault with my imagination. I have in my life had very few thoughts
or cares, that have so much as interrupted the course of my sleepe, except of desire, to awa-
ken without dismay or afflicting me. I seldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagant
things and chymeras; commonly produced of pleasant conceits, rather ridiculous then sor-
rowfull. And thinke it true, that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations: but
great skill is required to sorte and vnderstand them.

*Res quæ in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident,
Quæq; agunt vigilantes, agitantq; ea sicut in somno accidunt
Minus mirandum est.*

It is no wonder if the things, which we
Care-for, vse, thinke, doe-off, or waking see,
Vnto vs sleeping represented be.

Plato saith moreover, that it is the office of wisdom to draw divining instructions from
them, against future times. Wherein I see nothing but the wonderfull experience, that So-
crates, Xenophon and Aristotle relate of them: men of vnreprovable authoritie. Histories
reporthe, that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Iles never dreame: who feede on nothing
that hath beene slaine. Which I adde, because it is peradventure the occasion they dreame
not. Pythagoras ordained therefore a certaine methode of feeding, that dreames might be
sorted to some purpose. Mine are tender, and cause no agitation of body or expression of
voice in me. I have in my dayes seene many strangely stirred with them. Theon the Philo-
sopher walked in dreamings, and Pericles his boy went vpon the tiles and top of houses. I
stand not much on nice choice of meates at the table: and commonly beginne with the first
and neereft dish: and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dishes,
and varietie of services displease me as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with
few messes, and hate the opinion of Favorinus, that at a banquet you must have that dish
whereon you feede hungerly taken from you, and ever have a new one set in the place: And
that it is a niggardly supper, if all the guests be not glutted with pinions and rumps of divers
kinds of fowle: and that onely the daintie bird *beccafico* or *snappig* deserveth to be eaten
whole at one morfell. I feede much vpon *salte cates*, and love to have my bread somewhat
fresh: And mine own Baker makes none other for my bond; against the fashion of my coun-
trie. In my youth, my overseers had much adoe to reforme the refusall I made of such meates
as youth doth commonly love best, as sweete-meates, confets and marchpanes. My tutor
was wont to find great fault with my lothing of such dainties, as a kinde of squeamish delica-
cie. And to say truth, it is nothing but a difficultie of taste, where it once is applied. Who so-
ever remooveth from a childe a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread,
to bakon, or to garlike, taketh friandise from him. There are some, that make it a labour, and
thinke it a patience to regret a good piece of powdred beefe, or a good gammon of bakon,
amongst partridges. Are not they wise men in the meane time? It is the chiefe daintie of all
dainties: It is the taste of nice effeminate fortune, that will be distasted with ordinary and
vsuall things. *Per quæ luxuria divitiarum tædio ludit.* Whereby the lavishnesse of plentie plays
with tedious pleasure. To forbear to make good cheare, because another doth it; for one to
have care of his feeding, is the essence of that vice.

Hon. l. i. epi. 5. 2

Si modica cenare times olus omne patella.

If in a sorry dish to sup

You brooke not all th'hearbe pottage vp.

Indeede

Indeede there is this difference, that it is better for one to tie his desires vnto things easi-
 est to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any stricktnesse. I was heeretofore wont to
 name a kinsman of mine over delicate, because, whilst he lived in our Gallies, hee had vn-
 learn't and left to lie vpon a bedde, and to strippe himselfe to goe to bedde. Had I any male-
 children, I should willingly wish them my fortune. That good Father, it pleased God to
 allot me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulness for his goodnesse, which indeed, is as
 great as great may be) even from my cradle sent mee to be brought-vp in a poore village of
 his, where he kept me so long as I suckt, and somewhat longer: breeding me after the mea-
 nest and simplest common fashion: *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus venter. A man- Sen. epist. 123. 87*
 nerly belly is a great part of a mans libertie. Never take vnto your selfe, and much lesse never
 give your wives the charge of your childrens breeding or education. Let fortune frame them
 vnder the popular and naturall Lawes: Let custome enure them to frugality, and breed them
 to hardnesse: That they may rather descend from sharpenesse, than ascend vnto it. His
 conceipt aymed also at another end; To acquaint and re-aly me, with that people and con-
 dition of men that have most neede of vs: And thought I was rather bound to respect those
 which extend their armes vnto me, than such as turne their backe toward me. And that was
 the reason he chose no other gossip to hold me at the font, than men of abject and base for-
 tune, that so I might the more be bound and tied vnto them. His purpose hath not altoge-
 ther succeeded ill. I willingly give, and accost my selfe vnto the meaner sort; whether it bee
 because there is more glorie gotten by them, or through some naturall compassion, which in
 me is infinitely powerfull. The faction which I condemne in our ciuill warres, I shall more
 sharply condemne when it prospers and flourisheth. I shall in some sort be reconciled vn-
 to it, when I see it miserably-depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remem-
 ber that worthy humour of *Chelonis*, daughter and wife to Kings of *Sparta*. Whilst *Cle- n*
ombrotus hir husband, in the tumultuous disorders of his Citty, had the vpper hand of *Leo- 5*
nidas her father, shee played the part of a good daughter: allyng her selfe with her father,
 in his exile and in his misery, mainly opposing hir selfe against the Conquerour: Did for-
 tune turne? So chaunged she hir minde, couragiously taking hir husbands part: Whom she
 never forsooke, whether-soever his ruine or distresse carryed him. Having (in my seeming)
 no other choise, than to follow that side, where she might doe most good, where shee was
 most wanted, and where she might shew her selfe most truly pittifull. I doe more naturally
 encline toward the example of *Flaminius*, who more and rather yeilded to such as had neede
 of him, than to those who might doe him good: than I bend vnto that of *Pyrrhus*, who was
 ever wont, demissely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and insolently to grow proud over
 the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and distemper me: for, be it for want
 of better countenance and entertainment, or that I vsed my selfe vnto it when I was a child,
 I feede as long as I sitt at the table. And therefore, being in mine owne house, though my
 board be but short, and that we vse not to sit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the
 first, but a pretty while after others: According to the forme of *Augustus*: yet I imitate
 him not in his rising before others. Contrary, I love to sit a great while after, and to heare
 some discourse or table-talk. Alwayes provided I beare not a part my selfe; for, if my belly
 be full, I shall soone be weary, and hurt my selfe with talking: and I finde the exercise of
 lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The aunci-
 ent Græcians and Romanes had better reason than wee, allotting vnto feeding, which is a
 principall action of mans life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or diuert them
 from it) diuers hours, and the best part of the night: eating and drinking more leisurely than
 we doe, who passe and runne-over all our actions in post-haste: and extending this natural
 pleasure vnto more leisure and vse: entermixing therewith diuers profitable and mind-plea-
 sing offices of civill conversation. Such as have care of me, may easily steale from me what-
 soever they imagine may be hurtful for me: inasmuch as about my feeding, I never desire or
 find fault with that I see not: That Proverb is verified in me; *What the eye seeth not, the heart 8*
rueth not. But if a dish or any thing else be once set before me, they loose their labour, that go
 about to tell me of abstinence: so that, when I am disposed to fast, I must be sequestred from
 eaters, and have no more set before me, than may serve for a stinted and regular colation: for
 if I but sitt downe at a set table, I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke
 change the dressing of some kinde of meate or dish, all my men know, I inferre my appetite
 is

is wallowish and my stomacke out of order, and I shall hardly touch it. I love all manner of flesh or fowle but greene rosted and rawe sodden, namely, such as may beare it without danger; and love to have them throughly mortified; and in diverse of them the very alteration of their smell. Onely hardnesse or toughnesse of meates doth generally molest me (of all other qualities. I am as carelesse, and can as well brooke them, as any man that ever I knew) so that (contrary to received opinion) even amongst fishes, I shall finde some, both too new and over-hard and firme. It is not the fault or want of my teeth, which I ever had as perfectly-sound and compleate as any other man: and which but now, being so olde, beginne to threaten me. I have from my infancie leard to rubbe them with my napkin, both in the morning when I rise, & sitting downe and rising from the table. God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth substract their life. It is the onely benefite of olde age. Their last death shal be so much the lesse full, languishing and painefull: it shall then kill but one halfe or quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without struggling or paine: it was the naturall terme of it's continuance. That part of my being, with diverse others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which, during the vigor of my age held the first ranke. Thus I sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishnes will it be in my vnderstanding, to feele the start of that fall, already so advaunced, as if it were perfectly whole? I hope it not; verely I receive a speciall comfort in thinking on my death, and that it shall be of the most just and natural: & cannot now require or hope other favor of destinie, concerning that, then vnlawfull. Men perswade themselves, that as heretofore they have had a higher stature, so their lives were longer; But they are deceivd: for *Solon*, of those antient times, thogh he were of an exceeding high stature, his life continued but 70. yeeres. Shal I, that have so much & so vniversally adored, that *ἀριστον μέτρον, a meane is best*, of former times; and have ever taken a meane measure for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and vnmeasurable life? whatsoever commeth contrary to Natures course, may be combersome, but what comes according to her, should ever please. *Omnia que secundum naturam sunt, sunt habenda in bonis. All things are to be accounted good, that are doone according to nature.* And therefore (saith *Plato*) is that death violent, which is caused either by woundes or sickeneses; but that of all others the easiest and in some sort delicious, which surprizeth vs by meanes of age. *Vitam adolescentibus, vis auferit, senibus maturitas. A forcible violence takes their life from the young, but a ripe maturitie from the olde.* Death entermedleth, and every where confoundes it selfe with our life: declination doth preoccupate her houre, and insinuate it selfe into the very course of our advauncement: I have pictures of mine owne, that were drawne when I was five and twenty, and others being thirtie yeeres of age; which I often compare with such as were made by me, as I am now at this instant. How many times do I say, I am no more my selfe; how much is my present image further from those, then from that of my decease? It is an over-great abuse vnto Nature to dragge and hurry her so farre, that shee must be forced to give vs over; and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the rest, to the mercy of a forraine help and begged assistance: and to put our selves into the hands of arte, wearie to followe vs. I am not overmuch or greedily desirous of sallets or of fruites, except melons. My father hated all manner of sawces; I love them all. Overmuch eating dooth hurt and distemper me: but for the qualitie I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me: I never observe either a full or wained Moone, nor make a difference betweene the Spring time or Autumne. There are certaine inconstant and vnknowne motions in vs. For (by way of example) I have heeretofore found redish-roots to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my stomacke. In diverse other things, I feele my appetite to change, and my stomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have altered my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very friand and gluttonous of fish; and keepe my shrowing dayes vpon fish dayes; and my feasts vpon fasting-dayes. I believe as some others doe, that fish is of lighter digestion than flesh. As I make it a conscience to eate flesh vpon a fish day, so doth my taste to eate fish and flesh together. The diversitie betweene them, seemes to me over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale some repast, either that I might sharpen my stomake against the next day; for, (as *Epicurus* was wont to fast, and made but sparing meales,

*Eraf. chil. 1.
cent. ad. 96. e
Phocylid.*

Ec. Senect.

Ec. Senect.

meales; thereby to accustom his voluptuousnesse, to neglect plentie: I, contrarie to him, to enure my sensualitie to speede the better, and more merrily to make vse of plentie) or else I fasted, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or performance of some bodily or mentall action: for both are strangely dilled and idled in me, through over-much fullnesse and repleatenesse. (And above all: I hate that foolish combination, of so sound and bucksome a Goddesse, with that indigested and belching God, all puffed with the fume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed stomake, or because I wanted some good companie. And I say as *Epicurus* saide, that *A man should not so much respect what he eateth, as with whom hee eateth.* And commend *Chilon*; that he would not promise to come to *Perianders* feast, before he knew certainly who were the other bidden guests. *No diands are so sweetely pleasing, nor no sauce so tastefull, as that which is drawne from conversable and mutual societie.* I think it wholesomer to eate more leisurely, and lesse in quantity, and to feede of finer: But I will have appetite and hunger to be endeared: I should finde no pleasure, after a phisicall manner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can assure me, if I have a good taste or stomake in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let vs old men; let vs, I say, take the first convenient time that commeth: Let vs leave hopes and prognostikes vnto Almanack-makers. The extreame fruite of my health, is pleasure: Let vs holde fast on the present, and to vs knowne. I eschew constancie in these Lawes of fasting. Who so will have a forme to serue him, let him ayoyde continuance of it: but we harden our selves vnto it, and therevnto wholly apply our forces: sixe moneths after, you shall finde your stomake so enured vnto it, that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have lost the liberty to vse it otherwise without damage. I vse to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in Sommer than in Winter; for I never weare but one paire of single silke-stockins. For the easing of my rheume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late vsed to keepe my head and belly warme. My infirmities did in few dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and disdained my ordinary provisions. From a single night-cappe, I came to a double covercheff, and from a bonnet, to a lined and quilted hat. The bumbasting of my doublet, serves me now for no more vse then a stomacher: it is a thing of nothing, vnlesse I adde a hare or a vultures skin to it, and some warme wrapping about my head; Follow this gradation and you shall goe a faire pace. I wil do no such thing. If I durst I could find in my hart to revoke the beginning, I have given vnto it. Fall you into any new inconvenience? This reformation will no longer availle you. You are so accustomed vnto it, that you are driven to seeke some new one. So are they overthrowne, that suffer themselves with forced formalities or strict rules, to be intangled; and do superstitiously constraime themselves vnto them: if they have neede of more, and of more after that: they never come to an end. It is much more commodious both for our businesse and for our pleasure (as did our fore-fathers) to loose our dinner, and deferre making of good cheere, vnto the houre of withdrawing and of rest, without interrupting the day: So was I wont to doe heretofore. I have for my health found out since by experience, that on the contrary, it is better to dine, and that one shall digest better being awake. Whether I be in health or in sicknesse, I am not much subject to be thirstie: indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I vse not to drinke, but when with eating I am forced to desire it, and that is when I have eaten well. For a man of an ordinary stature I drinke indifferent much. In Sommer, and at an hungry meale, I not onely exceede the limites of *Augustus*, who dranke but precisely three times: but not to offend the rule of *Democritus*, who forbade vs to stay at foure, as an unlucky number, it neede be, I come to five. Three demisextiers, or thereabouts. I like little glasses best; and I love to emptie my glasse, which some others dislike, as a thing vnseemely. Sometimes, and that very often, I temper my wine one halfe, and many times three partes with water. And when I am in mine owne house, from an ancient custome, which my fathers phisition ordained both for him and himselfe, looke what quantitie of Wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the same is commonly tempered two or three houres before it be served in, and so kept in the cellar. It is reported, that *Crimus* King of the Athenians, was the first, that invented the mingling of Wine with Water. Whether it were profitable or no, I wil not now dispute or stand vpon: I thinke it more detens and more wholesome, that children should drinke no Wine, untill they be past the age of fiftene or eightene yeares. The most vsuall and common forme of life, is the best: Each particularitie, doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I should as much detest a Germane, that should put Water in his Wine, as a French-man, that should drinke it

*Tender care
of ye body is
destructive to
it*

pure. Publike custome giveth Law vnto such things. I feare a foggie and thicke ayre, and thunne smoke more than death; (the first thing I began to repaire when I came to be maister of mine owne house, was the chimnies and privies, which, in most of our buildings, is a generall and intolerable fault) and among mischiefs and difficulties attending on Warre, there is none I hate more, than in hot-sweltring wether, to ride vp and downe all the day-long in smokie dust, as many times our Souldiers are faine to doe. I have a free and easie respiration, and doe most commonly passe-over my mures and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The soultry heate of Sommer is more offensive to me, than the sharpnesse of Winter: for, besides the incommody of heate, which is lesse to bee remedied, than the inconvenience of cold; and besides the force of the Sunnes beames, which strike into the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kind of glittering or sparkling light; so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a cleare-burning fire. To allay or dim the whitenesse of paper, when I was most given to reading, I was wont to lay a piece of greene glasse vpon my booke, and was thereby much eased. Hitherto I neuer vsed spectacles, nor know not what they meane; and can yet see as farre as ever I could, and as any other man: true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceive a dimnes and weaknes in reading; the continuall exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome vnto mine eyes. Loc-heere a steppe-backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle one more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feele the declination and age of my sight, I must be starke blinde. So artificially doe the Fates vntwist our lives-threede. Yet am I in doubt, that my hearing is about to become thicke: and you shall see, that I shal have lost it halfe, when yet I shall finde fault with their voyces that speake vnto mee. The minde must be strained to a high pitch, to make it perceive howe it declineth. My going is yet verie nimble, quicke and stout; and I wot not which of the twoo I can more hardly staie at one instant, cyther my minde or my body. I must like that preacher wel, that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand vpon countenance, where I have seene Ladies hold their eyes so steady, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding: although I be sitting there, I am not well settled. As *Chrysippus* the Phylosophers chamber-maide, saide of hir Maister, that he was never drunke but in his legges; for whersoever he sate, he was ever accustomed to be wagging with them: and this she saide at what time store of Wine had made his companions cuppe-shotten, and yet he felt no alteration but continued sober in minde. It might likewise have bene saide of mee, that even from mine infancy, I had either folly or quicke-silver in my feete, so much stirring and naturall inconstancy have I in them, where ever I place them. It is vnmanerlinesse, and prejudiciall vnto health, yea and to pleasure also, to feede grosely and greedily, as I doe. I shall sometimes through haste bite my tongue and fingers ends. *Diogenes* meeting with a childe, that did eate so, gave his tutor a whirret on the eare. There were men in *Rome*, that as others teach youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew, with decency, I doe sometimes loose the leisure to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty and pleasant. There is a kinde of jelosie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often shoocke and hinder one another. *Alcibiades*, a man very exquisitely-skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of musicke at tables, because it should not hinder the delight of discourses, for the reason which *Plato* affoords him: that it is a custome of popolare or base men to call for minstrels or singers at feasts, and an argument, they want witty or good discourses, and pleasing entertainment, wherewith men of conceipt and vnderstanding knowe howe to enterfeast and entertaine themselves. *Varro* requireth this at a banquet: an assemblie of persons, faire, goodly and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation, which must not be dumbe nor dull, fullaine nor slovenly: cleanlinesse and neatnesse in meates: and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment, is not a little voluptuous feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither great or sterne commaunders in Warres, nor famous or strict Philosophers have disdained the vse or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequeathed three of them to the keeping of my memorie, onely which, fortune did at several times, yeeld exceedingly delightfome vnto me. My present state doth now exclude me from them. For, every one, according to the good temper of body or mind, wherein he findes himselfe, addeth either principall grace or taste vnto them. My selfe, who but grovell on the ground, hate that kinde of inhumane Wisedome, which would make vs disdainfull and enemies of

the bodies reformation. I deeme it an equall injustice, either to take naturall sensualities against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. *Xerxes* was a minny-hammer, who enwrapped and given to all humane voluptuousnesse, proposed rewards for those, that should devise such as he had never heard of. And he is not much behinde him in fortifnesse, that goes about to abridge those, which nature hath devised for him. One should neither follow nor avoyde them: but receive them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow naturall inclination. We neede not exaggerate their inanie: it will sufficiently be felt, and doth sufficiently produce it selfe. Godamercy our weake, crazed and joy-diminishing spirite, which makes vs distaste both them and himselfe. Hee treateth both himselfe and whatsoever he receiveth, somtimes forward and othertimes backward, according as himselfe is either insaciate, vagabond, newfangled or variable.

Sincerum est nisi vas, quod cingit, in fundis, accescit.

Hor. l. 1. epist. 2.

54.

In no sweet vessel all you poure,

In such a vessell soone will sowre.

My selfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and so particularly to allow the commodities of life; whensoever I looke precisely into it, I finde nothing therein but winde. But what? we are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more wisely then we, loveth to bluster and to be in agitation: And is pleased with his owne offices: without desiring stabilitie or soliditie; qualities that be not his owne. The meere pleasures of imagination, as well as displeasure (say some) are the greatest: as the ballance of *Critolaus* did expresse. It is no wonder, the composeth them at hir pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloth. I see daylie some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be desired. But I, that am of a commixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so thoroughly bite on that onely and so simple object: but shall grosely and carelesly give my selfe over to the present delights, of the generall & humane law. Intellectually sensible, and sensibly-intellestual. The *Cyrenaique* Philosophers are of opinion, that as griefes, so corporall pleasures are more powerfull; and as double, so more iust. There are some (as *Aristotle* saith) who with a savage kinde of stupiditie, will seeme distastefull or squemish of them. Some others I knowe, that doe it out of ambition. Why renounce they not also breathing? why live they not of their owne, and refuse light, because it cometh of gratuitie; and costs them neither invention nor vigor? That *Mars*, or *Pallas*, or *Mercurie*, should nourish them to see, instead of *Ceres*, *Venus*, or *Bacchus*. Will they not seeke for the quadrature of the circle, even vpon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minde in the clouds, whilst our bodies are sitting at the table: yet would I not have the minde to be fastned thereunto, nor wallow vpon it, nor lie along thereon, but to applie it selfe and sit at it. *Aristippus* defended but the body, as if wee had no soule: *Zeno* embraced but the soule, as if we had no body. Both viciously. *Pythagoras* (say they) hath followed a Philosophie, all in contemplation: *Socrates* altogether in maners and in action: *Plato* hath found a mediocritie betweene both. But they say so by way of discourse. For, the true temperature is found in *Socrates*; & *Plato* is more *Socraticall* then *Pythagorically*; and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleepe, I sleepe. And when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselves with strange occurrences I doe another while bring them to walke with me in the orchard, and to be partakers of the pleasure of that solitarinesse and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as shew for our necessities hath enjoyned vnto vs, should also be voluptuous vnto vs. And doth not onely by reason, but also by appetite en-vite vs vnto them: it were injustice to corrupt her rules. When I behold *Cesar* and *Alexander* in the thickest of their wondrous-great labours, so absolutely to enjoy humane and corporall pleasures, I say not, that they release thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same; submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation, and laborious thoughts to the customarie vse of ordinarie life. Wise had they beene, had they believed, that that was their ordinary vocation, and this their extraordinarie. What egregious fooles are we! Hee hath past his life in idlenesse, say we; alas I have done nothing this day. What? have you not lived? It is not onely the fundamentall, but the noblest of your occupations. Had I beene placed, or thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have shewed what I could have performed. Have you knowne how to meditate and manage your life? you have accomplished the greatest worke of all. For a man to shew and exploite himselfe, nature hath no neede of fortune, she equally shewes her selfe vpon all grounds, in all sutes, before and behinde, as it

were without curtines, welt, or garde. *Have you knowne how to compose your manners? you have done more then he who hath composed bookes.* Have you knowne how to take rest? you have done more then he, who hath taken Empires and Citties. *The glorious maister-piece of man, is, to live to the purpose.* All other things, as to raigne, to governe, to hoarde vp treasure, to thrive and to build, are for the most part but appendixes and supporters thereunto. It is to me a great pleasure, to see a Generall of an armie at the foote of a breach, which he ere long intendeth, to charge or enter; all whole, vndistracted and carelesly to prepare himselfe, whilst he sits at dinner with his friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delighted to see *Brutus*, having both heaven and earth conspired against him and the libertie of *Rome*, by stealth to take some houres of the night from his other cares and walking of the round, in all securitie to reade, to note and to abreviate *Polibius*. It is for base and pette mindes, dulled and overwhelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leave them, and not to know how to free themselves from them; nor how to leave and take them againe.

Hay. car. l. i. od.

7.30.

O fortes peioraque passi,

Mecum sape viri, nunc vino pellite curas,

Crasingens iterabimus equor.

Valiant compeeres, who oft have worse endured

With me, let now with wine your cares be cured:

To morrow we againe

Will launch into the maine.

Whether it be in jest or earnest, that the *Sorbonicall* or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now cometo be proverbially jested-at: I thinke there is some reason, that by how much more profitably and seriously they have bestowed the morning in the exercise of their schooles, so much more commodiously and pleasantly should they dine at noone. A cleare conscience to have well employed and industriously spent the other houres, is a perfect seasoning and savorie condiment of tables. So have wise men lived. And that inimitable contention vnto vertue, which so amazeth vs, in both *Catoes*, their so strictly-severe humour, even vnto importunitie, hath thus mildely submitted it selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition, and in *Venus* and *Bacchus*. According to their Sects-precepts, which require a perfectly wise man, to be as fully-expert and skilfull in the true vse of sensualities, as in all other duties or devoirs belonging to life. *Cui cor sapiat, ei & supiat palatius.* Let this palate be savorie, whose heart is savorie. Easie-yeelding and facilitie doth in my conceit, greatly honour, and is best befitting a magnanimous and noble mind. *Epaminondas* thought it no scorne, to thrust himselfe amongst the boyes of his citie, and dance with them, yea and to sing and play, and with attention busie himselfe, were it in things that might derogate from the honor and reputation of his glorious victories, and from the perfect reformation of maners, that was in him. And amongst so infinite admirable actions of *Scipio* the grandfather, a man worthy to be esteemed of heavenly race, nothing addeth so much grace vnto him, as to see him carelesly to dally and childishly to trifle, in gathering and chusing of cockle-shells, and play at cob-castle alongst the sea-shore with his friend *Laelius*. And if it were fowle wether, ammusung and solacing himselfe, to represent in writing and commedies the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterprize against *Hanniball* and *Affrike*, yet he still visited the schooles in *Cicilie*, and frequented the lectures of Philosophie, arming his enemies teeth at *Rome* with envie and spight. Nor any thing more remarkeable in *Socrates*, then, when being old and crazed, he would spare so much time as to be instructed in the arte of dancing and playing vpon instruments; and thought the time well bestowed. Who notwithstanding hath beene seene to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea ever standing on his feete, in presence of all the Greeke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deepe and minde-distracting thought. He hath beene noted to be the first, amongst so infinite valiant men in the armie, headlong to rush out, to help and bring-of *Alcibiades*, engaged and enthronged by his enemies: to cover him with his body, and by maine force of armes and courage, bring him-off from the rout: And in the *Deliane* battell, to save and disingage *Xenophon*, who was beaten from his horse. And in the midst of all the Athenian people, wounded, as it were with so vnworthy a spectacle: headlong present himselfe the first man, to recover *Theramenes*, from out the hands of the officers and satelites, of the thirtie tyrants of *Athens*, who were leading him to his death; and never desisted from his bold attempt, vntill he

Cic. fn. lib. 2.

Socrates

he met with *Theramenēs* himselfe, though hee were followed and assisted with two more. He hath beene seene (provoked thereunto by a matchlesse beautie, wherewith he was richly endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintaine a severe continencie. He hath continually beene noted to march to the warres on foote; to breake the yce with his bare feete; to weare one same garment in summer and winter; to exceede all his companions in patience of any labour or travell; to eate no more, or otherwise at any banquet, then at his ordinary: He hath beene seene seaven and twenty yeares together with one same vndismaide countenance, patiently to beare and endure hunger, povertie, the indocilitie and stubbernesse of his children, the frowardnes and scratchings of his wife; and in the end malicious detraction, tyranny, imprisonment, shakles and poison. But was that man envited to drinke to him by duty of civilitie? he was also the man of the armie, to whom the advantage thereof remained. And yet he refused not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor to run with them vpon a hobby-horse, wherein he had a very good grace: *For, all actions (saith Philosophie) doe equally besecme well, and honour a wise man.* We have good ground and reason, and should never be wearie to present the image of this incomparable man, vnto all patterns and forme of perfections. There are very few exampls of life, absolutely full & pure. And our instruction is greatly wronged, in that it hath certaine weake, defective and vnperfect formes proposed vnto it, scarcely good for any good vse, which divert and drawe vs backe; and may rather bee termed Corrupters then Correctors. *Man is easily deceived.* One may more easily goe by the sides, where extremitie serveth as a bound, as a stay and as a guide, then by the mid-way, which is open and wide; and more according vnto arte, then according vnto nature: but therewithall lesse noble and with lesse commendation. *The greatnesse of the minde is not so much, to drawe vp and hale forward, as to knowe how to range, direct and circumscribe it selfe.* It holdeth for great whatever is sufficient. And sheweth her height, in loving meane things better then eminent. *There is nothing so goodly, so faire and so lawfull as to play the man well and duely: Nor Science so hard and difficult, as to knowe how to live this life well.* And of all the infirmities we have, the most savage, is to despise our being. Whoso wil sequester or distract his minde, let him hardily doe it, if he can, at what time his body is not well at ease, thereby to discharge it from that contagion: And elswhere contrarie; that thee may assist and favour him, and not refuse to be partaker of his naturall pleasures, and conjugally be pleased with them: adding thereunto, if thee be the wiser; moderation, lest through indiscretion, they might be confounded with displeasure. *Intemperance is the plague of sensuality, and temperance is not her scourge, but rather her seasoning.* *Endoxus*, who thereon established his chiefe felicitie; and his companions, that raised the same to so high a pitch, by meanes of temperance, which in them was very singular and exemplar, favoured the same in her most gracious sweetenes. I enjoyne my minde, with a looke equally regulare, to beholde both sorrow and voluptuousnes: *Eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in letitia, quo in dolore contractio.* *As faultie is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contracting it in griefe;* and equally constant: But the one merrily, and the other severely: And according to that thee may bring vnto it, to be as carefull to extinguish the one, as diligent to quench the other. *To have a perfect insight into good, drawes with it an absolute insight into evill.* And sorrow hath in her tender beginning something that is vnavoideable: and voluptuousnes in her excessive ende, something that is evitable. *Plato* coupleth them together, and would have it to be the equall office of fortitude, to combat against sorrowes, and fight against the immoderate and charming blandishments of sensuality. They are two fountains, at which whoso draweth, whence, when and as much as hee needeth, be it a citie, be it a man, be it a beast, he is very happy. The first must be taken for phisicke and necessitie, and more sparingly: The second for thirst, but not vnto drunkennesse. *Paine, voluptuousnesse, love and hate, are the first passions a child feelth: if reason approach, and they apply themselves vnto it; that is vertue.* I have a Dictionarie severally and wholly to my selfe: I passe the time when it is foule and inconvenient; when it is faire and good, I will not passe it: I runne it over againe, and take holde of it. *A man should runne the badde, and settle himselfe in the good.* This vulgar phrase of passe time, and to passe the time, represents the custome of those wise men, who thinke to have no better account of their life, then to passe it over and escape it: to passe it over and bawke it, and so much as in them lieth, to ignore and avoide it, as a thing of an yrkesome, tedious and to be-disdained qualitie. But I knowe it to be otherwise; and finde it to be both praisable and commodious, yea in her last declination; where I holde it. And

Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 4

Life is a good thing

Sen. epist. 15.

Nature hath put the same into our handes, furnished with such and so favourable circumstances, that if it presse and molest vs, or if vnprofitably it escape vs, wee must blame our selves. *Stulti vita ingrata est, trepida est, tota in futurum fertur.* A fooles life is all pleasant, all fearefull, all fond of the future. I therefore prepare and compose my selfe, to forgoe and loose it without grudging; but as a thing that is looseable and transitorie by it's owne condition: not as troublesome and importunate. Nor be seemes it a man not to be grieved when he dieth, except they be such as please themselves to live still. There is a kinde of husbandrie in knowing how to enjoy it: I enjoy it double to others. For, *the measure in ioyssance dependeth more or lesse on the application we lend it.* Especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be so short in time, I will extend it in weight: I will stay the readinesse of her flight, by the promptitude of my holde-fast by it: and by the vigor of custome recompence the haste of her fleeting. According as the possession of life is more short, I must endevoure to make it more profound and full. Other men feele the sweetnesse of a contentment and prosperity. I feele it as well as they; but it is not in passing and gliding: yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeelde him condigne thanks, that is pleased to graunt the same vnto vs. They enjoy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them. To the end that sleepe should not dully and vnfeelingly escape mee, and that I might better taste and be acquainted with it, I have heeretofore found it good, to be troubled and interrupted in the same. I have a kinde of contentment, to consult with my selfe: which consultation I doe not superficially runne over, but considerately sound the same, and applie my reason to entertaine and receive it, which is now become froward, peevish and distasted. Doe I finde my selfe in some quiet moode; is there any sensuallitie that tickles me? I do not suffer the same to busie it selfe or dally about my senses, but associate my minde vnto it: Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight: not to loose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her parte I employ her, to view her selfe in that prosperous estate, to ponder and esteeme the good fortune she hath, and to amplifie the same. Shee measureth how much she is beholding vnto God, for that she is at rest with her conscience, and free from other intestine passions, and hath her body in her naturall disposition: orderly and competently enjoying certaine flattering and effeminate functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompence the griefes, wherewith his justice at his pleasure smiteth vs. Oh how availefull is it vnto her, to be so seated, that whereever she casteth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her; and no desire, no feare or doubt troubleth the ayre before her: there is no difficultie, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination passeth not without offence. This consideration takes a great lustre from the comparison of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose vnto my selfe, those whom either fortune, or their owne error doth transport and torment. And these nearer, who so slackely and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeede passe their time: they overpasse the present, and that which they possesse, thereby to serve their hopes with shadowes and vaine images, which fancie sets before them,

Virg. Æn. l. 10.
641.

*Morte obitâ quales fama est volitare figuras,
Aut que sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.*

Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,
Dreames, whereby sleeping senses are misse-led.

Which hasten and prolong their flight, according as they are followed. The fruit and scope of their pursuite, is to pursue: As *Alexander* said, that *The end of his travell, was to travell.*

Lucan. l. 2. 656.

Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum.

Who thought that nought was done,
When aught remain'd yndone.

Sen. epist. 119.

As for mee then, I love my life and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to graunt it vs. I desire not he should speake of the necessitie of eating and drinking. And I would thinke to offend no lesse excusably, in desiring it should have it double. *Sapiens divitiarum naturalium questor acerrimus.* A wise man is a most eage and earnest searcher of those things which are naturall. Nor that we should sustaine our selves by only putting a little of that drugge into our mouth, wherewith *Epimenides* was wont to alay hunger, and yet maintained himselfe. Nor that wee should insensibly produce children at our fingers endes; or at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and voluptuousnesse produce them both at our heeles and fingers endes. Nor that the bodie should

should be voyde of desire, and without tickling-delight. They are vngratefull and impious complaints. I cheerefully and thankfully, and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created for me; and am therewith well pleased, and am proud of it. Great wrong is offered vnto that great and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good; and disanull or disfigure the same, since hee made it perfectly good. *Omnia quæ secundum naturam sunt, æstimatione digna sunt.* All things that are according to nature, are worthy to be esteemed. Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace those, which are the most solide: that is to say, such as are most humane and most ours: My discourses are sutable to my manners; lowe and humble. Shee then brings forth a childe well-pleasing me, when she betakes herselfe to her Quiddities and Ergoes, to perswade vs, that it is a barbarous alliance, to marrie what is diuine with that which is terrestriall; wedde reasonable with vnreasonable; combine seuer with indulgent, and couple honest with vnhonest: that voluptuousnesse is a brutall qualitie, vnworthie the taste of a wiseman. The onely pleasure he drawes from the enjoying of a faire yong bride, is the delight of his conscience, by performing an action according vnto order; As to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh that his followers had no more right, or sinnewes, or pithe, or iuice, at the dis-maydening of their wives, than they have in his Lessons. It is not that, which *Socrates*, both his and our Maister, saith; He valueth rightly as he ought corporall voluptuousnesse: but he preferreth that of the minde, as having more force, more constancie, facilitie, varietie and dignitie. This, according to him, goeth nothing alone, he is not so fantastickall; but onely first. For him, temperance is a moderatrix, and not an aduersarie of sensualities. *Nature is a gentle guide:* Yet not more gentle, then prudent and just. *Intrandum est in rerum naturam, & peritius quid ea postulet, pervidendum.* Wee must enter into the nature of things, and thoroughly see what she inwardly requires. I quest after her tracke; wee have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that Academicall and Peripateticall *summum bonum* or soveraigne felicitie, which is, to live according to her rules: by this reason becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to be expounded. And that of the Stoickes, couzin-german to the other, which is, to yeelde vnto nature. Is it not an errour, to esteeme some actions lesse woorthie, forso-much as they are necessary? Yet shall they never remooove out of my head, that it is not a most convenient marriage, to wedde Pleasure vnto Necessitie. With which (saith an ancient Writer) the Gods doe ever complot and consent.

Cic. fin bon. l. 3.

Ibid. lib. 5.

To what end doe we by a divorce, dismember a frame contexted with so mutuall, coherent and brotherly correspondencie? Contrariwise, let vs repaire and renewe the same by interchangeable offices: that the spirit may awake and quicken the dul heaviness of the body, and the body stay the lightnesse of the spirite, and settle and fixe the same. *Qui velut summum bonum, laudat animæ naturam, & tanquam malum, naturam carnis accusat, profecto & animam carnaliter appetit, & carnem incarnaliter fugit, quoniam id vanitate sentit humana, non veritate divina.* He that praiseth the nature of the soule, as his principall good, & accuseth the nature of the flesh as evill, assuredly he both carnally affecteth the soule, and carnally escheweth the flesh, since he is of this minde not by diuine veritie, but humane vanitie. There is no part or parcell vnwoorthy of our care in that present, which God hath bestowed vpon vs: Wee are accountable even for the least haire of it. And it is no commission for fashion-sake for any man, to direct man according to his condition: it is expresse, naturall and principall: And the Creator hath seriously and severely given the same vnto vs. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and vnderstanding; and is of more weight in a strange language. But here let vs charge againe. *Stultitia proprium quis non dixerit, ignavè & contumaciter facere quæ faciendæ sunt: & aliò corpus impellere, aliò animum, distrabique inter diversissimos motus?* Who will not call it a property of folly to doe sloathfully and frowardly, what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and himselfe to be distracted into most divers motions? Which, the better to see, let such a man one day tell you the amusements and imaginations, which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts from a good repast, and bewaileth the houre, he employeth in feeding himselfe: you shall finde there is nothing so wallowish in all the messes of your table, as is that goodly entertainment of his minde (It were often better for us to be sound asleepe, than awake vnto that we doe) and you shall find, that his discourses and intentions are not worth your meanest dish. Suppose they were the entrancings of *Archimedes* himselfe: and what of that? I here touch not, nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskalitie of men, as wee are, nor with that vanitie of desires and cogitations, which

*Aug. verb. apo-
sol. ser. 13. c. 6.*

which diuert vs, onely those venerable mindes, which through a fervencie of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a constant and conscientious meditation of heavenly-divine things, and which by the violence of a lively, and vertue of a vehement hope, pre-occupating the vse of eternall soule-saving nourishment; the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disdain to relye on our necessitous, fleeting and ambiguous commodities: and easily resigne, the care and vse of sensuall and temporall feeding vnto the body. It is a privileged study. Super-celestiall opinions; and vnder-terrestriall manners, are things, that amongst vs, I have ever seene to be of singular accord. *A* hope that famous man, saw his Maister pisse as he was walking: What (saide he) must wee not &c. when we are running? *Let vs husband time as well as we can. Yet shall we employ much of it, both idely and ill.* As if our minde had not other houses enough to doe hir businesse, without disassociating hir selfe from the body in that little space which she needeth for hir necessitie. They will bee exempted from them and escape man. It is meere folly: in steade of transforming themselves into Angels, they transchange themselves into beasts: in lieu of aduancing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humours affright me as much, as steepy, high and inaccessible places. And I finde nothing so hard to be digested in *Socrates* his life, as his extasies and communication with *Demonies*. Nothing so humane in *Plato*, as that for which they say, he is called divine. And of our sciences those which are raised and extolled for the highest, seeme to me, the most basest and terrestriall. I finde nothing so humble and mortall in *Alexanders* life, as his conceits about his immortalization. *Philotas* by his answer quipped at him very pleasantly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and rejoyced that the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon* had placed him amongst the Gods; to whom he answered, that in respect and consideration of him, he was very glad; but yet there was some cause those men should be pittied, that were to live with a man and obey him, who outwent others, and would not be contented with the state and condition of a mortall man.

Horat. l. 3. od. 6

—*Dys te minorem quod geris, imperas.*

Since thou lesse then the Gods

Bearst thee, thou rulst with ods.

The quaint inscription, wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of *Pempey* into their Cittie, agreeth well, and is conformable to my meaning.

Plut. vit. Pomp

*D'autant estu Dieu, comme**Tu te reconnais homme.*

So farre a God thou maist accompted bee

As thou a man doost re-acknowledge thee.

It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine for a man to know how to enjoy his being loyalty.

We seeke for other conditions, because we vnderstand not the vse of ours; and goe out of our selves, for so much as we know not what abiding there is. Wee may long enough get upon stilts, for be we upon them, yet must we goe with our owne legges. And sit we upon the highest throne of the World, yet sit we upon our owne taile. The best and most commendable lives; and best

pleasing me are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with decorum are ranged to the common mould and humane model: but without wonder or extravagancy. Now

bath old age neede to be handled more tenderly. Let vs recommend it vnto that God, who is the protector of health, and fountaine of all wisdom: but blithe and sociall:

*Frui paratis & valido mihi**Latoe dones, & precor integra**Cum mente; nec turpem senectam,**Degere; nec Cythara carentem.**Apollo graunt, enjoy in health: I may*

That I have got, and with sound minde, I pray:

Nor that I may with shame spend my old yeares,

Nor wanting musike to delight mine eares.

The end of the third and last Booke.

Sapere lives
Sed sine pompa
& insidia

Horat. l. 1. od.

31. 17.

Note how he talks of him self

sum of

- 5 The Author was old w^m he wrote these things. He had a very bad memory.
32 He was born A.D. 1533 & wrote sum of these things at 39.
34 He was not much given to melancholy but rather to decaying & sluggishness.
34 He had sound health. 40 He had a lively fresh face.
47 Very sincere & plain dealing.
67 His learning was merely superficial: he had no commerce with any Excellent book but Plutarch
& Seneca; yet History was his chief study & poetry his only delight. & 525
80 He aduised a young man to debauch him self with his prime with company & vigor
84 His first language was Latin without French. He went at 6 years old to College
of Guienne where his Latin tongue was corrupted (and afterwards lost) he principally
read with delight Ovids Metamorphoses at 7 or 8 years old. He left of College at 13 years
of age having heard (he terms it reads) of whole courses of Philosophie. He
was never whipped but twice & yet very gently. He was married at 30 years of age.
114 He was incontinence. 212 Very little. 268 He was courteous in moving his hat; & he did not
sufficiently value his own things. He looked on his wife & children with a vitious disdain.
373 He would never attain to any indifference sufficiently in dancing, tennis, wrapping, fencing, or vaulting.
121 He had a Sympetich affection & a will that would not easily subside it self.
126 His hand writing intolerably bad. His coat of Arms was a Lyons paw &c. 150
155 Having learned Latin by rote he knew not ye meaning of an Adiective, Coniunctive, Ablative even when he was
211 Never was man less inquisitive or pried less into other mens affaires than he.
212 He had a Bruise & vomited a bucket full of blood. He is chap. 612 he insifies of rea-
sonable ness of Writing much of him self. He always carried a heavy cudgel 397
He could not endure to be entrusted. 113. He saith his book is framed on y^e
of Spoyles of Seneca & Plutarch. He was sore troubled with Iron Collick 435
He hated phisick. 488 His debauches & excesses did not much transport him. &c. 480
490 He seldom took other mens advice, but for complament sake. He closely harkened to other-
mens reasons, but he believed none but his own. I haue saith he p. 493 a kyd of
raving fancy full behaviour. note there more. 495 He passed much of his life at Court.
514 His only child was a daughter. 522 He saith he is a babbling fellow
558 He neuer had any apprehensions of fear. 539 See his trouble by coaches Liers &c.
540 It seems he had an Elder Br^m he was at mans Estate. 562 He was naturally black
563 He was 20 years together & spent not one entyre hour upon a book.
570 I haue nothing (saith he) so dear as care & pain, & I only indeavour to be careles & wrech.
114 His bad assertions & opinions, 137. 195. 200. 207. 318. 380. 491.
236 He saith I indeavour not to make things known but my self.
His life & qualifications ch 39. 40 L. 1. ch 612. p 230. 247. 301. 326. 371.
171 He loved sweet smells & had thick mustachoes see more there ridiculous. 236 He had a skipping
172 He was of y^e Roman church & did greatly reverence & vte y^e signe of y^e cross 173
246 Naturally of my self (saith he) I abhor & detest all manner of vices.
247 He hated cruelty & grieved if he saw a pig stricken or a chicking neck put off.
377 His memory strangely bad. 476 He was a wonderful plain dealer & de-
clined people's affaires; yet could hardly auoyd them.
His list 496. 497. 534
498 He used to pay many months without y^e use of bookes; see his Library 498
547 He published y^e first part of these Essayes A.D. 1586.
582 w^m he was old and crazed he could 8 or 10 hours on horse back untired
589 He was sociable even to excess
598 He was made a Citizen of Rome
601 He was maior of Bordeaux sondry years
608 He had had no law suites even when he was old, nor any quarrells
620 He suffered by y^e ciuil war. & 622. 623.
631 His countenance & carriage gained much upon men. two examples
645 646 He was a soldier, yet little is said of it Elsewhere
653 See it
654 He had a quartan ague 3 or 4 months. He dreamed seldom 654
He eat much salt meat. see 655 & 656. 657. 658. 659

[The page contains approximately 30 lines of handwritten text, which is mirrored across the entire surface. The text is written in a cursive script and is largely illegible due to the extreme blurriness and bleed-through from the reverse side. The mirrored text is visible throughout the page, creating a complex pattern of overlapping characters and words.]

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Note these words p 587 A pleasant fancy is this of mine; many things I would
be loath to tell a particular man, Purer to y^e whole world & concerning my
most secret thoughts & inward knowledge I send my dearest friends to the
Stationers shop

A Civil State once settled is hardly brought to nought 574

41 A woman became a man

The 12th long chapter of y^e 2^d book hath notable things of y^e imbecility of mans
Reason, Especially shewing y^e various silly opinions of y^e old philosophers
He makes man to be truly miserable base & nothing. yet is not his own dis-
courts without much extravagancy. See there a good thing. p 328

75 Note it as relating to Justice & y^e benefit w^h k^s have by it

Note p 505 506 how he describes y^e wretched condition of his Age, let
me tickle my self I ^{saith he} can now hardly wress a bare smile fro this wretched bu-
dy of mine.

95 of y^e unquiescible tyler of his chapter.

He speaks of his own faults 508. 511. 520. 525. 526. 533. 534. 565. 646. 647
He ~~saith he~~ ^{saith he} can now hardly wress a bare smile fro this wretched bu-
dy of mine.

79 Non potes in nugis decere plura meas | Heavens flexible [&] muted his
appetites 644. ^{see page 645.}
Ipse Ego quam Dixi: p 652

380 Note how small confidence he hath in his mairning of y^e severall
problems all along in this book.

24 625 He was hospitable & a good housekeeper. He employed 100 workmen
see at w^h house he went to y^e close stote. he tells y^e p 645 & 646 every
trifling circumstance in y^e common course of life

52 He was born in 1533.

47 & 48. A man without hands or armes.

v 80 bis. 94. 95. 491. 499. 506. 507. 508. 513. 533. 534. 555. 386
579 & 580 note his unwillingness to be beholden to any more: & also 580
581 582. 596. 633. 659. 662. 663. puffin. 478

III Note this 34th chapter - 21.

Chapter - 2

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

3
 N
 3
 45
 3

Junij Vetus auriculis alienis colligitur 123

577. His first publication was in 1580
He was born in 1533.

N III Household Affaires recorded

375. I think & Lewis 14 hath noted this advice

He is most sharp against phisitions

45 &c: The Spaniards crewel to y^e Indians

608. He was old & had never suit or quarrel

8 TM, LZZ (ev)
Gift of Paul Chrzanowski
2009. 264

4/51

HBS- 21135

2500

